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Bi-Centenary Edition

**HISTORY OF THE
TOWN OF LEXINGTON
MASSACHUSETTS**

IN TWO VOLUMES

VOLUME I

The Battle of Lexington
From the drawing by Hammett Bitlings

HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF LEXINGTON

MIDDLESEX COUNTY MASSACHUSETTS

FROM ITS FIRST SETTLEMENT TO 1868

BY

CHARLES HUDSON

*Member of the Massachusetts Historical, the New England
Historic Genealogical, and the American
Antiquarian Societies*

REVISED AND CONTINUED TO 1912

BY THE

LEXINGTON HISTORICAL SOCIETY

VOLUME I—HISTORY

**BOSTON AND NEW YORK
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(The Riverside Press, Cambridge)

1913

LOAN STACK

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INTRODUCTORY NOTE

THE history of Lexington, unlike that of many other communities, has more than local significance and value, because of the far-reaching event which took place within the borders of the town. Upon other grounds, however, the story of such a typical New England village is of national importance; for in the development of the community life of Lexington and in the growth of her town meeting, so graphically set forth by Mr. Hudson, is presented a faithful picture of the forces which not only brought to a successful termination the Revolutionary and the Civil wars, but also contributed in extraordinary measure to the industrial, political, and moral power of the United States.

Lexington was fortunate in having among her citizens, at a time when questions of local history and genealogy were little regarded, a pioneer in the difficult work of preserving the records of the past. So widespread, fifty years later, is the interest in every detail of early American history and of family descent that it is almost impossible to appreciate the difficulties under which Mr. Hudson labored in preparing his monumental *History and Genealogy of Lexington*. Those difficulties he overcame with remarkable skill and patience; and an examination of the result leaves one astonished that, with such meagre resources, he produced a volume so free from major errors.

Since Mr. Hudson wrote, a new school of historians, to whom wealth and accuracy of detail are fundamental, has arisen; and under their stimulus many American cities and towns have begun to rescue their records from neglect, and, in a number of cases, have caused those records to be preserved in print. Moreover, in the period since the Civil War, there has developed a new spirit of interest in the beginnings of the American States and in those who helped to build them up. Consequently, in the last half-century, not only have there been published many town and family genealogies containing material not available to Mr. Hudson, but the whole science of genealogy has made great advances. Therefore, while much information that he secured would have been

lost forever had he failed to record it, much other material, since brought to light, was, in 1868, quite beyond his reach.

Because of this, and because Lexington is in the process of transition from rural to semi-urban conditions, it seemed appropriate to mark the two hundredth anniversary of its incorporation — March 20, 1712, O. S. (March 31, 1713, N. S.) — by a re-publication of Mr. Hudson's history, with such revision, extension, and amplification as might prove desirable and possible. The matter was brought to the attention of the Lexington Historical Society; and at a meeting held October 13, 1908, it was voted: "That the Council be instructed and authorized by the Lexington Historical Society to appoint, as soon as possible, a committee to have entire charge of the work as outlined by this report and subject to the direction, by vote, of the Society."

The undersigned committee was appointed to carry out the will of the Society; and, since November 10, 1908, when it organized with Mr. Munroe as chairman, it has held frequent meetings and has given much thought and time to the task of revision. Securing the aid of Mr. William R. Cutter, formerly of Lexington but now of Woburn, a genealogist of experience and reputation, the Committee first undertook the revision of the genealogical tables, changing their form from that employed by Mr. Hudson, in order to conform to modern usage, verifying dates and names, adding new data, expunging superfluous matter, and greatly amplifying the tables by information covering the later generations of both the older and the newer Lexington families. For the latter purpose, blanks to be filled out were sent to all families resident in the town as well as to representatives, living elsewhere, of many that have moved away. Persistent effort was made to secure in this way full information; and those families whose names do not appear owe such omission to their failure to comply with the Committee's requests.

As is commonly the case, the labor and expense involved in the undertaking have proved greater than was anticipated. The revision of the Genealogy resulted in a growth from two hundred and eighty-two to nearly nine hundred pages. The revision of the history itself required not only the preparation of material covering the period from 1868 to 1912, but also a verification of all extracts from old records, and a study of new sources, in order to supplement Mr. Hudson's facts

by additional discoveries gleaned through later researches. Special care has been taken to examine the many volumes dealing with the Battle of Lexington, with the result, however, of proving that, while some new light has been thrown upon that event by modern historians, few, if any, narrations of the Battle are so comprehensive, so well balanced, and so accurate as is Mr. Hudson's. In revising his History, therefore, the Lexington Historical Society not only pays deserved tribute to a man who, at much personal sacrifice of time and money, performed with exceptional skill a service of great value to his adopted town; but it gives new life and value, through revision, to what is a real and lasting contribution to the history of the United States.

Because of the great improvement in the art of illustrating since 1868, none of the pictures in Mr. Hudson's History has been retained. Great care has been taken, however, to use everything available in the way of important illustrative material, with the result that not only the interest, but the historic value, of the volumes is greatly enhanced by the illustrations. These have been chosen by the Committee and paid for by the Society, quite apart from any personal or property considerations; and the rule of excluding all portraits of living persons has been rigidly observed. The other members of the Committee are under great obligation to Dr. Piper, upon whom solely has rested the difficult duty of finding the originals for the illustrations, and of having them prepared for the press. Attention is called to much valuable data contained in the "List of Illustrations" published in each volume.

The paper used is that specially made for the New England Historic-Genealogical Society, and is so free from chemicals and adulterations as to insure it against deterioration.

It should be observed that the unsigned footnotes are those of Mr. Hudson; while those signed "*Ed.*" have been added by the Committee on Revision. Since in a work of such magnitude it is impossible to avoid mistakes, readers are earnestly requested to make a note of all such mistakes observed and to report them at once to the Lexington Historical Society.

The Society, and the special committee placed in charge of this work of revision, could hardly have undertaken to produce these volumes had it not been for the money available through the generous bequest to the Society of its former

president, Mr. George O. Smith, and the benefaction from the estate of Mr. Robert C. Billings. While the cost of the undertaking will be eventually defrayed, it is hoped, by the sale of volumes, the temporary use of these funds, together with the advance subscriptions secured from citizens of Lexington and others, has enabled the Society to meet the considerable cost of revision and of printing. There should first be recorded, therefore, the great obligation of the town to its late citizen, Mr. Smith, and to Mr. Thomas Minns, one of the executors of the estate of Mr. Billings, through whom a share of the distributed surplus came to the Lexington Historical Society. The thanks of the Committee are due to those who have so generously contributed material (such contributions being recognized in appropriate footnotes); to Miss Mina K. Goddard, for much conscientious labor and research, especially upon the Genealogical volume; to the New England Historic-Genealogical Society, for valuable advice and use of its archives; to the Massachusetts Historical Society, for reference to its collections; to the Department of the Secretary of the Commonwealth and to the War Record Office of the Adjutant-General for access to and assistance in consulting the State Archives; and to Mrs. Lillian A. Hall, expert in genealogical research, for much valuable help, freely given.

JAMES P. MUNROE.

MARY E. HUDSON.

SARAH E. ROBINSON.

CHARLES F. CARTER.

JOHN N. MORSE.

FRED S. PIPER.

ALBERT S. PARSONS.

Committee.

January 1, 1913.

PREFACE

IN preparing the following History, I have labored under the embarrassments felt by every one who undertakes to compile the annals of a town, arising from the meagre and imperfect character of municipal records. This is particularly true of the records of *births, deaths, and marriages*. There is scarcely a family whose genealogy can be accurately traced, in our public archives, through two generations. There will be omissions of births and deaths, or a minute so brief that it is next to impossible to determine whether the child born belongs to this family or that; or whether the person who died is the father or the son in the particular family, or whether he belongs to this family or another of the same surname. So of the entry of many marriages, — there is nothing to determine whether the parties belong to the town where the marriage is recorded or not.

It is the fortune of those who compile our local histories, and especially if they deal with the genealogy of families, to rest under the imputation of being inaccurate; when the fault is in the record, or in the absence of all record, rather than in the compiler. In fact any person who undertakes to write a local history from the records of the town alone would confer no favor upon the public, unless it be to show how defective those records are. It is well understood by all those who have had experience that the labor of gleaning from the town or city books constitutes but a small portion of the actual labor to be performed. While gleaning from the records, the compiler's work is before him; but when he goes elsewhere to supply defects or explain what is recorded, he enters an unexplored field, and many fruitless days must be spent in search of the needed information. And it is not till he has had experience that he learns where and how to direct his inquiries and to separate facts from fiction.

In some of our towns, a portion of the records are lost. Lexington town records are continuous from the first. There is, however, one serious defect in the list of marriages. In past times the records of deaths and marriages were generally kept by the clergymen. Rev. Mr. Hancock, who was a clergy-

man in Lexington more than half a century, was very full and accurate in his entries. And while we have his lists of deaths and baptisms from 1698 to the time of his death, we have no account of his marriages till 1750. He must have kept a full record from the first, which is destroyed or lost. This has proved a great embarrassment in preparing the genealogy, though many of these defects have been supplied from other sources.

There is also a general defect in records, arising from the brevity of the entries. When an event is recent, and the details are fresh in the memory of the people, a concise memorandum may apparently answer the purpose. But when the event is forgotten, such a brief entry becomes almost useless. All records should be self-explaining; so that they can be understood at any future day. Another defect arises from the fact that reports of committees, appointed to obtain the facts in a given case, are not recorded. The record may say that the report is accepted and "placed on file." But in the country towns, where they have no permanent place to deposit their papers, such reports are soon lost or destroyed.

I do not apply these remarks to Lexington in particular, for I find her records better than those of some other towns. But in examining town records in various places, I have found the defects which I have stated; and fidelity to the cause of history has prompted me to make these statements, in the hope that the evil, which every historian has experienced, may be avoided. Records are not made for the day or year in which they are written, but for posterity. An important historic fact may turn on a single line in the record of an obscure town. A name or a date may enable a writer of biography, or a genealogist, to give a connected narrative, which would be broken or disjointed if the name or date were omitted in the record. It is an easy thing, in entering the birth or baptism of a child, to give the name of the parent; or in recording the death of a person, to give the age; or in recording a marriage, to state the residence of the parties, or the parents of the bride. A little care in adding these particular items would materially increase the value of our records. And in regard to the reports of committees, they should be entered in a book kept for that purpose, and be preserved.

An embarrassment peculiar to the preparation of this his-

tory has arisen from the fact that for half a century after the first settlement of what is now Lexington, no records were kept within the place. This territory being a part of Cambridge, when an event worthy of notice occurred therein, it passed unrecorded, or if it were recorded at Cambridge, there is nothing to show whether it occurred at Old Cambridge, or at "Cambridge Farms." If Lexington had been a separate, independent settlement, she would have had a common centre and records of her own from the first. The fact that Cambridge Farms were thus isolated, and that there was no common centre around which the settlers could cluster, induced those who were coming into the territory to locate near some permanent settlement, that they might enjoy the advantages of intercourse and association with the surrounding towns. And hence the first settlements were generally near the borders of Cambridge, Watertown, Woburn, or Concord. This circumstance would naturally tend to postpone a central organization; and even after such an organization was effected, their old associations would partially continue, and their marriages and baptisms would to some extent be entered in the border towns. These things have tended to make the early history of the town more meagre than it otherwise would have been.

But these embarrassments I have labored to overcome by consulting the records of the neighboring towns, and having recourse to the published town Histories, and the Genealogies of other families. The files of the Probate Office, the State Archives, and the County Records have enabled me to supply many defects. In the Revolutionary history I have been materially aided by the American Archives and Frothingham's Siege of Boston. I have endeavored to give a full and impartial history of the town, and an ample Genealogy of the families. How far I have succeeded, I leave the public to judge.

It only remains for me to make my acknowledgments to those who have kindly favored me with facilities for information. My thanks are due to many individuals within the town, who have furnished me old family papers from which much intelligence has been derived. Among those, I will mention Colonel Philip Russell, William Chandler, Esq., Messrs. Charles Tidd, Elias Smith, David Harrington, Bowen Harrington, Jonas Gammell, and the late Deacon Mulliken. Nor

should I omit the kindness of Miss Mary Merriam, who has ever manifested a strong desire to render all possible aid; and who has furnished valuable books and papers bearing upon the subject of the history. Many other persons have readily supplied facts relative to the genealogy of their respective families. I must also make my acknowledgments to Mr. Charles Brown for the loan of a list of deaths, covering a period of nearly forty years, kept by his father, from which many defects in our record of deaths have been supplied. A similar acknowledgment is due to Mrs. H. Pierce, for a list of deaths kept by the venerable Jonathan Harrington, nearly up to the time of his decease.

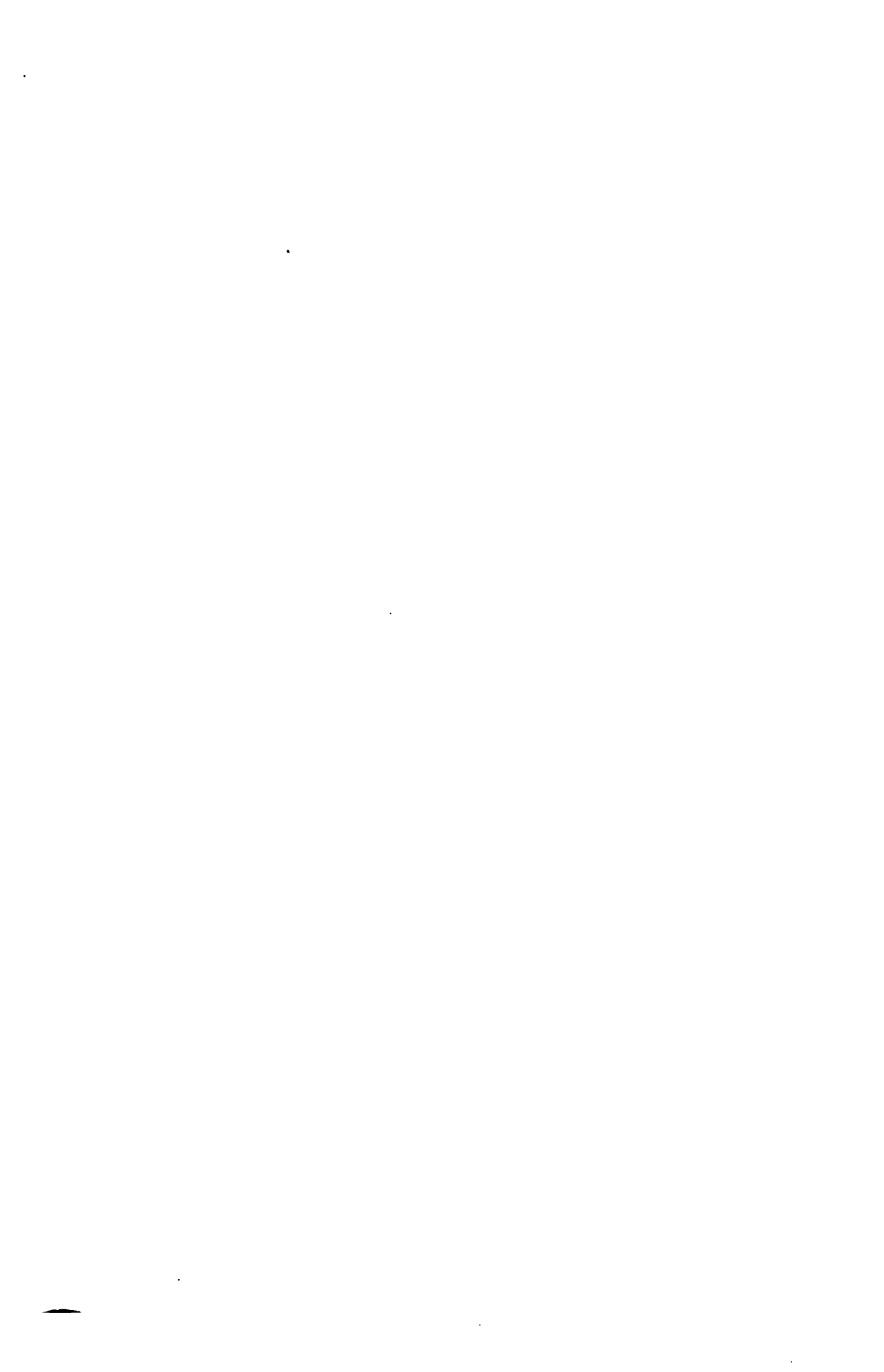
My thanks are due to Albert W. Bryant, Esq., the accommodating Town Clerk, for a free use of the books and papers in his custody, to the Librarians of Harvard College, of the State Library, and of the Boston Athenæum, for facilities rendered in consulting authorities. Nor should I neglect to mention the kindness of Francis Brown, Esq., of Boston, in lending me a large quantity of valuable papers left by his uncle, Edmund Munroe of Boston, which have been of great service; or the readiness with which Henry Clarke, Esq., of Boston, granted me the use of several volumes of the Diary of his honored father, Rev. Jonas Clarke, kept in an interleaved Almanac, which have proved of great value.

CHARLES HUDSON.

LEXINGTON, June 1, 1868.

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BRIEF CHRONOLOGY OF LEXINGTON EVENTS ¹

DATE.

- 1630. Charter of Massachusetts Bay Colony.
Arrival of Winthrop and Dudley at Salem.
- 1631. First Settlement at "Newe Towne" by Winthrop and Dudley company.
- 1634. Boundary of Newe Towne extended northward.
- 1636. Second extension of boundary of Newe Towne (to brook in rear of present Unitarian Church).
First grants of land in present township of Lexington, to Richard Herlarkenden (later transferred to Pelham).
- 1638. Name of Newe Towne changed to Cambridge.
- 1641. Third extension of boundary of Cambridge (northward to the Merrimack River).
- 1642. Herlarkenden grant transferred to Herbert Pelham and settlement made at Cambridge Farms (near Vine Brook).
- 1682. Settlers at Cambridge Farms petition the General Court to establish a separate parish. Petition denied.
- 1684. Settlers again petition the General Court for a separate parish, and again are refused.
- 1690. Buckman Tavern built.
- 1691. December 18. General Court grants petition for establishment of a separate parish at Cambridge Farms.
- 1692. April 22. Parish organized and "Mr. Benjamin Estabrook" invited to become the pastor the 1st of May.
First Meeting-house built.
- 1693. House built for "Mr. Estabrook."
Purchase of Ministerial Land from Cambridge.
- 1695. Munroe Tavern built.
- 1696. October 21. Mr. Estabrook ordained first pastor of Cambridge Farms.
- 1697. July 22. Death of Rev. Benjamin Estabrook.
November 7. Mr. John Hancock invited to become pastor.
- 1698. November 2. Mr. John Hancock ordained pastor.
Rev. John Hancock builds house on present Hancock Street.
- 1700. A bell for the use of the parish presented by the town of Cambridge.
- 1711. Land (about 1½ acres) surrounding the Meeting-House (the "Common") purchased by subscription (cost, £16).
- 1713. March 31. Lexington incorporated (1712, March 20, O. S.).
Newly elected Selectmen vote to buy weights and measures, to build a town "Pound" and to erect Stocks.
- 1714. Second Meeting-House built — twenty feet in the rear (north) of the first.
First Tavern in town opened to the public.
- 1715. First School-house erected on the Common, 28×20 feet, Joseph Estabrook, teacher.
- 1722. Common enlarged by purchase of one acre additional at cost of £25.
- 1733. November 2. Ebenezer Hancock invited to become his father's colleague.
- 1734. January 2. Ebenezer Hancock ordained.
- 1740. Rev. Ebenezer Hancock dies.
- 1752. Rev. John Hancock dies.

¹ Compiled by Dr. Fred S. Piper of the committee.

xxii BRIEF CHRONOLOGY OF LEXINGTON EVENTS

DATE.

1754. Town of Lincoln incorporated (taking 974 acres from Lexington).
1755. May 19. Voted to invite Mr. Jonas Clarke to become pastor.
November 5. Mr. Jonas Clarke ordained.
1761. First School-house torn down and the second built on same site.
June 15. Isaac Stone gives a bell to the town for public use. Belfry built.
1770. Boston Massacre.
1772. Town chooses its first Committee of Correspondence.
1774. September 5. The first Continental Congress meets, followed one month later by the first Provincial Congress.
1775. February 26. General Gage's attempt to take stores at Salem fails.
April 16. Paul Revere comes to Lexington and Concord to give preliminary warning.
April 19. Battle of Lexington.
1781. Income from Ministerial Land first applied to support of the church.
1784. House erected at town farm for the accommodation of the poor.
Lexington Artillery Company organized (disbanded, 1847).
1789. November 5. George Washington visits Lexington and dines at Munroe Tavern.
1797. School-house on the Common sold and removed and three new ones built in the south, west, and north districts.
December 12. Hiram Lodge, A.F. and A.M., instituted in Munroe Tavern.
1799. Revolutionary Soldiers' Monument erected on the Common.
1805. Death of Rev. Jonas Clarke.
1807. Henry Coleman declines call to pastorate of church, and in October of the same year Avery Williams accepts the pastorate.
1808. Third School-house built on the Common, forty feet north of the Monument.
1810. August 24. Theodore Parker born.
1813. Rufus Merriam commissioned Postmaster, and first Post-Office in the town opened.
1821. School-house removed from the Common.
1822. Lexington "Rifle Rangers" organized.
Charter granted and building erected for the Lexington Academy.
1824. September 2. Lafayette visits Lexington.
1829. First Sunday School organized, by Rev. Charles Briggs, at First Parish Church.
1830. Baptist Church organized.
1833. Rev. T. P. Ropes becomes the first resident pastor of the Baptist Church.
1835. April 20. Remains of Minute-Men killed April 19, 1775, reinterred beneath the Monument, Lexington. Oration by Edward Everett.
Lexington Manual Labor Seminary opened by Timothy P. Ropes and Samuel Stetson.
Follen Church organized.
1836. First Post-Office established at East Lexington, Amos Adams, Postmaster.
1839. The present Follen Church erected.
First Normal School in the United States opened, July 3, in Lexington Academy Building.
1845. Follen Church incorporated.
1846. First Parish Church (the last on the Common) burned.
Railroad built to Lexington and first trains run over it.
1847. First Parish Church erected on present site.
1852. Louis Kossuth visits Lexington, May 11.
Roman Catholic Mass first celebrated.
1854. Lexington High School established.
March 27. Jonathan Harrington, last survivor of the Battle of Lexington, dies.

BRIEF CHRONOLOGY OF LEXINGTON EVENTS xxiii

DATE.

- 1868. Hancock Church organized.
Cary Library founded.
- 1869. Cary Library first opened, January 27.
- 1870. Simon W. Robinson Lodge instituted in November.
- 1871. Simon W. Robinson Lodge chartered.
Lexington Savings Bank incorporated.
Town Hall built.
- 1875. Great celebration of centenary of Battle of Lexington.
Roman Catholic Church erected.
- 1877. Illuminating gas introduced.
- 1883. Episcopal Church organized.
- 1884. Town appropriates \$1500 to mark places of historic interest.
- 1885. Town water-supply installed by Lexington Water Company.
- 1886. Lexington Historical Society organized and incorporated.
Episcopal Church erected.
Lexington Common regraded.
First Superintendent of Schools employed.
- 1891. District schools abolished and central graded schools established
- 1893. Electric lights introduced.
The present Baptist Church erected.
- 1894. Patriots' Day made a State holiday.
- 1900. Hayes Memorial Fountain unveiled April 19.
First public use of street railway.
- 1903. Metropolitan water-supply installed.
- 1904. Rural Free Delivery of mail introduced May 16.
- 1906. New building of Cary Memorial Library opened.
- 1909. Post-Office at East Lexington discontinued October 15.
Free postal delivery established October 16.

HISTORY OF LEXINGTON

CHAPTER I :

FROM THE FIRST SETTLEMENT TO THE INCORPORATION AS A TOWN

The Origin of Towns, and Value of Town Meetings — Character of the Early Settlers of the Province — Puritan Colonies compared with Others — History of Lexington involved in that of Cambridge — The People desire an Increase of Territory — Removal of Rev. Mr. Hooker and his Flock — Shawahine granted to Cambridge — Settlement of Cambridge Farms — Incorporated as a Precinct — Erection of a Meeting-House — The Subscribers' Names — The First Tax Bill — Ministerial Land purchased — Mr. Estabrook called as their Minister — A House built for Mr. Estabrook — Mr. Estabrook's Ordination and Death — Mr. Hancock settled — Additional Seats in the Meeting-House provided — Ammunition and School Money asked for — The Common purchased — The Precinct petition to be made a Town — Voted to build a New Meeting-House — Hardships and Privations of the First Settlers — The Prominence of the Religious Idea — Military Titles and Military Men.

THE object of history is to present a picture of the past, so that we may be stimulated to imitate the virtues and shun the vices of those who have gone before us. But as the events which engage our attention are, in great degree, the results of human actions, we can never understand the philosophy of history without ascertaining the characters and motives of the principal actors in the scenes narrated.

As we shall speak of the value and importance of the history of towns, it may be desirable to understand the rise of these little municipalities, which had their origin in Massachusetts; and which have extended, with some modifications, over a large section of our country. Towns, in the present acceptation of the term, were not established at once, but grew up gradually, out of the wants of the people. As the Charter vested all power in the General Court, these plantations or towns could have no powers except those expressly granted them by the Court. The Puritans came to this country to enjoy religious privileges; hence they would naturally settle compactly, so that they could easily convene for public worship, and also be able to support their schools. As all the land was

owned by the Colony, no individual or company could lawfully hold any portion of it, except by a grant from the General Court. Such grants were freely made to companies, and were denominated "plantations," or "townships." They were described by boundaries more or less specific, and were generally designated by some name.

But these towns had no powers beyond that of holding lands, on certain specific conditions, which usually included that of supporting a minister, and maintaining public worship. As the labors and duties of the General Court multiplied, they soon found it necessary, or at least convenient, to impose certain duties upon the towns. And, as might be expected, situated as they were, in a wilderness, surrounded by savages on whose friendship they could hardly rely, they first required these townships to do something for self-defence. As early as 1630, the General Court made it the duty of the towns to see that all their able-bodied men were supplied with firearms; and where any person, by reason of poverty, could not supply himself, arms were to be furnished by the towns. In 1634, towns were required to maintain a watch of two men by night, and also to provide, at their own expense, a place for the safe-keeping of arms and ammunition; and to see that all taxes were properly apportioned on the people. They were also empowered, when applied to, either by the employer or the employee, to fix the wages of labor. In 1635, towns were required to provide standard weights and measures; and, the year following, they were empowered to decide upon the location of houses within their respective limits, and to make certain by-laws in relation to their own affairs, subject to the revision of the Court, and to elect certain officers, such as constables and surveyors of highways. In 1637, towns were authorized to restrain swine from running at large within their limits, and to nominate to the Court suitable persons to sell wine and strong water. In 1639, they were empowered to erect posts, in some public place, on which intentions of marriage might be lawfully posted, in case they had no public lecture; and were required to make returns to the Court of all the births, deaths, and marriages.

The office of Selectman, which became one of the most important in the towns, grew up like the towns themselves, from small beginnings. In 1639, it was provided by the Court that towns might choose two or three men to lay out high-

ways; in 1642, they were spoken of as "selected townsmen," and as "men selected" to manage the prudential affairs; and in 1647, as "selectmen." In 1641, the selectmen of towns were fully authorized to lay out town ways and erect town bounds; and in 1646, towns were required to report to the General Court the names of all idle and unprofitable persons within the same, and to perambulate their town lines once in three years.

In this way the General Court, from time to time, as the case seemed to require, enlarged the duties and privileges of towns, and provided, somewhat in detail, for the number and duties of town officers. The manner in which they should hold their elections has been fully defined by statute. Towns are made municipal corporations, subject to the laws of the State; and as their duties, obligations, and liabilities, as well as their rights and privileges, are the result of long experience, we might naturally conclude that such municipalities are founded in wisdom, and adapted to the wants of the people. And so, indeed, they have proved. In all our past history, in peace and in war, we have found these organizations exactly suited to the condition, wants, and genius of our people. In addition to all the municipal duties and privileges, the towns had all the duties and prerogatives of parishes. The one, in a good degree, included the other. Towns were, in the absence of other provisions, parishes, though parishes were not always towns. The duties devolved upon towns, and the powers exercised by town officers, especially by the "townsmen," or selectmen, were greater in the early days of our history than they are at present.

History, to be instructive, must not only narrate events, but state the causes which produced them. Our stock of wisdom is not materially increased by being told that an event occurred; but when we are made acquainted with the causes which brought it about, we have acquired valuable information; and, from this knowledge of the past, we can reason with tolerable certainty to the future. History, therefore, is valuable very much as it presents the manners and customs of the people, the spirit of the age, the principles which prevailed, and the antecedents of events. The nearer the historian comes to the people, the source of all power, the more likely he will be to give the true philosophy of history. Town histories, which are in demand at this day, are valuable for this

very reason. They treat of events comparatively unimportant; but in gleaning these minute facts, the writer comes near the actors, and walks, as it were, in the midst of society in the age in which the incidents occurred; and so imbibes their sentiments, and becomes familiar with the character of the people, the motives and springs of action which were in play, and the genius of the age of which he writes.

Primary assemblies, from whose records the town historian must of necessity obtain much of his information, exhibit the real condition and wants of the people more perfectly than any other. As the character of an individual can be best learned by observing his private walks, and noting his daily conduct, so the genius and spirit, the virtues and infirmities of a people are best learned by the transactions of small bodies of men in their primary meetings. It is there that their true characters stand out in full view. The history which reveals the actions and feelings of a town, furnishes more reliable information than can be obtained from the history of a State. A town meeting is a surer exponent of the will of the people than a legislative assembly, whether state or national.

In a free country like ours, the wants and wishes of the masses, their deep yearnings, and the great throbbings of the public heart, will show themselves in primary assemblies, long before they are perceived in State Legislatures or in Congress; and when towns speak in unison, their voice must ultimately be heard and heeded by the State. As all reforms begin with the people, knowing what towns have done, we can judge what the State must do.

Town meetings, in the early days of our history, were more important than they are at the present day. They were then the great forum where every serious question was discussed and settled. Town meetings were regarded as all-important by our fathers. Everything they held dear as Christians, or as citizens, was freely discussed and passed upon in these meetings. The building of meeting-houses, the settling of ministers, and even the seating of the congregation and the leading of the singers, were subjects on which the towns acted. The ordinary powers of towns at this day, such as the building of school-houses, and providing for schools, the laying-out and maintaining of highways, and the support of the poor, were exercised by our fathers. But they went much farther. The

duties of raising and equipping military companies were exercised, at times, by towns. Nor did their jurisdiction stop here. Every political question, however broad, whether it related to the town, province, or nation, was deemed by them a proper theme for town action; and our town records abound with reports of committees and resolutions passed, which are fraught with wisdom and patriotism.

The American Revolution was inaugurated in these primary assemblies; and the history of that great political movement may be read in the resolutions and acts of the New England towns. It was in those meetings that the great questions were debated, the first steps taken, and the solemn pledges given. It was there that the masses of the people were instructed, their rights defined, and their duties pointed out. It was there that the fires of patriotism were kindled, the public heart warmed, and the people prepared for the great crisis which was before them. The importance of these primary gatherings at that day can hardly be overrated.

In the darkest days of the period immediately preceding the breaking-out of hostilities, when the Royal Governor had prorogued the Legislature and refused to order a new election, thus leaving us without a government; when an armed force occupied the town of Boston to overawe the patriots, and the people had no organized medium of communication with each other — that master spirit of liberty, SAMUEL ADAMS,¹ who did more than any other man to organize the Revolution, called upon the good people of Boston to assemble in town meeting to consult upon all they held dear as citizens. It was in a Boston town meeting that Committees of Correspondence were suggested and organized; and it was in pursuance of this proposed organization that the towns throughout the Province held their public meetings, at which Committees of Correspondence were chosen, patriotic resolutions passed, and mutual pledges interchanged. These produced unity of action, created and embodied public sentiment, and so prepared the people for the impending struggle.

No one instrument contributed more to warm the patriot heart or nerve the patriot arm than these primary meetings of the people. Their effect was felt and acknowledged, not only in Massachusetts, but in the other Colonies. The influence they exerted was so great and controlling that the

¹ See *Proc. Lex. Hist. Soc.*, Vol. iv, p. 94. — *Ed.*

British Ministry became alarmed, and Parliament passed a solemn Act forbidding all town meetings throughout the Province, except the Annual Meeting for the choice of town officers. But such was the devotion of the people to these primary meetings that in the interior they paid no regard to the law, and, in the larger towns, near the headquarters of the Royal Governor, they evaded it by adjourning the Annual Meeting from time to time, so that they might be prepared, almost any day, to hold a legal meeting to deliberate upon public affairs, and adopt measures for the public safety. Regarding the privilege of assembling for deliberation all-important, our fathers actually made the prohibition of town meetings one of the prominent charges against Great Britain, and urged it among other inflictions as a reason for resorting to arms. If there is any one thing which has given Faneuil Hall its notoriety, and secured to it the glorious appellation of "The Cradle of Liberty," it is the fact that within its walls the patriots of Boston held their town meetings, and adopted measures which roused the American people and shook the kingdom of Great Britain to its very centre.

The organization of townships has exerted a controlling influence upon the New England character. In these little democracies the people meet together on the ground of perfect equality, to transact their own business in their own way. The town meetings serve as schools in which the multitudes are trained for the discharge of higher duties in the County, State, and Nation. Most of our public men who have filled and adorned the high places in the State and Nation have received some of their first lessons in the mode of doing business in our primary meetings, and in the offices to which our town organizations have given rise.

The town historian, therefore, in wading through the records of these meetings cannot fail to perceive the feelings of the people, and drink in the spirit of the age at its fountain. Next to the fireside, which we are hardly at liberty to invade, the primary meetings of the people give us the clearest insight into the motives, wants, and feelings of the masses of men. Municipal records furnish a sure index to the character of a town and its principal inhabitants. If the people are peaceable, orderly, and law-abiding, these characteristics may be discovered on the local record; and if the contrary traits pervade the community, the fact can be discovered by the

careful observer. The town record is a sort of mirror which reflects the moral and political features of the people; and whoever visits this picture-gallery, and studies the paintings carefully, will be able to delineate the features of the whole group.

Town histories, if faithfully written, give us the best pictures of real life and the best insight into the characters of men. They also serve to collect scattered and perishing materials, which would otherwise be lost. And by hearing the traditions of the elderly people, the local historian will glean information which the more public annalist could not obtain; and by standing side by side with the narrator, he can sift this valuable though sometimes uncertain species of evidence, and so elicit facts which may prove of great importance. Even in cases where the municipal historian finds no facts of importance, he has rendered a public service by showing that the field is barren, and so saving others from a fruitless search. He has also, as a general thing, more time to trace effects to their remote causes, and so present a more faithful view of the connection between the past and the present than the general historian can do.

The history of every people or nation bears the impress not only of the master minds of that generation, but of the characteristics of the first founders of the State. Every colony which springs up in any part of the world will, for many generations, reflect in a greater or less degree the character of the original emigrants. Young communities, like young persons, are peculiarly susceptible to impressions, and early influences brought to bear upon them are likely to mould their characters and fashion, in no small degree, their institutions. It becomes important, then, in every history, to recur to the origin of the community whose annals are presented, that we may see, in a proper light, the character of the events recorded, and the causes from which they spring.

Though towns are small communities, the same principles will apply to them. The object of a town history is not merely to collect and preserve a record of the events which have occurred from time to time, but to glance even at the remote causes, present the character of the inhabitants, and the spirit of the age in which they lived. All our early New England towns were settled by the Puritans — a class of men of marked characters, decided opinions, and fixed purposes.

The trying ordeal of persecution through which they had passed in Great Britain had developed the sterner qualities of their characters, and prepared them for the arduous task of subduing a wilderness and converting it into a fruitful field. They were men inured to hardships and, being trained in the school of adversity, were prepared to do and to dare. Imbibing the spirit of the Reformation, they had learned to examine and judge for themselves. The Catholic bigotry of Mary, and the Protestant intolerance of Elizabeth, served to confirm their faith, increase their zeal, and purify their morals. Nor was the political state of the kingdom less adapted to the development of their political principles. They had seen the same tyranny in the State that they had witnessed in the Church; and Monarchy and Episcopacy were equally abhorrent to their feelings. In fact the union of Church and State brought the intolerance of the one to bear upon them through the enactments of the other, so that the Puritans were the victims of both civil and religious persecution. This twofold trial implanted in their minds a strong aversion to the Established Church and the hereditary monarchy of their native land. Rather than submit to the intolerance of the one or the oppression of the other, they voluntarily exiled themselves from the land of their birth, the ties of kindred, and the endearments of home, to seek a peaceful resting-place in an inhospitable wilderness. The same fortitude which brought them to this country would not degenerate under the trials and privations they were called to suffer after their arrival.

And though the persecutions they endured in the land of their birth, and the difficulties they encountered in the land of their adoption, would naturally give them a stern, inflexible character, there was behind all this experience, a firm, unwavering faith in the righteousness of their cause, which gave a definiteness of object and a persistence of purpose which nothing could shake. The great idea with them was the religious idea. They came to this country that they might worship God according to the dictates of their own consciences. And though they were not political adventurers, seeking a retreat from the Old World in order to build up a mighty empire in the New, yet their own good sense taught them that they could hardly erect religious institutions without a civil government to protect them. But, whatever might have been their original speculations, when they were

called to view the subject practically, they soon saw that a church and a commonwealth were so essential to each other that they could not enjoy the one unmolested without the protecting arm of the other. They accordingly had incorporated into their Charter a provision authorizing them "to make laws and ordinances for the good and welfare of said company, and for the government and ordering of the said lands and plantation, and the people inhabiting and to inhabit the same, as to them, from time to time, shall be thought meet, so as such laws and ordinances be not repugnant to the laws and statutes of the realm of England."

The free and undisturbed worship of God, which was the primary object bringing them to these shores, was soon associated with free civil institutions; so that we may say, in fact, that their great object was to establish a holy religion which should bring its solemn sanctions to bear upon the Commonwealth; and a free Commonwealth, based upon the broad principles of religion — a Commonwealth where Christ should be the acknowledged Head of the Church, and his Gospel the fundamental law of the realm. In all their labors and efforts, this was the great object at which they aimed. In prosperity, this was the end of their rejoicing, and in adversity, this was their main support. A colony more orderly and moral, more devout and self-sacrificing, never settled in any part of the globe. With an object at once grand and glorious before them, and with a trust in Divine Providence which subdued both doubt and fear, they were prepared to meet any trial, encounter any obstacle, and endure any suffering, which beset their path. Such was the object of our Puritan fathers, and such the steadfastness with which they pursued their end.

We do not, however, ascribe immaculate purity to them or maintain that they were free from infirmities or faults. They were men of like passions with others; and because they were in advance of the age in which they lived, we must not look for absolute perfection and expect that, because they abounded in the cardinal virtues, they would be free from every defect of character. Their defects were such as grow out of the excess of virtuous principles. Their religion was of a rigid and austere type, and the strength of their faith hardly permitted them to tolerate a dissent from their creed. They were imbued with the spirit of the age; and the persecutions through which they had passed in their native country had

the effect upon them that persecutions generally have, to confirm their faith rather than increase their charity. Though they had dissented from the Church of Rome, and could not admit the infallibility of the Roman Pontiff, such was the strength of their faith that they cherished the persuasion that sincere Christians should not be permitted to wander materially from the true faith. With such sentiments and feelings, they would naturally look upon heretics as wilfully blind, and as enemies, not only of the great object they had in view, but of the cause of Him to whom they had consecrated themselves. This conviction would, of course, lead them to guard, with jealous care, the creed they professed, and to visit with their displeasure those who dissented from their faith or preached what they regarded as "another gospel."

They lived under what may be denominated the "Monarchy of Religion." Their familiarity with the Jewish Scriptures, in which the Almighty is presented in the stern character of a Ruler or a Judge, more frequently than in the milder character of a Father, naturally inclined them to dwell upon the sterner attributes of the Deity, to draw moral instruction from divine sovereignty rather than from divine compassion, and to elevate the attribute of justice at the expense of that of mercy. But they have the apology that if they erred in this respect, they erred with the age in which they lived, and reflected in a milder form the severe features of religion as it was then understood. We may smile at their austerities, and censure their intolerance; but if we had lived in that age of the world, we should, undoubtedly, have imbibed their spirit. They were strict, rigid, and, if you please, superstitious; but these defects of character were only the vigorous growth of that abiding faith and trust in the providence of God which was requisite to fit them for the great and glorious enterprise in which they had embarked. While we cannot justify their persecution of the Baptists, Quakers, and other dissenting sects which arose among them, there are circumstances which go to extenuate these faults. They came to the country that they might enjoy their religion in peace. For this object they had encountered trials and dangers; to this end they had labored and toiled, and submitted to every privation. And after they had, by great personal sacrifices, established religious institutions according to their own notions of right, and hoped to enjoy, unmolested, the free and

full advantages of unity of faith, and simplicity and order in worship, they found their quiet molested by what they regarded as intruders and disturbers of the peace. It was not on account of their religious tenets alone that the Puritans banished them from their jurisdiction. These sects manifested their contempt for civil authority, and a portion of them opposed even defensive war, which the Puritans deemed essential to their very existence, situated as they were among hostile Indian tribes. This led our fathers to believe that the safety of the State would be endangered by the presence of these men, who were active in their efforts to disseminate their views. These facts, though they do not justify, certainly go far to extenuate, the course of the Puritans; and while our sympathy for the persecuted naturally leads us to espouse their cause, we should not shut our eyes to the provocations which were frequently offered to the severe treatment they received.

Viewed impartially, there is much in the Puritan character to admire. Their unwavering trust in Divine Providence, their self-sacrificing spirit, their inflexible integrity, their devotion to civil and religious freedom, founded on broad principles, and regulated by law, their desire to educate the rising generation, so that they might become good citizens and exemplary Christians, their zeal in the great enterprise in which they were engaged, their readiness to endure privations and to face dangers, and their persevering fortitude under all circumstances — these, and qualities such as these, must commend them to the respect and admiration of mankind. Men more genial in their manners or pliant in their character, more yielding in their dispositions or easy in their virtue, with a faith less firm, or a will less persistent, may be more agreeable and popular in fashionable circles, and their society may be more eagerly sought in ordinary times; but in days of painful anxiety and peril, we instinctively seek counsel of men of confirmed faith and inflexible principles, and flee for support and protection to men of persistent purpose and unconquerable will. So our stern Puritan ancestors belong to the very class of men on which the community will always lean in an emergency.

The Puritans were raised up by Providence to accomplish a great work, and to mark an important era in the world's progress; and the stern qualities which they possessed were the

necessary qualifications to fit them for the task assigned them. Had they been a mild and timorous race, gentle and yielding in their manners, wavering in their faith, and compromising in their principles; or had they been a mere band of adventurers, seeking their fortunes, or a few lords with a set of serfs in their train, they could never have accomplished the herculean task of subduing the hostile savage tribes, clearing up dense forests, and covering the country with prosperous towns and thriving villages. And what is more important to us and to the country, they could never have built up those civil, literary, and religious institutions which have been the pride of this country and the admiration of the civilized world.

To the Puritans we are indebted for most of the blessings we enjoy.¹ The impress of their principles is seen and felt in everything around us. The moral and religious tone of the New England people, their sense of justice and love of order, and their devotion to liberty and the rights of men, are but the reflex of ancestral virtues. We are hardly aware of the numerous ways in which Puritan principles have affected our characters, and shaped our destiny as a people. Their modes of faith, their habits of industry, their reverence for law and order, the equality between man and man, — all these have had their influence upon us, and have tended to make us the energetic and persevering, the thrifty and prosperous people we are. Many of our institutions have grown as of necessity from their religious notions. Their love of public worship induced them to settle near each other, so that they could conveniently assemble together and enjoy church privileges. This enabled them to erect meeting-houses and support schools, which could not have been done if the population had been sparse. This, also, gave rise to that system of town organization, which is one of the distinctive features of the Puritan settlements, and which has done more to improve and elevate the people than any other political institution. By assembling together in town meetings, where all freemen met on a level, and where every subject, whether secular or religious, was freely discussed, the whole people were made acquainted with each other, learned the policy of the community, and the mode of transacting public business. Here

¹ Compare Douglass Campbell, *The Puritan in Holland, England, and America*. Harper & Bros., 1892. *Ed.*

they provided for the support of public worship, for the maintenance of their schools, for laying out their highways, supporting their poor, and regulating their internal police. Here, too, were discussed those great principles of civil and political rights which have made us an independent and prosperous nation.

If we were to compare the Puritan Colonies with those settled by a different class of people, we should see at once the effects of Puritan principles. The Colonists who settled in Virginia possessed many natural advantages over the Colonists who settled in Massachusetts. Their climate was more mild and genial, and their soil more productive than ours. Their facilities for commerce, manufactures, and agriculture were incomparably greater than those presented to the Massachusetts Colony. Yet the Puritan Colony has been more prosperous than that at Jamestown.¹ In wealth, in learning, in social order, in everything which goes to make a people truly great, the Colonies settled by the Puritans are decidedly in advance of any others.

Compare the first settlers of Virginia with those of Massachusetts, and the future destiny of the two Colonies will be foreshadowed. The first settlers in Virginia were mostly mere adventurers, who came to the country to retrieve a ruined fortune and return; those in Massachusetts were sober, prudent men, who came here to remain. The former came without families, and so enjoyed none of the chastening endearments of home; the latter brought their wives and children with them, which sanctified their humble dwellings. The one class were, to a great extent, men of idle habits, desperate fortunes, and dissolute character, too proud to labor, but insolent in demanding their full share of the products of others' toil; while the other class were men of moderate means, but of sober, industrious habits, ready to perform their share of labor, to endure their proportion of hardships, and to subsist upon the fruits of their own industry. The Jamestown Colony did not profess any particular regard for religion; while the Colony of Massachusetts made it their bond of union — their solace and support. The former were separated in interest and feeling; the latter were united as a band of brothers. The settlement in Virginia commenced

¹ Compare John Fiske, *Old Virginia and Her Neighbours*. Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1897, p. 156. *Ed.*

with a distinction of castes — master and servant, lord and serf, the bond and the free, were early recognized as permanent classes; but among the Puritans of Massachusetts such distinctions were ignored. This difference has given marked characteristics to the two States. Hence, in the one, we hear the vain boasts of having descended from one of the privileged class — one of the “first families”; while in the other, all are willing to be recognized as descendants from the humble and hardy Puritan stock.

The relation of master and slave has not only exerted an unfavorable influence upon the morals of the Colony, by making the master haughty and tyrannical, and the slave cringing and servile, but has exerted a baneful influence upon its institutions. Large plantations and a scattered population grow almost necessarily out of that relation, and thus the support of churches and schools is to a great extent rendered impracticable; and the same cause deprives them of the town organization, which has done so much to improve the character and increase the prosperity of New England.

The difference in the two Colonies, growing, in a great measure, out of their religious faith, may be seen in the state of education in each. Massachusetts early established her glorious system of free schools, while Virginia has not, to this day, provided for the education of her whole population. In everything relating to moral improvement, Massachusetts has been immeasurably in advance of her more southern rival. As early as 1647, Massachusetts, by express statute, required her towns to support schools, while in Virginia, Berkeley, her Governor, as late as 1671, sixty-four years after the first settlement, thanked God that there were neither schools nor printing-presses in the Colony, and hoped there would be none for a century to come.

Massachusetts, in 1638, established her University, which was ninety years earlier than any similar institution was created in Virginia. It is also worthy of notice that the first printing-press in our own State was set up in 1638, being ninety years earlier than any press in Virginia. The first five issues from the press at Cambridge are so suggestive that I cannot refrain from naming them in the order of their appearance: The Freeman's Oath, An Almanac, A Psalm Book, A Catechism, and a body of their laws, entitled A Body of Liberties. Here we have a portraiture of our Puritan

Fathers — a kind of pictorial representation of their thoughts and feelings, of their manners and customs. Their Bibles, which they brought with them from England, were, of course, first read; then the Freeman's Oath must be taken; then the Almanac consulted to learn the signs of the times; then they were prepared to join in Psalms of Praise, and to teach their children the Catechism; and, after that, they were prepared to study their Body of Liberties, and when they learned their rights, they were ready to assert them in any presence, and to defend them at any hazard, whoever might be the aggressor.

We have dwelt longer upon this subject than might at first view appear necessary in a town history; but, as our towns are constituent parts of the State, and the source from which the State itself must derive its history, it seemed important to inquire into the character of the men who first settled our townships, and whose acts we are to record, and also to ascertain the general causes which led to our system of town organization. As in courts of justice the character of an act is determined somewhat by the reputation of the actor, so in history, in order to judge accurately of the character of a transaction, we should know the parties to enable us to ascertain the motives which led to the transaction. And besides, as institutions are but the embodiment of thoughts and principles, we can understand the nature of our institutions better by becoming conversant with the men who established them — their character, feelings, and principles being a sort of contemporaneous construction of their true meaning. Besides, gratitude to their memory will fully justify us, who are enjoying the fruit of their labor, in passing their many virtues in review. And it is presumed that no one now upon the stage, whose lineage can be traced to the Puritans or Pilgrims, will blush to own such ancestry.

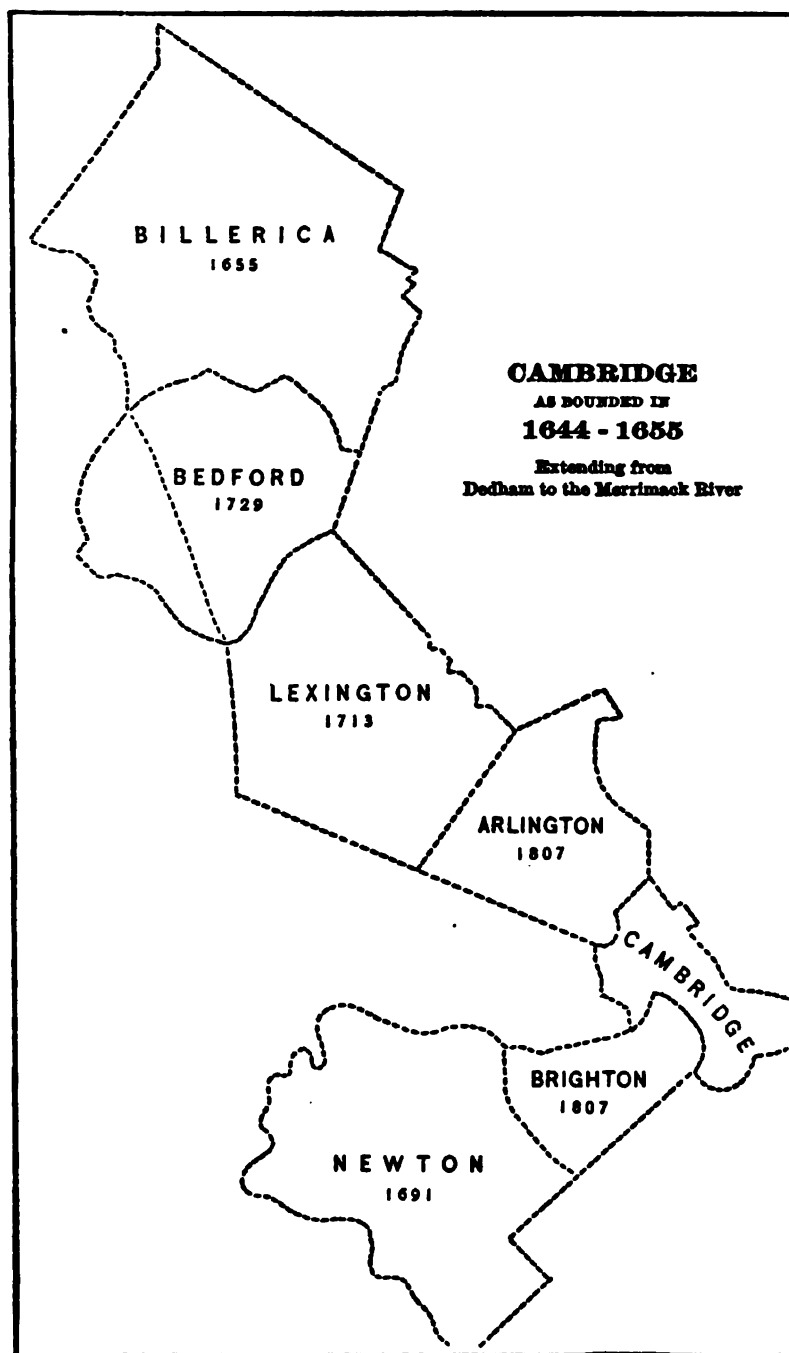
The early history of the town of LEXINGTON is included in that of Cambridge, of which it was originally a part. Until its incorporation as a town, in 1713, it was known by the name of "Cambridge North Precinct," or more generally by the popular designation of "Cambridge Farms." In like manner Cambridge itself was originally included in, or more properly known by the name of, "the Newe Towne," or Newton. It appears to have been the original intention of the General

Court to make "the Newe Towne" the Capital of the Colony, and measures were adopted to encourage settlements there; but, some misunderstanding arising with the Governor, and the Newe Towne being, as was alleged, too far from the sea, the Court was induced to select Boston as the seat of government.¹ It would seem, from the imperfect records of that day, that the territory now included in Charlestown, Somerville, Medford, Winchester, Woburn, and Burlington, on the one hand, and Watertown, a portion of Belmont, Waltham, and Weston, on the other, was granted before the Newe Towne was created; so that her extension was limited on two sides at least, and by Boston and Roxbury on the third — her territory lying between the towns above mentioned. But, though the Newe Towne contained a large territory, and the nearest settlements were Boston, Charlestown, Roxbury, and Watertown, like most settlers in a new country, the inhabitants appear to have had a great thirst for land, and they soon began to complain that their limits were too circumscribed. Several disputes arose between them and their neighboring settlements, about their boundaries, and between them and the General Court respecting their limits. It was maintained by Rev. Mr. Hooker on behalf of himself and his flock, then resident in the Newe Towne, that they were actually suffering for the want of room; that it was impolitic to have settlements as near each other as Charlestown, Newe Towne, and Watertown; and that, unless their borders were extended, they should be compelled to leave the place, that they might enjoy ample territory and so be able to grow and thrive as a Christian church.

As early as 1634, only three years after the first settlement of the place, they alleged that "the number of inhabitants had become disproportionate to the township." They complained that "they were straitened for want of land, especially meadow, and desired leave of the Council to look out either for enlargement or removal." Their territory, probably, extended at that time nearly to the easterly line of the present town of Lexington. In the mean time the General Court adopted every reasonable means to satisfy their wants. At their session, held on the 25th of September, the General Court adopted the following orders: —

"It is ordered, with the consent of Watertown, that the meadowe

¹ See Paige, *History of Cambridge*, pp. 9-19, 23. *Ed.*



on this syde Waterton weire, conteyneing aboute 30 acres, be the same more or lesse, & nowe vsed by the inhabitants of Newe Towne, shall belonge to said inhabitants of Newe Towne to enioy to them & their heirs for euer.

"Also it is ordered, that the ground aboute Muddy Ryver [now Brookline] belonging to Boston, & vsed by the inhabitants thereof, shall hereafter belonge to Newe Towne, the wood & timber thereof, groweing & to be groweing to be reserved to the inhabitants of Boston, provided, & it is the meaning of the Court, that if Mr. Hooker, & the congregacon nowe settled here shall returne to Watertown, & the ground att Muddy Ryver to Boston."

But, notwithstanding these grants, and the further enlargement of the boundaries of Newe Towne, so as to "extend eight myles into the country, from their meeteing howse,"¹ in 1636, about one hundred of the inhabitants of Cambridge, consisting of the principal part of Rev. Mr. Hooker's church and congregation, which came there in 1632, removed "through a hideous and trackless wilderness to Connecticut, and commenced a settlement at Hartford."² This Colony consisted of men, women, and children, including Mr. Hooker and Mr. Stone, their pastor and teacher; and, being entirely unacquainted with the way, and having no guide but a compass, they passed over hills and through swamps, and thus rendered their journey through the wilderness more protracted, tedious, and trying to them than it otherwise would have been. They drove their cattle, to the number of about one hundred and sixty, with them, and subsisted mainly upon the milk of their flock. They had on their journey, at least, no reason to complain of "being straitened for the want of land, especially meadow." Their journey was long and trying. Mrs. Hooker, the wife of the pastor, was so feeble that she had to be carried upon a litter; and having but few comforts, and being compelled to make the ground their bed, and the sky their covering, they must have suffered severely. But their strong religious feeling, mingled, perhaps,

¹ This eight-mile line ran across the present town of Lexington, from a point on the Burlington line, near the Granger's Pond, through the meadow back of the Old Cemetery, and near the Town Pound to Lincoln line near the residence of T. H. Rhodes. [The Town Pound stood near the junction of Lincoln road and Hastings road. T. H. Rhodes's place is now a part of the property of the Cambridge Waterworks. *Ed.*]

² Holmes's History of Cambridge; Massachusetts Colony Records; Winthrop's Journal.

with a little worldly enterprise; their desire to build up a flourishing church, and, at the same time, to possess themselves of a large tract of land, sustained and supported them.

The removal of so many persons from Newe Towne was a matter of deep regret not only to the people of the place, but to the Colony. The General Court took every reasonable step to retain them; but being unable to satisfy the desires of these adventurous people, they at last gave their consent for their removal, on condition that they should consider themselves within the jurisdiction of the Massachusetts Colony, and hold themselves subject to her laws.¹

But though Mr. Hooker and his flock had departed, and the boundary of the town had been enlarged, those who remained still regarded their limits as too circumscribed, and manifested a desire to emigrate. The thirst for landed possessions, so peculiar to the first settlers in every country, appears to have infected our pious ancestors. They were enduring the hardships incident to a new settlement, and undoubtedly looked with anxiety to a time when they might, in some degree, rest from their severe toil, and have the consolation that when they should be called home, they could leave their children in a condition more favorable than that in which they commenced life. But that the small settlement at Newe Towne was not particularly pressed for room will appear from the fact that the township at that time included what is now Newton, Brighton, a part of Brookline, Arlington, one half of Lexington, and a portion of Belmont — a territory sufficiently large, one would suppose, to contain and support a few hundred inhabitants.

In 1636, the General Court contemplated the erection of a public school at Newe Towne, and appropriated four hundred pounds for that purpose; this laid the foundation of the University. In 1638, Rev. John Harvard, of Charlestown, endowed this school with about eight hundred pounds. Thus endowed, the school was exalted to a college, and assumed the name of its principal benefactor; and the General Court, in compliment to the college, and in memory of the place where many of their fathers received their education, passed, in

¹ Winthrop's Journal; Trumbull's History of Connecticut; Massachusetts Colony Records.

1638, the following order: "That Newe Towne shall henceforward be called Cambridge."¹

To heal the dissatisfaction which existed among the people, and to prevent any further emigration from the place, the General Court had taken measures to extinguish the Indian title within the boundaries of Cambridge, and had instituted inquiries concerning other unappropriated territory, with a view of annexing it to Newe Towne. In 1636, a committee was appointed to view the Shawshine country, and report whether it be fit for a plantation. In 1641, the Court passed the following order: —

"Shawshine is granted to Cambridge, provided they make it a village, to have ten families there settled within three years; otherwise the Court to dispose of it."

The Shawshine country being rather vague in its extent, and the character of the country being but little known, a committee was appointed to examine the premises and report to the Court. As their report, made in 1642, casts some light upon this subject, and fixes in some degree the territorial limits of Cambridge in that quarter, we give it entire: —

"Wee, whose names are underwritten, being appointed to viewe Shawshin, & to take notice of what fitness it was of for a village, & accordingly to our apprehensions make return to the court: we therefore manifest thus much, that for the quantity, it is sufficient; but for the quality in our apprehensions, no way fit, the upland being very barren, & very little meadow there about, nor any good timber almost fit for any use; we went after we came to shawshine house, by estimation some 14 or 16 miles at the least compass, from shawshin house wee began to go Downe the ryver 4 or 5 miles near east, then wee left that point, & went neere upon North, came to the Concord Ryver, a little belowe the falls, about one mile or neare; then wee went up the ryver some 5 miles, untill wee came to a place called the two bretheren; & from thence it is about two miles & $\frac{1}{2}$ to Shawshine, & the most part of all the good land is given out already; more land there is at the South side of the house between the side of Concord line, & the heade of Cambridge line, but

¹ The present village of Cambridge appears to have been designed as a fortified camp rather than a town. It contained only about one thousand acres, and was to have been inclosed by a ditch and stockade. In 1632, the Court ordered "that £60. be levied out of the several plantations toward the making of a pallysadoe aboute the Newe Towne." The fosse which was then dug about the place, says Dr. Holmes, in his History of Cambridge, is, in some places, visible to this day.

littell medow, & the upland of little worth; and this is that wee can say hearin.

"SYMON WILLARD,
"EDWARD CONVERS."

This Report, being rather unfavorable as to the character of the country, the Court enlarged their grant to Cambridge, and gave them further time to effect a settlement. The grant was in these words: —

"All the land lying upon the Sashin ryver, & between that & Concord ryver, & between that & the Merrimack ryver, not formerly granted by this Court, are granted to Cambridge, so as they erect village there within 5 yeares, & so as it shall not extend to preiudice Charlstowne village, or the village of Cochittawit, nor farmes formerly granted to the now governor of 1,200 acres, & to Thom: Dudley, Esq., 1,500 acres, & 3,000 acres to Mrs. Winthrop; & Mr. flint, & Mr. Stephen Winthrop are to set out their heade line towards Concord."

This liberal grant was made in 1642, but no permanent settlement being made, the church in 1644 was about to remove to Muttakeese (now Yarmouth?), where a settlement had recently been commenced. To counteract this movement, the General Court, in 1644, passed the following order: —

"Shawshin is granted to Cambridge without any Condition of makeing a village there, & the land between them & Concord is granted them all save what is formerly granted to the military Company, or others, provided the Church & present elders continue at Cambridge."¹

This grant of Shawshine, like most of the grants at that day, was very indefinite, so far as limits are concerned; it is impossible to say, with precision, what was included. It is generally admitted that the Shawshine grant extended to the Merrimack River. It is sufficient to our purpose to know that it included all the town of Billerica, the greater portion of Bedford, and all that part of Lexington north of the eight-mile line. Billerica was incorporated in 1655 into a town by the consent of Cambridge. It was at that time a large territory, bounded on Cambridge Farms, Chelmsford, Andover, Woburn, and Concord.

¹ Massachusetts Colony Records. Williams's Century Sermon, preached at Lexington, March 31, 1813.

It is difficult to determine, with precision, the date of the first settlements at Cambridge Farms, as the territory was included in Cambridge; and the records of any event in that town do not generally specify in what part of the town it occurred. Had Lexington been an independent community, with records of its own, many dates could have been fixed which are now left to conjecture. This part of the town appears to have been regarded as the *wood-lots* and the *hay-fields* of Cambridge. We have seen, already, a complaint that they had a deficiency of *meadows*. Such land at that time was held in high estimation, as it was generally free from wood,¹ and in a condition for mowing fields without the labor of clearing. The people could therefore avail themselves at once of the grass from the meadows, and thus support their herds of cattle, much earlier and more easily than if they were compelled to clear dense forests and subdue the soil. Lexington, at that period, had a considerable share of open land; hence it was sought by those who resided in the old town. The consequence was that the first lands taken up were held in a good degree by non-residents.

As early as 1642, Herbert Pelham, Richard Champney, Edward Goffee, John Bridge, Edward Collins, John Russell, Golden Moore, Edward Winship, Richard Parke, John Betts, and Thomas Danforth were proprietors of land within this township.² It is probable that most of them, instead of removing to their lands, continued their residence in Cambridge proper, or in some of the settlements near Boston. Most of these gentlemen were among the early and prominent settlers of Cambridge, and were largely engaged in land speculations, not only in Cambridge Farms, but elsewhere. Such men would not be very likely to remove from comfortable homes in Cambridge to a new settlement, where they would be subjected to many privations and hardships.

¹ At the first settlement of the country, most of the meadows and some of the uplands, were found free from wood and brush, like the prairies and openings at the West. This is generally ascribed to the periodical fires set by the Indians, for the purpose of destroying the hiding-places of their game, and at the same time to enable them to discover, in open land, the approach of an enemy, and to give them an opportunity of attacking them from their coverts, while the enemy was exposed in the open ground. The fact that these meadows are so strongly inclined, in these days, to grow up to wood and brush, shows that some such cause must have kept them open then.

² See *The First English Proprietors of the Site of Lexington Village*, by Rev. C. A. Staples, *Proc. Lex. Hist. Soc.*, Vol. II, p. 5. *Ed.*

Nor is it easy to determine where their lands were situated. The Proprietors' Records cast but little light upon the subject. Where A is bounded upon B, and B upon A, we are simply informed that these lands were contiguous, without knowing the locality of either. Occasionally we find an item bearing upon the location of some of the lots. In 1642, we find a grant¹ to Herbert Pelham: "At the further side of Vine brooke one house and Six hundred Acr of land Concord Lyne north John Bridge West." The same record the same year contains the following entry in favor of Edward Goffee: "By vyne Brooke, Six hundred Acr of land more or lesse Herbert Pelham Esqr. & John Bridge north." Under date of January 15, 1645, we have an entry which not only shows to whom the grant was made, but also the indefinite character of the description or boundary, so common at that day. "According to a former act of the townsmen in the year 1643, as appears unto us by their acknowledgment under their hands, it is now also ratified by these presents, 15 (11) 1645 John Bridge, a grant unto him as appears in the grant book Twenty Acr of plowe-land, on this side Vine-brooke Eastward, neere vnto the place where his stacks of hay did stand. In lieu of a lott of vnbroken land in the necke of land."

It is impossible to state when the first settlement was made at the Farms. As this part of Cambridge was used to obtain hay, it is most likely that the first residents spent only a portion of the year here, and, like fashionable gentlemen at this day, had both a summer and a winter residence. But, be this as it may, it appears that Pelham's grant, in 1642, had a house standing upon it, and that John Bridge had stacks of hay upon his land near Vine Brook, prior to 1645. These lands must have been situated in the southwesterly part of the town near the source of Vine Brook, and were probably among the first lands settled. There is one peculiarity in relation to the settlement of this township, viz., the earliest settlers were generally located near the respective borders of the town, as we shall have occasion to show hereafter. This probably arose from the fact that it was an appendage to another town.² Had it been an independent, original grant,

¹ This grant was undoubtedly made first to Roger Herlarkenden, whose widow Pelham married. *Ed.*

² Mr. Staples's later investigations would seem to show that this peculiarity of settlement was due to the fact that the greater part of what is now the centre of Lexington was held in the single so-called Pelham grant. *Ed.*

some central point would have been selected, around which the population would cluster. Then they would have had their own records, and any act of an individual would have been set down as a part of the history of the place. But as it is, we have to look to the Records of Cambridge, and are unable to say whether they resided at the Farms or in Cambridge proper.

Without pretending to state the exact order or the date of their settlement, we can safely say that the Bridges, Winships, Cutlers, Fiskes, Stones, Bowmans, Merriams, Russells, Wellingtons, Munroes, Tidds, Reeds, Whitmores, and Smiths were among the earliest settlers and the most numerous families.¹ We will endeavor to give the general location of these and the other early families. To begin with those who settled on or near what is now the line of Arlington (formerly West Cambridge²): Edward Winship was one of the original owners of land within the present limits of Lexington, though he probably never lived within the township. He owned a large tract bordering upon the Arlington line, extending from near the Main Street or Concord Road, as it is called in the old Records, north of Gilboa,³ including the lands now occupied by one of his descendants, and also Mount Ephraim, which took its name from his eldest son, Ephraim, who resided near it. Edward Winship, or Lieutenant Winship, as he was generally called, erected a sawmill on what was then denominated Mill Brook, on or near the site of the present fur factory.⁴ This was undoubtedly the first mill set up within the township. At what time it was erected, we are not able to say; probably as early as 1650. Lieutenant Winship, according to the custom of that day, kept his property in his own hands during life, and left it by will, in 1688, to his sons Ephraim, Edward, Samuel, and Joseph. The greater part of this property remained in the Winship family for several generations. They were large landholders, and were promi-

¹ Compare Genealogies (Vol. II). *Ed.*

² The tract of territory formerly known as West Cambridge was a part of Cambridge till 1807, when it was erected into a town. Its Indian name was Menotomy, and it was afterwards known as the West Precinct. In 1867, the inhabitants petitioned the Legislature for a change of the name of their town, and it was altered to Arlington.

³ Now known as Crescent Hill. *Ed.*

⁴ For an account of the fur industry, see Proc. Lex. Hist. Soc., Vol. II, p. 171, article by G. O. Smith. The factory referred to long ago disappeared. *Ed.*

ment among the early settlers. Nor were their possessions confined to the northern side of the Concord Road;¹ they owned land on the hill on the south side.

Francis Whitmore was an early settler in Lexington, and must have resided on the southerly side of Main Street, below Cutler's Tavern,² near the present line between Lexington and Arlington. The act constituting Cambridge Farms a legal precinct, refers to the residence of Francis Whitmore in describing the boundary line as "running on the southerly side of Francis Whitmore's house towards the town of Cambridge." Mr. Whitmore married a daughter of Richard Parke, one of the first proprietors of lands at the Farms, about 1648, and probably came to the place soon after his marriage. He became a large landholder in Cambridge and the neighboring towns. He died in 1685, and his son Samuel succeeded him on his place.

Southwesterly of Francis Whitmore, and near the present Arlington and Belmont lines, was the Bowman family.³ Nathaniel Bowman, of Watertown, purchased land of Edward Goffee, in Cambridge Farms, to which he removed. He died in 1682, leaving his real estate to his son Francis, by will, dated 1679. Francis died in 1687, leaving, among other children, Francis and Joseph, who became very prominent men in Lexington. They resided on or near Watertown Street, in the neighborhood of the present residence of the Lawrences.

Southwesterly of the Bowmans were the Wellingtons, the descendants of Roger Wellington, of Watertown, though they did not come to town till a later period. No portion of the original farm is in possession of the Wellingtons at the present day.

Farther to the west were the Smiths, who came to Lexington from Watertown and Waltham, then a part of Watertown. They were in possession of a large portion of the southerly part of the town, where many of their descendants reside at the present day. They were not, however, among the earliest settlers at the Farms.⁴

Westerly of the Smiths, on lands now partly in Lexington

¹ Now Massachusetts Avenue. *Ed.*

² Afterwards known as the Willard House. Now a private residence. *Ed.*

³ See *Genealogies* (vol. II.) Also *The History of the Bowman Family*. *Ed.*

⁴ See article entitled *Kite End*, by A. Bradford Smith, *Proc. Lex. Hist. Soc.*, Vol. II, p. 99. *Ed.*

and partly in Lincoln, were the Abbots, who came from Andover; the Stones, who came from Cambridge; and the Merriams, who came from Concord. Northerly of these and nearer the centre of the town, were the Bridges,¹ who came from Cambridge, and were among the very first permanent residents in the place. There were also living in the southwesterly part of the township at a later period, John Parker, Daniel White, Thomas Hastings, John Palfrey, Benjamin Stearns, George Adams, Daniel Hoar, Judah Clark, Thomas Nelson, and Nathaniel Whittemore. Still more northwesterly, on what was then the Concord line, James Cutler, the ancestor of those of that name in Lexington, settled as early, perhaps, as 1648, and consequently was among the very earliest settlers. He took up his abode on what is now known as Wood Street, on or near the estate where William Hartwell now resides (now owned by Francis Maguire).

In the northerly part of the town, on Bedford Street, and on land still in possession of his descendants of the same name, William Reed from Woburn settled about 1685. He was a large landholder, and had numerous descendants. He and his son William became prominent in the town. Northwesterly of the Reeds, on the other side of Tophet Swamp,² so called, Thomas Kendall, probably from Woburn, settled at an early day. On Bedford Street, at or near the late residence of James Pierce, originally from Watertown, resided, as early as 1694, John Lawrence. He was the ancestor of the Groton family of Lawrences, of whom Amos and Abbott were prominent members. Northwesterly of this, and on what is now known as the "Page Place" in Bedford, Joseph Fassett, for many years a prominent citizen of Lexington, resided as early as 1700. Jonathan Trask was a resident in Lexington at a period somewhat later. He lived on the northerly side of the meadow westerly of Bedford Street. He was one of the largest farmers in the town. In the neighborhood of Lawrence and Fassett, Nathaniel Dunkley resided; and William Grimes had his abode northwesterly of John Lawrence, and near the present line of Burlington.

The northerly part of the town bordering upon Woburn, now Burlington, was first settled by the Lockes,³ who came

¹ See Matthew Bridge, *Lex. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, Vol. 1, p. 54. *Ed.*

² Now largely converted into arable land. *Ed.*

³ See Amos Locke, *Proc. Lex. Hist. Soc.*, Vol. 1, p. 67. *Ed.*

from Woburn; their houses were on the Woburn side of the line. Thomas Blodgett, from Woburn, came to Lexington about 1690, and settled on Adams Street, near the Gibbs place.¹ Between the Blodgetts and the centre of the town were William Carly, John Johnson, and John Harrington, who was the ancestor of one branch of the numerous family of the name of Harrington.

The Tidds, who came from Woburn, settled in Lexington about 1680. They were at one time quite a numerous family, and lived where Mr. Charles Tidd now resides.² The residence of Mr. Nathan Chandler³ was originally a Tidd place. In the same neighborhood Mr. Joseph Simonds settled about 1681. He was also from Woburn, and, marrying into the Tidd family, located himself near his father-in-law, on the place now owned and occupied by Mr. Charles Johnson.⁴

Farther to the east, on what is now Woburn Street, William Munroe, the ancestor of the numerous family of that name in Lexington and vicinity, settled at an early day near Woburn line. He became a large landholder, and six of his sons settled around him. As the Munroes were of Scotch descent, they gave the name of their fatherland to that section of the town, which has retained the name of "Scotland" to the present day. He probably came to Lexington about 1670.⁵ In the same neighborhood, but nearer the centre of the town, the Russells, who came early from Cambridge, fixed their abode. They were also large landholders, and owned several tracts of land on the easterly side of what was then familiarly known as "Mill Brook." Colonel Phillip Russell resides upon land long in possession of his ancestors of the same name.⁶

The Fiskes, a somewhat numerous family, were among the first settlers at the Farms. They were located on East Street near the residence of the late Joseph Fiske. One branch of the family fixed its residence on the place now occupied by

¹ Corner of Adams and North Streets. *Ed.*

² The house was removed a number of years ago. *Ed.*

³ No. — Hancock Street. *Ed.*

⁴ No. — Hancock Street. *Ed.*

⁵ See *History of the Munros*, by Alexander Mackenzie, Inverness, 1897. Also *The Book of the Lockes*. *Ed.*

⁶ Now the property of George H. Harlow and W. L. Reynolds on Woburn Street. *Ed.*

Joseph F. Simonds, on Hancock Street.¹ Some of the family subsequently settled on the Concord Road, and hence the name of "Fiske Hill."

Having drawn this general outline, and spoken of the families who resided in the outer parts of the town, it will be expected that we fill up the picture, and give the names of the families who resided in the centre. We have already intimated that the first settlers resided near the boundaries of the town, when there were no inhabitants in what is now regarded as the village. As their families increased, and the idea of becoming a separate parish was agitated, they would naturally turn their minds to some central point for a village. This would, as a matter of course, induce some of the sons of the first settlers to seek lands near the proposed village for their abode. There were also some families coming into town which would naturally desire the same central location. This contributed to the increase of population in the village. Among those who came into town and settled in the centre, was Benjamin Muzzy, probably from Malden, who bought his farm in 1693. He came to the precinct about that time, and took up his habitation on the place which Rufus Merriam now occupies.² He was the ancestor of all the Lexington men of that name. A few years later, John Mason, from Watertown, settled on the Main Street near the old Munroe Tavern, and hence the name of "Mason's Hollow."

There is no plan of the township with the lots laid down, and hence it is impossible to state the exact location of the early families. The description given above will serve as a general guide, and other incidents and facts disclosed in the sequel will cast further light upon the subject.

The growth of the settlement was at first slow. A large share of the land being held by speculators, they would naturally retain it in their hands with the hope of an advance in price. The unsettled state of our relations with the Indians would doubtless deter many from leaving the older settlements, where they felt perfectly secure, and settling in a more exposed township. It is true that the place was never disturbed by the incursions of the savages, yet the fact that

¹ 63 Hancock Street. Occupied at present by Rev. J. M. Wilson. Dr. Fiske was a surgeon at the Battle of Lexington. *Ed.*

² The Buckman Tavern, near the Common. *Ed.*

during Philip's War, they burned Sudbury, Groton, Andover, and Chelmsford must have spread terror and dismay through this settlement, at least so far as to check its increase. But after that desolating struggle was terminated by the death of Philip in 1676, the people had rest; and this, as well as other new settlements, received some accessions. In 1682, the number of the families at the Farms amounted to about thirty, and the number of souls to about one hundred and eighty. Several of these families had come to the place within two or three years.

But in addition to the unavoidable privations of a new settlement, they were destitute of what was considered by our pious fathers one of the indispensable prerequisites to the growth and prosperity of the place. They had no ministry among them, and so had no convenient opportunity of enjoying the ordinances of the Gospel, without travelling from five to ten miles. With this state of things they could not long be contented. Johnson, in his *Wonder-Working Providence*, has justly said of our fathers, "It is as unnatural for a right New England man to live without an able ministry, as for a smith to work his iron without fire." Actuated by such feelings as are here implied, in October, 1682, the people petitioned the General Court to be set off as a distinct parish. This petition was signed by James Cutler, Matthew Bridge, Sen., David Fiske, Sen., Samuel Stone, Sen., Francis Whitmore, John Tidd, Ephraim Winship, and John Winter, in behalf of themselves and the inhabitants of the Farms. The people of Cambridge zealously opposed the separation, and the prayer of the petitioners was not granted.

The application, however, was renewed in 1684, when the Court appointed a Committee to inquire into the merits of the case; and if they were satisfied that the prayer ought to be granted, to report a suitable boundary for the parish. The Committee, after due investigation, reported favorably to the petitioners; but the opposition of Cambridge again prevailed and the report of the Committee was defeated. Conscious of the rectitude of their intentions and the justice of their cause, they renewed their petition in 1691; when the Court, in view of the inconvenience under which they labored, and of the growth of the settlement, granted their request, as will be seen by an entry upon their Journal under date of December 15, 1691.¹

¹ See *The Parish of Cambridge Farms*, Proc. Lex. Hist. Soc., Vol. III, p. 25. Ed.

"Upon reading of the Petition of the Farmers and Inhabitants of the Farms within the Precincts, and Bounds of the Town of Cambridge towards Concord, therein setting forth their distance, (the neerest of them Living above five Miles) from Cambridge Meeting house, the Place of the Public Worship Praying that According to former Applications by them several Years since made unto this Court, for the Advantage of themselves, families, and Posterity, they may have this Courts favour, and License in Order to the calling of a fit Minister for dispensing the Gospell among them; as also that they may be a distinct Village for the Ends Proposed in their said Petition, The Select Men of Cambridge having had a Copy of Sd Petition sent them with a Notification of the time for their being heard thereupon, this day and Accordingly Attending.

"After a full hearing, and Consideration of what was Offered by both Parties; It is granted, and Ordered by this Court that the Petitioners be, and are hereby Permitted, and Allowed to invite, and Settle, an Able, and Orthodox Minister, for the dispensing of the Gospell, among them; And that all Inhabitants living within the Line formerly stated by a Committee of this Court, Anno 1684, beginning at the first run of Water, or Swampy Place over which is a Kind of a Bridge in the way on the Southerly side of Francis Whitmores house towards the Town of Cambridge Aforesaid cross the Neck of Land lying between Woburn Line, and that of Watertown side, upon a Southwest, and Northeast course, do Pay unto the Ministers maintenance there, And are hereby Empowered Annually to chuse three, or five meet Persons to Assess their Inhabitants for the Support, and Maintenance of their Minister, As also a Constable, or Collector to gather the Same, by Warrant from the said Assessors. The Said Farmers not being hereby discharged from Paying their Proportion as formerly unto all Public charges in the Town, Except what refers to the Ministry, so long as they Maintain an Able Minister among themselves."

In the description of the boundary of the precinct only one line is mentioned; the other portions bordering on Watertown, Woburn, Concord, and Billerica, rendered a description of those lines unnecessary. The order conferring corporate powers upon the people of the Farms constituted them a precinct and gave them authority to manage their parochial affairs; but in all other respects they remained a part of Cambridge as before.

Being incorporated December, 1691, the people assembled for the first time under the act, on the 22d of April, 1692, and made choice of David Fiske, Sen., as "Clark to wright the

votes of the inhabitants of this place, and keep a Record of them." This was the first corporate act of the farmers, and here their records commence. Before this date, all we know of the people of Cambridge Farms is gleaned from the Cambridge records, and other records and papers found in the hands of individuals. At their first meeting, April 22, after organizing by the choice of a clerk, they proceeded to carry out the object for which they had sought corporate powers, namely, that of obtaining a stated ministry.

"it was voted that Mr Benjamin Eastabrook shall be the man that shold be invited to preach to them by a clear voat and that he shall be spoken to to preach to us a year from the first of may 1692 and that Samuell Stone sen^r and David ffiske sen^r shold speak to him to com and preach to us as abouesaid."

"it was voted that wee will give him 40 pounds for a year half in mony (viz) 20 pounds and 20 pounds in other pay at mony prise and that it shold be for his salory and to sattisfy for his Entertainment."

Previous to this meeting and probably immediately after obtaining their act of incorporation in December, 1691, an effort was made to erect a meeting-house in the precinct, and a subscription was set on foot to obtain funds for that purpose. This subscription is preserved, and is the oldest paper upon our records. It becomes exceedingly valuable, as it bears the names of the principal inhabitants and shows the interest they felt in the cause of religious institutions. It not only contains the names of the inhabitants, but is generally a fair relative valuation of the property which each one possessed; for it should be remembered that at that day and for such an object, the people generally contributed according to their means. I shall have occasion to refer to this list frequently in the sequel.

*The subscription of the several Parsons towards the first Bulding of
the meeting house*

Names	Sum £ s.	Names	Sum £ s.
David flake senor	2 10	Brought up	38 18
Samuel Stone senor	1 10	Joseph Teed	1 00
Mathew Bridg	1 10	Joseph Lock	1 00
Ephrim Winship	2 10	Isaac Sterns	1 00
John Winter	1 00	Samuell Teed	* 00
Joseph Symons	1 00	James Cutler	1 00
William monRoe	2 00	Daniell Stone	1 00
John Russell	2 12	John Cutler	12
Thomas Cutler	2 00	John Hews	1 10
David flake jun ^{or}	1 00	Jonathan Knight	1 00
Philip Russell	1 16	William Johnson	1 10
William Carly	1 10	Samuell Whitmore	1 10
corp John Stone	1 10	Mathew Bridg	1 00
John Johnson north	1 10	Thomas Blogit	1 00
corp William Read	2 00	Sam ⁿ Stone dauids son	1 00
Samuell Winship	1 00	John Winter jun ^r	16
John Meriam	1 10	Josiah Hoba	10
Robert Meriam	1 10	John Teed sen ^{or}	2 10
Thomas Johnson	1 06	Joseph Meriam	1 10
John monRoe	1 00	Sam ⁿ Stone west	1 00
John Stone west	1 10	Benjamin Mossy	2 00
	<u>£38 18</u>		<u>£38 01</u>

* Figure torn. Ed.

It will be observed that several of the names in the above list are distinguished by the points of the compass, as "North," and "West." This addition was for the purpose of distinguishing them from persons of the same name, and was a poor substitute for senior and junior.

The following is the tax-bill for the payment of the minister's salary from May 1, 1692, to May 1, 1693:—

	£ s. d.		£ s. d.
David fiske sen ^{or}	1 11 0	<i>Brought up</i>	26 14 3
Sam ^l Stone sen ^{or}	2 2 0	John Stone East	16 3
widow Meriam	1 12 0	John Winter	1 1 0
Joseph Meriam	14 6	John Meriam	16 9
Isaac Sterns	16 9	Joseph Symons	17 9
John Ston of the west	13 6	John Cutler	10 6
Samuel Stone East	13 0	Obadiah Johnson	7 6
Thomas Cutler	18 9	Joseph Perce	7 0
John Johnson	13 0	Thomas Rugg	6 0
Ephreim Winship	1 3 9	John Commy	6 0
Samuell Winship	16 0	David fiske jun ^{or}	1 00 0
John Russell	18 6	Thomas Smith	15 6
Philip Russell	1 00 0	John Smith	7 0
william mon Roe sen ^r	1 17 0	Samuell Stone west	18 0
John monRoe	8 0	Joseph Stone	9 6
Benjeman Musse	1 16 6	nathaniel Bowman	7 6
John Hews	12 9	francis Bowman	1 1 0
William Carly	1 00 3	Samuell Whitmore	13 0
William Johnson	8 6	Gorge Adams sen ^r	6 0
William Read	19 9	Gorge Adams jun ^r	11 0
John Teed	1 00 0	David Stone	8 6
Joseph Teed	9 0	John Axlin *	6 0
Samuell Teed	7 6	Josiah Hobs	6 0
Daniel Teed	7 6	Will monRoe jun ^r	6 0
Isreall Mead	1 3 0	John Poulter	7 6
Joseph Lock	10 6	Daniell Stone	8 6
Mathew Bridg sen ^{or}	1 11 0	John Sterns	8 6
Mathew Bridg jun ^r	10 3		
	<u>£26 14 3</u>		<u>£41 12 6</u>

David fiske
Samuel Stone
Ephreim Winship
assessors

* Perhaps Ap^ln. Ed.

These two papers, the subscription for the meeting-house, and the first tax-bill for the support of their minister, are both valuable, as they contain the names of all the male inhabitants, and show us who were the largest holders of real estate at the incorporation of the precinct. The tax-bill contains a full list of the ratable inhabitants, while the subscription, though it does not bear the name of every citizen, contains the names of some who were not resident in the place, but felt an interest in the prosperity of the settlement. There is also a remarkable coincidence between the tax and the subscription, which speaks well for the liberality of the inhabitants. On the subscription, David Fiske, Sen., Samuel

Stone, Sen., Matthew Bridge, Sen., Ephraim Winship, Joseph Simonds, and William Munroe stand the six highest, and on the tax-bill the same gentlemen maintain their relative position. In fact, the two papers show that each one was willing to bear his share of the burdens of supporting religious institutions, whether they were imposed by a tax or left to his voluntary offering, — a fact which, we fear, would put many members of religious societies at this day to the blush.

The last tax-bill spread out upon the record is in 1696, and bears the names of about a dozen taxpayers not found on the list three years before. This increase consists of several young men who had arrived at a taxable age, and several others who had come into town. Among the latter were Ebenezer Whitney, Ebenezer Nutting, Daniel White, Joseph Grant, John Wilson, James Wilson, and John Lawrence. I have been thus particular in giving the names of the taxpayers, because it fixes the residence of individuals, and gives, approximately, the population at that period.

Being organized as a parish, the people took measures to secure to themselves the great object for which they had sought corporate powers, the enjoyment of a Gospel ministry. The meeting-house contemplated by the subscription of which we have spoken was erected early in the year 1692. It was located at the junction of the Concord and Bedford roads, near where the hay-scales now stand.¹ Having engaged Mr. Estabrook to preach for them one year and provided a house of worship, they looked forward to a continued ministry and its permanent support. At their second parish meeting, held March 1, 1692-93, after choosing their appropriate officers, they adopted the following measure, the effect of which is felt to this day: —

“It was voted that a pece of land shall be bought for the minestry and payd for by the inhabitants by a rate.”

“David ffiske, sen^r, Samuel Stone, sen^r, Ephreim Winship, Benjamin Muzze, William Roe and John Teed shall treat with the town of Cambridg to bye or obtain a pece of land for our mines-try.”

At a meeting on the 24th of the same month

“it was voated that we will Improue men Chosen to treat with the

¹ The location is indicated by a stone pulpit placed behind the Hayes Fountain.
Ed.

selectmen of Cambridg and their Commity abought the pirsching the land abought the Casey and to make a full agreement with them either to by the wholl of sd land or part of it (which thay se best) for our minestry: and we ingage to stand to what those men shall agree unto and that we will bare euery one their proportion of mony for the pirschis of sd land."

The men chosen as aforesaid were David Fiske, Sen., Samuel Stone, Sen., John Teed, Ephraim Winship, Benjamin Muzzy, William Munroe, Sen., William Reed, and Francis Bowman, — the last two being added to the former committee.

"thes men met with the select men of Cambridg and bought all the comon land afor named namly that on the east side of the Casey by mesur for 10 shilings ye acre 12 acres 6 pounds and the rest of the comon land on the other sid & on the south side of Vine brook medow for 12 pounds all in mony this was don Aprill 28 1693 as appear under the hand of the Town Clark (of Cambridge) Jonathan Remington a Rate was made for the payment of this mony upon all the inhabitants."

This was the foundation of the Ministerial Fund, which has proved, as such funds generally do, a source of evil as well as good.

After adopting measures for the support of the ministry, the people were desirous of having a settled minister. Mr. Estabrook had been employed only by the year, and, being gratified with his labors, they were anxious that the tenure of the relation should be rendered more permanent; and hence, at their meeting March 24, 1692-93, they adopted the following hearty and sincere vote, though rather equivocally expressed: —

"at a meeting of the Inhabitants it was voted that we will give m^r Benjamin Eastabrook a call to setel with us our minister for time to com till gods providens shall other ways dispose of him."

To show the sincerity of the invitation, and their high appreciation of him as a man and as their spiritual guide, it was voted at a subsequent meeting, "that we will buld a house for m^r Benjamin Eastabrook upon his own land 42 foot long and 18 foot wide 14 foot stud and a silor under one of the rooms . . . and ingage to pay every man his prepor-tion to the bulding and finishing the same and we giue power

to the select men to leuy the charg upon euery man in our presents."

When this house was finished, it was presented to him on the following liberal and manly terms: "Voted that the house bult for Mr. Benjamin Eastabrook shold be deliuered to him freely without any obligation but his setteling with us and his taking ofis with us and abiding with us." This house was situated on the easterly bank of Vine Brook, between Main Street (now Massachusetts Avenue) and the railroad.

Having given Mr. Estabrook a call to the permanent work of the ministry among them, they recommended the formation of a church, and adopted measures for his ordination. But while they were preparing for the settlement of a minister, they did not overlook the house in which he was to hold forth, and where they were to attend upon his teaching. The meeting-house, erected in 1692, appears not to have been finished in the inside. But with the increase of their means, and the prospect of a settled minister, they were desirous of "setting their house in order." At a meeting held July 26, 1695, they adopted a vote, replete with care and gallantry, showing that they were alive to every good work, and not behind the times in all improvements save in orthography.

"it was voated that the meeting house shal first be repayered and that the bodey of seats shall be driuen back and that ther shall be a table set up befor the body of seats the whol length of the body of seats and that the meeting house shall be seelled with pine bords and hansom seats for women made on each side the meting house raised to a conueniant height of which that on the east side next the door shal be for m^r Eastabrook."

It was also "voated that the galorys shall be in larged and thre seats made on Each side galory and fouer seats in the front galory all made and well finished"; and "Samuell Winship, Jonathan Poulter, Samuell Stone, west, Joseph Teed, and Benjamin Muzzey" were entrusted with the execution of the work.

Having provided a house for Mr. Estabrook, and for the refitting of the meeting-house, they made further provision for his maintenance — the sum heretofore offered being deemed inadequate. It was voted, —

"1) that for the next three years to com we will giue him for his salory forty fiue pounds £ year to be payd him half in mony and the

other halfe if it be not payd in mony then what it is shall be payd to him at mony prise Also that their shall be one contribution euery quarter of the year the aboue said three years and what is then giuen shall be payd to sd m^r Eastabrook besids the aboue named 45 pounds

"2) it was voted that after the foresaid thre years ar out the 4 quarterly Contrebutions shal seas: and for the futer we will pay for his salory fifty six pounds $\frac{2}{3}$ year in and as mony he continewing to preach with us and to take offis with us

"3) it was also voted that the select men or assessors and the Constable for the time being being Chosen from year to year shall stand ingaged for the payment of the aforesd salory and clear up their accounts with the minister within their year: and that what is payd that is not mony shall be brought to the minestors hous by the persons rated their preportion to pay and the account brought in by them to the Constable."

These terms being acceptable to Mr. Estabrook, the 21st of October, 1696, was fixed upon for his ordination, and the selectmen and John Merriam were directed "to prouid what is nesessary for the entertainment of the majestrats ministors and mesingers of the chirches that day."

Mr. Estabrook was accordingly ordained, October 21, 1696, agreeably to the arrangement. Thus was perfected the great purpose for which they had for years been laboring. They built them a house of worship; they had gathered a Christian church; and to give life and vitality to the institutions of religion in their midst, and especially to render their Gospel privileges permanent, they had a tried and faithful pastor settled over them, according to the usages of the churches. No doubt they regarded this as an important era in their history, and looked forward with fond anticipation to years of Christian edification and prosperity. But alas, how uncertain are human anticipations! How fleeting are our visions of bliss! On the 22d of July, 1697, after a ministry of only nine months, Mr. Estabrook was removed from his earthly labors, to the great regret of his little flock.

Soon after the death of Mr. Estabrook, the attention of the society was directed to Mr. John Hancock, son of Nathaniel Hancock, of Cambridge. On the 7th of November, 1697, the parish made choice of him to preach for them till the May following as a candidate for settlement. He complied with their request, and subsequently received a call for a perma-

nent settlement — which he accepted; and on the 2d of November, 1698, he was publicly ordained as their pastor. They agreed to give him eighty pounds as a settlement, and to pay him the same salary they had given his predecessor, Rev. Mr. Estabrook.

Having settled their minister on terms acceptable to the parties, the attention of the people was again called to their house of worship, and to the accommodation of the worshippers. It seems that liberty had been given to Captain William Reed "to make a sette for his wiffe in ye meeting house one ye mens side in the hindemost seate fieve foote of ye east end of it: and so up to the stayers against it: — was then granted to him for ye use forementioned." The erection of this seat by Captain Reed induced others to make a similar application, and at a meeting held March 6, 1698-99, "Liberty was granted to Robert Meriam: Joseph Stone: John Poulter: Jonathan Poulter: John Roe: & : Thomas Meriam: to buield a seat for thar wifes on the within backe side of the meeting house from Goodwiffe Reeds seatt: to ye womens stayers."

But these individual efforts failed to meet the public wants, and the parish itself took the matter in hand. At a meeting, September 16, 1700, "it was then agreed that they would build tow uper galleries: and put it into the hands of the assessors and Comittee to doe it desently and well and to agre with ye workman for the price of it: thise Comittee is to be understod that that Comittee that Comittee that was chose at the last publike metting In June."

Though the people at the Farms had asked simply to be incorporated as a parish, and gave their first attention and care to the church, they did not entirely overlook the affairs of state. Feeling that they were in danger from sudden incursions of the Indians, and that their distance from the village of Cambridge, where the arms and ammunition were deposited, rendered those supplies nearly useless to them in case of a sudden attack, they directed "Capt: william Reed, Lt: Th: Cutteller & Ensigne simond ware Chosen to petition the town of Cambridge that: that parte of the Publique stock of Amunition In the town which is supposd to beLong to our share: may be Kept In the parish: — & it was also votted yt these thre gentlemen forementioned should take care for: & prouied a place to kep it In."

HANCOCK-CLARKE HOUSE
MUNROE TAVERN

BUCKMAN TAVERN
JONATHAN HARRINGTON HOUSE

Nor did the good people of the parish overlook the wants of the rising generation. "It was allso agreed & Votted that the town be requested to aLow six pounds out of the town Ratte for ye Incorragm^t of a scholle In ye Precinct." Neither did they confine their care to mere intellectual culture such as would be taught in the schools. They saw the importance of moral and religious culture, and felt it their duty to watch over the morals of the children and youth; and hence at a meeting held March 2, 1701-02, "It was allso Votted that Joseph Lock: Jno Laurence: John Mason & Jonathan Poullter: be requested to to take sum pruedent Care that the Chilldren & youth may nott play att metting: and thareby Profane the Lords Day."

And while they were desirous that their children should be brought up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord, and so become ornaments of His church, and reflect honor upon the religion they professed, they had a just appreciation of the temporal wants of him whom they had chosen as their spiritual guide, and upon whose labors they must depend, in a great degree, in accomplishing that desirable and all-important end. Hence it was "voted that the Reuerend Mr: Hancock his Sallory should be advanct to sixty Pound: Payablle as before: and the quarterly Contrebutions to Continue till further order." It was also voted that Mr. Hancock be allowed to take timber from the parish land to repair his buildings and fences, and wood sufficient to supply his fires.

The meeting-house¹ erected in 1692, stood at the junction of the Concord and Bedford roads, near the present hay-scales, and was upon land included within the highways; the land which now constitutes the Common being private property. Seeing the propriety of securing a plot near the meeting-house for a public common, at a meeting held in April, 1711, it was agreed by the inhabitants of the precinct to buy the land about the meeting-house, of Mr. Benjamin Muzzy, and to do it by subscription. A paper was accordingly drawn up and circulated, and the following names and sums were obtained:—

¹ Site now marked by a stone pulpit. *Ed.*

	s. d.		£ s. d.
Capt: Joseph Estabrook	10 0	<i>Brought up</i>	8 9 0
Ensign: Joseph Bowman	10 0	Thomas Ruge	4 0
Benjamin Muzze	10 0	Joseph miriam	5 0
Matthew Bridge	10 0	Sam ^l stearnes	3 0
Sam ^l Stone	10 0	Joseph Pearce	4 0
Deacon Sam ^l stone	10 0	Isaac stearnes	6 0
Deacon John miriam	6 0	Joseph stone	5 0
John mason	6 0	Sherebiah Kebe	1 0
Sam ^l Locke	6 0	Ensigne Joseph simonds	5 0
william Russell	4 0	Thomas Bloggitt	5 0
George munroe	10 0	Joseph Teed	8 0
Joseph Loring	5 0	Thomas meads	6 0
Epharim winship	4 0	David Russell	2 6
John muzzye	2 6	Joseph Locke	5 0
John mun-roe	4 0	fransise whittmore	4 0
Robert miriam	7 0	Richard muszye	5 0
James Russell	2 0	Sam ^l winship	5 0
John Cutteller sen ^r	5 0	Sam ^l whittmore sen ^r	6 0
widdow fiske	2 0	Joseph Brown	6 0
David meade	5 0	william mun-roe Ju ^r	6 0
widdow Hannah Stone	2 6	Isaac Hunt	5 0
Daniell stone	3 0	Daniell mun-roe	3 0
John stone west	5 0	John Russell senir	3 0
Sam ^l stone Jun ^r	6 0	Elihue wardwell	2 0
David fiske sen	5 0	John Come	2 0
Jonathan fiske	5 0	Capt: william Reed	10 0
Robert fiske	2 0	Phillip Russell sen ^r	10 0
Thomas miriam	5 0	Lt: Thomas Cutteller	6 0
	£8 9 0		£15 3 6 ^a

! ; * Also another contribution of 5^s.; the name is torn, but appears to be "Cutteller." Ed.

This subscription fell a trifle short of the purchase money, which was sixteen pounds, and was undoubtedly made up by individuals. The deed given by Mr. Muzzy, bearing date June 14, 1711, acknowledges the receipt of sixteen pounds, paid by "the Inhabitants of that most Northerly part and precinct of Cambridge Commonly Called Cambridge ffarms towards Concord," and grants "to ye sd Inhabitants and their Successors for Ever, a Certaine parcell of Land, by Estimation one acre and a halfe more or less lying and being Situate in Cambridge ffarms nigh the meeting house, and is bounded Northerly by the said Benjamin Muzzey as the fence now Stands, and Elsewhere by highways *To Have & To Hold* sd Land with all the timber Stones Trees Wood & underwood herbage and messuage with all and Singular the profits priviledges and appurtenances thereunto belonging." ¹

This land, though bought by individuals of the parish,

¹ See, A Sketch of the History of Lexington Common, by C. A. Staples, Proc. Lex. Hist. Soc., Vol. I, p. 17. Ed.

appears to have been dedicated to public use. In January, 1713, they voted to locate their meeting-house upon this land, so that, when the parish became a town, and the town as successor of the parish came into possession of this property, they took it subject to the right of the parish to occupy such portion of it as might be necessary for a meeting-house, and the necessary appurtenances to the same. Consequently, the parish continued this use of a portion of the Common more than a century, and abandoned that use in 1846, since which time the whole property has been in the possession of the town, which now holds it by a clear and indisputable title. The Revolutionary associations which cluster around this spot render it one of the consecrated battle-fields of our country, which will be remembered and honored as long as freedom has a votary, or heroic deeds command the admiration of mankind.

Being merely a precinct, the people had no legal power to provide themselves with schools or roads, or even to select their own local town officers; and being eight miles from Cambridge, and having an interest in many respects different from that of the central village, it is natural to suppose that they would desire to set up for themselves, that they might the better supply their own wants, and manage their own affairs in their own way. At a meeting held October 28, 1712, they chose a committee to confer with the town of Cambridge and to petition the General Court to erect them into a town.

This committee subsequently received a renewed expression of the same sentiments, and were by their constituents clothed with full powers to make such an arrangement with the people of Cambridge as they might deem expedient and equitable between the parties. In virtue of this authority they made an arrangement with the parent town for a separation, the new town becoming bound to support in part what was denominated the "Grate bridge" over Charles River in Cambridge, of which we shall speak more particularly hereafter.

While the people at the Farms were aspiring to the independence of a town, and taking active measures to secure that end, they kept a steadfast eye upon those religious institutions on which their prosperity as a parish or a town must mainly depend. They therefore resolved to build them a meeting-house more capacious in its dimensions, and one which would meet the wants of the growing population of the

place. At a meeting held January 9, 1713, they voted to build a new meeting-house on the plan of the one at Concord, — the house to be fifty feet long, forty feet wide, and twenty-four feet studs, with one tier of galleries, — to be located upon the land recently bought of Benjamin Muzzy. A committee, consisting of Captain William Reed, Quartermaster Samuel Stone, Sergeant John Munroe, Mr. Thomas Merriam, and Mr. Thomas Blodgett, was chosen to carry the measure into effect.

This meeting-house, the second erected in the place, was situated in the rear of the former, and nearly halfway between the hay-scales and the liberty pole. This house stood till it was superseded by another, built in 1793, which was placed twenty feet in the rear of its predecessor. The house here proposed to be built was the one standing on the Common at the opening of the Revolution.

Having arrived at a period when the corporate character of the place was to be changed, and the precinct was to be merged in the town, we may well pause and reflect upon the scenes through which the infant settlement had passed, the difficulties and dangers it had encountered, and the progress it had made. We have seen that for about half a century the settlers had no organization of their own, no centre of attraction around which to gather; but were like a distant colony, doomed to provide for themselves, and yet under the control of the home government. They were deprived of the advantages of schooling for their children, and, in a great degree, of the privileges of Gospel institutions. In a word they were citizens of Cambridge, governed by Cambridge regulations, subjected to Cambridge restrictions and taxed to maintain Cambridge institutions, and, at the same time, were so remote as to be deprived, in a great degree, of Cambridge privileges.

It is true that the settlers at Cambridge Farms were not very far distant from the settlements at Cambridge and Watertown; but these towns at that day were not what they are at present; and these neighboring settlements, though they might, under some circumstances, afford protection, could not impart plenty, or relieve the daily pressing wants of the inhabitants. A grandchild of one of the early settlers in this place says: "The old patriarch has often related with tears in his eyes the poverty and destitution experienced, the hard-

ships borne, and the trials endured by the first inhabitants of the place. Their dwellings were small and rude, — the same room serving the various purposes of kitchen and parlor, dining-room and bedroom, storehouse and workshop. Their furniture was of the most primitive kind: blocks or forms made of split logs furnished their seats, wooden spoons, made with a knife, enabled them to eat their bread and milk, or bean porridge, out of rude bowls or troughs cut with an axe from blocks of wood."

With such accommodations, and with comforts corresponding, their condition was not calculated to excite envy or stimulate pride, but rather to excite commiseration in others and the most untiring industry and rigid frugality in themselves. They subsisted upon simple food, clothed themselves with coarse fabrics of their own production, and were sheltered by rude and inconvenient huts. But by persevering efforts, by almost incessant labor, they contrived to subsist, and, in most cases, to rear large families, a blessing somewhat peculiar to new settlements.

Though the history of the place from its first settlement to its incorporation as a town presents no thrilling incidents or events of much magnitude, yet the ordinary routine of business and the development of institutions furnish us with a true picture of New England character and the manners and customs of the age. We have seen that the first great object of the people was to rear religious institutions. Attached as they were to schools, anxious as they were for roads, and inclined as they were to military defence, we have seen that their first object was to erect a meeting-house and call a minister, that they might bring the sanctions of religion to bear upon the community, and so give permanency and tone to all other institutions. This prominence of the religious idea, this elevating of divine accountability above every other consideration, this exaltation of public worship over all other duties, displays what may be denominated the New England conviction that God is our strength and our refuge, and that communities, as well as individuals, must draw their sustenance from this life-giving fountain.

Another prominent idea of that age, which exhibits itself in the history of this and every New England community, is the importance of the military arm to the safety of both Church and State. We see this in the prominence they gave to mili-

tary titles. Not only do their records speak of captains and subalterns, but even the warrant officers are honored with their appropriate designations; and a mere glance at the records will show that these military offices were generally filled by the most substantial men in the place. If a committee is wanted to discharge some of the most important duties, it is generally composed of Captain A, Lieutenant B, and Sergeant C or Corporal D. Such men were selected for these important civil services, not because they had military titles, but because they were the prominent men in the place, and owed their military title to the fact that they were prominent men. The conviction that in giving us a being, the Almighty had granted the right of self-defence, or more properly, imposed the duty of self-preservation, led them to keep up a military organization. Knowing that communities had the same right of self-preservation as individuals, they availed themselves of their corporate power to provide for the common defence; and knowing the importance of this trust, they selected their wisest and most reliable men to fill all military offices. They brought the sanctions of religion to bear upon every department of the civil service, and made every office in the State uphold the institutions of religion; hence the office of captain and deacon were equally important, and were often held by the same person; and to be a tythingman was as honorable as to be a selectman or a magistrate.

CHAPTER II

FROM THE INCORPORATION OF THE TOWN TO THE CLOSE OF THE FRENCH WARS

The Town incorporated — Its First Organization — Weights and Measures provided — Roads laid out — Meeting-House seated — Ebenezer Hancock settled as Colleague with his Father — Duty of Tythingmen at Church — The North and South Side — Representatives to serve for Six Shillings per Day — Death of Rev. John Hancock — Rev. Mr. Clarke settled — Lincoln incorporated into a Town, taking off a Portion of Lexington — Representatives shall pay to the Town all they receive over Three Shillings per Day — Isaac Stone gives the Town a Bell — French Wars — Expedition to Cuba — To Louisburg — Number of Soldiers furnished — Warning out of Town.

RESIDING at a distance from the old parish, and possessing nothing but parochial powers, the inhabitants of the precinct petitioned the General Court to be incorporated as a town, that they might enjoy the full powers of a municipal corporation. Their petition received a favorable answer, and the Court adopted an Order which received the royal sanction on the 20th of March, 1712. (As this Order was passed before the change of style, the 20th of March, 1712, would correspond with the 31st of March, 1713, in our mode of reckoning.) As this Order is the organic law of the town of Lexington, it seems proper to give it in full: —

“Whereas upwards of Twenty Years since the Inhabitants or farmers dwelling on a certain Tract of Out Lands within the Township of Cambridge in the County of Middlesex liuing remote from the Body of the Town towards Concord, Obtained Leave from the General Court with Approbation of the Town to be a Hamlet or separate Precinct & were set off by a Line, Viz. — beginning at the first run of Water or Swampy place, over which is a kind of Bridge in the Way or Rhode on the Southerly Side of Francis Whitmore's House towards the Town of Cambridge aforesaid, across the neck of Land lying between Woburn Line & that of Watertown side, upon a South-west & North east Course commonly called the Northern Precinct, & being now increased have obtained Consent of the Town & made Application to this Court to be made a Separate & distinct Town, upon such Terms as they & the Town of Cambridge have agreed upon —

“That is to Say that the Sd Northern Precinct when made a

Township shall bear such a Part of the two Thirds of the Charge of the Great Bridge over Charles River in Cambridge as shall be according to their proportion with the Town of Cambridge annually in the province Tax, And they shall annually pay to the Treasurer of the Town of Cambridge their Part of the Charges as aforesaid;

"And such other Articles as the sd Town & the Precinct have already agreed on by their Committees;

"ORDERED that the aforesaid Tract of Land known by the Name of the Northern Precinct in Cambridge be henceforth made a separate & distinct Town by the Name of LEXINGTON¹ upon the Articles & Terms already agreed on with the Town of Cambridge, & that the Inhabitants of the said Town of Lexington be entitled to Have, Use, Exercise & Enjoy all such Immunities Powers & Privileges as other Towns of this Province have & do by Law Use Exercise and Enjoy;

"And the Constable of the sd Precinct is hereby directed & impowered to Notify & summon the Inhabitants duly qualified for Votes to Assemble & meet together for the Choosing of Town Officers.

"Consented to. J. DUDLEY."²

Immediately after the passage of this Order, or, as it was in fact, Act of Incorporation, the inhabitants of Lexington assembled to organize by the choice of town officers. As this election shows who the leading men were at that period, and to whom the people of the new town were willing to entrust the management of their municipal affairs, it is well to give a list of the town officers: —

MATTHEW BRIDGE, Captain WILLIAM REED, Lieutenant FRANCIS BOWMAN, Ensign JOSEPH SIMONDS, Deacon JOHN MERRIAM, — *Selectmen.*

MATTHEW BRIDGE, — *Town Clerk and Town Treasurer.*

JAMES WILSON, JOHN MASON, — *Constables.*

FRANCIS BOWMAN, WILLIAM MUNROE, SAMUEL STEARNS, — *Assessors.*

JOSEPH TIDD, — *Sealer of Weights and Measures.*

Lieutenant THOMAS CUTLER, THOMAS BLODGETT, SAMUEL WHITMORE, — *Tythingmen.*

ISAAC STEARNS, THOMAS CUTLER, JOHN POULTER, — *Surveyors.*

SHEREBIAH KIBBE, — *Sealer of Leather.*

This being a new era in the history of this people — their

¹ See Origin of the Name "Lexington," by A. E. Scott, Proc. Lex. Hist. Soc., Vol. I, p. 9. Ed.

² State Archives, Vol. IX, p. 258. Ed.

corporate powers as a town extending beyond what they had before enjoyed — it is natural to suppose that they would enter at once upon the exercise of those powers, the want of which they had seriously felt under their parish charter. Accordingly we find the selectmen, the fathers of the town, — a board which at that day exercised more extended powers than they do at the present time, — taking active measures to build up all necessary town institutions.

"Lexington Apr: the 6th 1713: at a select mens metting: it was then agred that thay would build a Pound: and that it should be fouer Lenth of rails one way: and thre the other: and a gatte five foott wide: and that it should stand at the End of Deacon miriams stable: and by Sargiente John munroes stone wall:

"2: that thay would Erect a Payer of stocks:¹

"3: that thay would Provide the Town with waight and measurs."

Having provided for the restraint of all unruly beings, whether bipeds or quadrupeds, by erecting stocks and building a pound, the people hastened to provide that religious instruction which was designed to supersede the one and render the other almost unnecessary.

"At a Publique metting att Lexington; Apr: ye 20th 1713: orderly warnd and Asembled: to Grant fouer hundred & Sixten Pounds mony² to the Comittee for Building of the metting house
"this was Unanimosly Votted on the Affirmatiue."

¹ Stocks were regarded in those days, as an institution which no town could dispense with. In fact, they were required by law, and towns were frequently fined for not erecting and maintaining them. They were constructed of plank or timbers attached by a hinge or something of that sort, at one end, and so arranged that they could be opened and closed at pleasure. The edges of the plank or timbers, where they came together, were so cut or rounded out as to admit the wrists, ankles, and sometimes necks of the culprits, when the stocks were opened; and when they were closed, the individuals put therein were held fast by the arm, leg, or neck, and sometimes by all at the same time, during the pleasure of the authorities; for when they were closed and locked, it was impossible for the individual to extricate himself. These stocks were sometimes located in public squares, and sometimes near or in the meeting-house. In some cases they were placed under the stairs leading to the galleries in their churches. In fact, being the prison where the tythingmen confined the unruly, they were regarded as a necessary appendage to the meeting-house — as important in good society as a "sounding-board" over the pulpit, or a "horse-block" near the house. These stocks were maintained in the towns and in the counties, and were used as places of restraint and as instruments of punishment. They are frequently denominated "bilboes," in the early records.

² The currency at that day was undergoing a depreciation. It stood, in 1713, about twelve per cent below par; so that the sum granted for the meeting-house was in fact about three hundred sixty-six pounds, which would build a very respectable house at that period.

The subject of public or high ways, so important to every settlement, early attracted the attention of the town. Up to the time of their incorporation, they had no jurisdiction over this subject. Certain roads had been laid out by colonial and county authority, and the proprietors of lands had usually made liberal provision for roads between their ranges of land; but these had been generally disregarded by the subsequent owners, who had enclosed these reservations within their lots. Besides, it must be perfectly obvious that no system of public ways could be adopted in advance which would meet the wants of subsequent settlers. This whole matter would naturally be one of the first subjects to call for the interposition of the town authorities; and it appears from their records that it received early attention, — records which show that the former times were not materially different from these, and that the remedies efficient at that day might well be resorted to at this: —

“Lexington: march: ye: 1st: 1713-14: Att a metting of the selectmen discourse being on foote Concerning high ways that ware Inclosed by sundry Parsons: and a warrent was at that time procured from a Justice of the Peace by the selectmen to open sum of them: then Capt: william Reed being present did say that for the Peace and quietnes of the town: — that: he would frely Giue a high-way for Thomas Kendall and the nibourhood westerly of him thorow his own Land Esterly Into the Town Road or high way: whare it might be Convenient: for an acknowledgment of those high-ways that he hath allready Inclosed: and also that he would hang a gatte upon the highway that Leads to the clay Ground which is the Towns Interest:”

John Harrington, Joseph Tidd, John Lawrence, James Wilson, Thomas Mead, Nathaniel Dunklee, Joseph “Phasit,” Philip Burdoe, and others came forward and admitted that they had enclosed certain highways, which they would open, or pay a consideration to the town.

“June: ye: 28th: 1714: at a metting of ye selectmen it was agreed that John muzzy should have thare aprobaton to Kep a publique House of Entertainment: and his father did Ingage before the selectmen to a Comadate his son John with stable roome haye and Pastuering: so fare as he stood In need: for the Suport of Strangers.”

This was probably the first public house duly opened in the

town, and was situated at or near the present residence of Mr. Rufus Merriam,¹ on the easterly side of the Common.

The inhabitants, by their officers, embraced an early opportunity to define and fix the boundaries of the township. Committees were appointed to meet those from other towns to establish the lines and erect suitable bounds. They also took measures to provide a school-house for the improvement of the rising generation; so that the learning obtained in the school might prepare the young to comprehend the teachings from the pulpit, and the instruction from the sacred desk might guide and sanctify the lessons of the school-room.

But another duty, and one of no ordinary character, devolved upon the town. The people had caused a new meeting-house to be erected; but how was it to be occupied? All were expected to meet within its walls; but who should take the highest seat? This was a question of great moment and of considerable delicacy, — a question which proved a source of much trouble in many towns at that day. The "seating of the meeting-house" was frequently pregnant with more animosity than the building of it. It was, to say the least, regarded as a grave question, and one to be managed with great wisdom and prudence. Consequently, the subject was generally referred to a large committee of the most judicious men, that full justice might be done to all; and lest the committee themselves should, from personal interest or vanity, place themselves too high, or, from extreme diffidence and modesty, too low, in the scale of dignity, some towns took the precaution to appoint a second committee to assign seats for the first. It would be amusing to look at the records of different parishes to see the instructions given to their committees on this subject. One record which I have before me, instructs the committee "to *dignify* and seat the meeting-house, according to the personal and real estate, and having reference to age and honor." Another parish record has this entry: —

"Chose a committee to seat the meeting-house, and instructed them to give men their dignity in their sitting in proportion to their minister's rate they pay, allowing one poll to a rate, making such allowance for age as they shall think proper, except where they are tenants, and in these cases to act the best of their judgment."

¹ The Buckman Tavern. *Ed.*

Nearly akin to these instructions were those given by the inhabitants of Lexington to their committee, chosen October 6, 1714, to seat their new house. Ensign Joseph Bowman, Deacon John Merriam, Captain William Reed, William Munroe, and Thomas Mead were chosen for the purpose,¹ and were instructed to take the following elements into the account: —

“1: it was votted that thay shall haue respect to age

“2: that thay shall haue respect to reall and Parsonall Estat so far as referd to the new mettinghouse

“3: to bare respect but to one head In a ffamily: —

“and allso thay are to place the children whare thay may be Inspected.”

As a difference of opinion might arise in relation to the relative “dignity” of the respective seats, some committees, to remove all doubt, graded the dignity of the different seats as *first, second*, etc. It may also be important to state that some towns imposed a fine upon any one who should occupy any other seat than the one assigned him. We may think our fathers rather fastidious on this subject, and a little jealous of their “dignity”; but it ought to be remembered that in those days the seats were all common property, and as it was desirable to have families sit together, and to have a permanent seat to which they might repair whenever they came to meeting, there was a convenience, at least, in having some regulation or assignment of the seats.

The people at that day were alive to every interest of the town, and showed themselves ready to make every effort and bear all reasonable burdens for the well-being of the community. At a meeting of the inhabitants of Lexington, May 17, 1725, it was

“Voted yt £150 be made into a Rate & delivered to ye Constable, to be paid into ye treasury for ye defraying of sd Town charges for ye year Ensuing . . . voted yt ye Town charges & ye ministers Salary be made into one Rate & payd into ye treasury; Sd Salary being £90 to be payd out of ye treasury in equal halves, as, & at ye times heretofore paid; for ye future.”

In 1725, Rev. Mr. Hancock represented to the town that his salary was not sufficient to support himself and family. This probably arose, in some degree at least, from the depreciation

¹ See plan of this second meeting-house, Proc. Lex. Hist. Soc., Vol. I, p. 16. *Ed.*

of the currency, which at that period had fallen about fifty per cent. The town, seeing the justice of his claim, voted him twenty pounds as a gratuity.

Our fathers were peculiarly watchful of the morals of the community, and were ready, at all times, not only to do good, but to prevent evil, in their corporate capacity. When men were found idle and dissipated, they were ready to take them in hand, and as far as practicable to reform them, or at least to prevent the spread of the evil. An entry in the selectmen's records, March 29, 1731, shows the manner in which such affairs were treated at that period:—

"Whereas there is Complaint made to the selectmen against Chris: Mason ju: that he is very disorderly and threets his parents and liues idley & neglects to prouid for his famely; but the rather distroy what they haue by seling houseld Stuff & his cloes and spending the money for drink: wherefor the selectmen haue appointed mr. Samll Winshipp one of the selectmen to Take Care to proceed with him as the law directs."

I have already spoken of the difficult task of "seating the meeting-house" to the satisfaction of the people. Changes of families, and of the house itself, seem to have rendered it necessary that this work should be performed periodically. In 1731, the delicate task of "seating the meeting-house" was again performed by a committee, and seats were assigned to one hundred and six heads of families.

Having repaired and resealed the meeting-house, and made provision, from time to time, for the support of the Rev. Mr. Hancock, according to his wants, the people were disposed to relieve him of a portion of the burdens of his office by employing a co-laborer. Accordingly, at a meeting held November 2, 1733, they gave a call to Mr. Ebenezer Hancock, a son of their reverend pastor, a young man highly esteemed among them, to settle as a colleague with his father, on the following conditions:—

"(1) three hundred pound for settlement to be paid to mr Ebenezer Hancock as soon as his father is deseased and if he desease before that time his heirs shall not Call for it (2) to giue mr Hancock and his son Eben two hundred pound a year for two year he Keeping the School as this last year now runing the hundred pound a year to begin as soone as he Enters into the work of the minestry But the School to Begin for the two years next may (3)

quiting the minesteral land the Town to find him with wood (4) two hundred pound a year without the School to mr Hancock & his son during mr Hancock life and one hundred & thirty pound a year after his desease while he Continues their minester (5) the vote to call him to office: put to vote whether the Inhabitants of the Town will chuse mr Eben- Hancock and giue him a Call to the pasteral office in this Town upon the aforementioned Conditions & Considerations: which vote was Brought in by papers & it passed in the afirmatiue by a very great majority."

This call was accepted by Mr. Hancock, with a modification, which the town readily agreed to, that in case he should die before his father, the three hundred pounds settlement should be paid to his wife and children, if he should have any. The preliminaries being settled, the ordination took place, January 2, 1734.

Towns and parishes were so united, and their duties in many respects so similar, that it is difficult to draw the line between the civil and ecclesiastical history of the place. I have confined to the latter such events as related to the religious condition of the church, and the relations between them and their pastor;—leaving what was performed in town meetings in the department of civil history.

Many of the officers of the town and of the parish at that day exercised powers and performed duties unknown and unacknowledged at this. The tythingman, and the office, which are now extinct, were then regarded as of the first moment. Instances almost without number could be cited in which some of the leading men of the town were elected to that office. In many respects the tythingman was regarded with more honor, and his office with more sanctity, than that of selectman—an office then held in much higher repute than at present. When we consider that they were a species of general police officer, being conservators of the peace, and also that they had the general care of children and youth on the Lord's Day, and especially at or near the house of worship, it is no wonder that the most sober and discreet men were generally selected for that office. A few extracts from the records will show the importance in which that office was held.

"At a meeting held 22 May 1738

"voted to repair ye meetinghouse:

"voted that ye two hind seats in ye Lower gallery ffront and side;

are appointed for ye Boys: to sitt on saboth days; all under sixteen years old: and a Tithing man to sitt near them, Each saboth to take there turns: and if any aboue sixteen years are disorderly they shall be ordered into sd seats.

"Voted that a Tithingman should be desired to attend on sabath day noons; to keep ye Boys in order in ye Meetinghouse."

All the duties of tythingmen were regarded as important, and hence they entered upon the discharge of their official functions with more than ordinary formality. We accordingly find the act of qualifying a tythingman recorded with almost royal pomp and ceremony.

"Joshua Simonds and Daniel Brown personally appeared before y^e worshipfull Justice Bowman, May y^e 12th, 1735, and made oath to y^e office of tythingman for y^e year ensuing."

Towns, like larger communities, sometimes become profligate in their expenditures. This tends to arouse the feelings of the people, and they are then inclined to run to the other extreme. Sometimes a rivalry between candidates for office will induce them to bid up on each other, in which case the people at first will generally select the man who will serve at the lowest price. But in a short time, they learn that cheapening the office naturally fills it with cheap officers, and then they fall back upon the former price. It seems by the records of Lexington that there was rivalry between the Bowmans in the south part of the town, and the Reeds in the north. In fact, the county road leading from Cambridge to Concord, and passing through the centre of the town, divided it into two nearly equal divisions. The records are full of this distinction of "North Side" and "South Side." A constable, for instance, was chosen one for the "North Side" and one for the "South Side." The valuations and the tax-bills were made out for these sides respectively. All this would naturally tend to divide the people into geographical parties. The rivalry between two leading and influential families, the one situated in one division of the town, and the other in the other, would, moreover, increase this feeling.

Consequently we find the Bowmans and the Reeds pitted against each other in most of the important elections. And this division was so equal that one would prevail one year, and the other the next. Bowman and Reed, and Reed and Bowman, appear on the records almost in regular succession. This division between the different sections of the town —

the Bowmans against the Reeds — the House of York against the House of Lancaster — would naturally lead to some management, if not between the rival candidates, at least between their friends. Third parties in such cases will occasionally step in, and take the prize from both the contending parties. Something of this kind, if I have not misapprehended the spirit of the records, occurred in some instances in the town of Lexington. The offices contested seem to have been those of Moderator, First Selectman, and Representative, especially the last. Probably the contest for Representative gave rise to the following vote, passed at the May meeting, 1739: —

“voted that ye person who shall be Chosen to Represent ye town at ye Great and Generall Court shall Imediately Ingage to serue ye town as a Representative at ye aboue said Court for Six Shillings a day which person then Chosen namly mr Joseph fassit accepted ye Choice upon ye aboue sd vote.”

This serving as a Representative at a reduced price appears to have given Mr. Fassett a peculiar popularity; for the next year he was chosen Moderator, First Selectman, and Representative; and thus, for a short period, he threw Joseph Bowman, Esq., and Captain William Reed into the shade. But popularity founded on such a basis proved in this case, as it generally does, of short duration; for after three years he was dropped, and then Captain Reed was elected several years in succession to represent the town.

A Representative in those days must have been an officer of more dignity than at present, if we are to judge by the manner in which it was heralded by our fathers. The article in the warrant for 1739 for the choice of Representative reads as follows: —

“To elect and depute one or more persons being freholders & Residents in sd town to serve for & Represent them at or in A great & Generall Court or Asembly Apointed to be Convened and held & kept for *His Magisty's sarvice* at ye Court House in Bostown.”

In 1740, the people of Lexington were called to mourn the loss of their junior pastor, when he had just completed the sixth year of his ministry. As there was a general feeling of satisfaction when he was called to share with his venerable father the labors of his profession and the affections of his people, so there was a unanimous feeling of regret that the

father was so soon deprived of the aid and support of his affectionate son, and the parish of their devoted minister.

In 1729, a small portion of the territory of Lexington had been set off to form the town of Bedford, and in 1744, sundry inhabitants of Concord, Weston, and the westerly part of Lexington petitioned the General Court to be erected into a precinct; but the town chose Joseph Bowman, Esq., Captain William Reed, and Deacon John Stone to oppose the prayer of the petition, which they did effectually at that time.

On the 6th of December, 1752, the people of Lexington were deprived of their beloved and venerable pastor, Rev. John Hancock, who had with great ability and faithfulness ministered to them for more than fifty-three years. As we shall speak of the character of Rev. Mr. Hancock more particularly under the head of the ecclesiastical history of the town, we will simply say here that his services were justly appreciated by his people, who sincerely deplored his sudden death. They had long witnessed his growing infirmities, or perhaps, more properly, his increasing years, and had taken the precaution for several years to choose a committee to supply the pulpit in case of the inability of Mr. Hancock to discharge his wonted duties. But that committee had no occasion to look abroad for a supply; for their venerated pastor was able to perform every duty of his sacred office to the very day of his death. The people had also manifested their attachment to him, and their regard for his welfare, by adding to his salary, from year to year, at least sufficiently to make up for the depreciation of the currency; and when he was called hence by a sudden dispensation of Providence, they manifested their respect for his memory and sympathy for his family by convening the town and adopting the following votes: —

“at a meeting of the freeholders & other inhabitants regularly assembled on December 7: 1752: then maid Choyce of Deacon Brown modderator

“1 Voted two hundred Pounds old Tenor for a Desent burial of our Revernd & Beloved Pastor mr John Hancock

“2 Daniel Tidd mr Benjamin Smith Leut Ebenezer Fisk for a Committee to gow down to Provide things their for sd funarel: —

“3 Voted that sd Committee should give md hancock & her children the offer of ye Town Grant for ye funarel if they see Cause to Taking with it: & they Provide for sd funarel:

"4 Voted to Choose a Committee to Provide at md hancocks house & assest there at ye funaral (Viz) mr Jos: Bridge: mr Jos Tidd: mr Thadd: Bowman mr John Hoar: mr Jos: Loring: also Voted that the abovesd Committee should Render an account to ye Town how they have Layed out ye above sd Grant: also Voted that mr Samll Bridge should Provide 500 bricks in order to brick sd grave."

The committee appointed to provide for the funeral of Mr. Hancock presented a bill to the town of £219, which was readily allowed. I will state one item of their bill, as it casts light upon the manners and customs of that period: —

"Granted an order to Pay mr. Jacob Hurd of Boston £4.01.01 it being in full for six Rings: for y^e bearers of our Revnd & beloved Pastor mr. John Hancock."

After the death of Mr. Hancock, the town chose a committee, consisting of Deacon Joseph Brown, Deacon John Stone, William Reed, Esq., Captain Benjamin Reed, and Mr. Isaac Bowman, to provide for the pulpit till others should be chosen; and they instructed said committee "to make diligente Inquire after a Gentleman Suitable to Settle."

After hearing Mr. Stearns, Mr. Barnes, and Mr. Putnam a few Sabbaths each, the town voted, April 8, 1754, "to keep a day of fasting and prayer on the 25th of the above said Aprill in Preparation for said Choice."

The church and society, in June, 1754, invited Mr. Aaron Putnam, who, in consequence of the want of unanimity in the call, declined the invitation.

After receiving the negative answer from Mr. Putnam, Mr. Willard, Mr. Minot, and Mr. Clarke were employed a few Sabbaths each; when, on the 19th day of May, 1755, the inhabitants were called together to see if they would concur with the church in giving Mr. Jonas Clarke an invitation to become their minister. The result is thus stated in the record: —

"ye Congregation concurd so far as thay brought in: 51: yeas but there was: 16: Nays: then ye Town voted 133. .06. .8: Settlement for Mr: Clerk in case he Settle with us as our Pastor: ye one half of sd Sum to be paid Six months after his Ordination: Likewise Voted: 80: pounds to be his yearly Sallery for to Sapport him in ye work of ye minestry in this town: also Voted ye sd. mr Clerk in Case he takes up & is Settled as our Pastor Shall forever as Such Quit all manner of Claim title or Interest in or unto aney part of ye Minesteral Land in this Town:"

After some further negotiation in relation to granting him a number of cords of wood, in addition to the eighty pounds offered as his annual salary, the church and congregation agreed to vote together on the question of giving him a call, and on counting the yeas and nays it was found that seventy had voted in the affirmative and only three in the negative. The town also voted to furnish Mr. Clarke twenty cords of wood annually, in addition to his salary.

The preliminaries being thus settled, the 5th of November, 1755, was agreed upon for the ordination, and the churches in Cambridge, Newton, Medford, Sherburn, Watertown, Lincoln, Weston, and Waltham were invited to assist in the ordination. To use the language of Mr. Clarke himself, —

“The Elders and Messengers of most of said churches appearing in the morning, and having chosen the Rev. Mr. John Cotton, Moderator, they proceeded, earnestly imploring the divine Blessing, unto Ordination. The Rev. Mr. Lawrence beginning the solemnity with prayer; the Rev. Mr. Appleton preached, the Rev. Mr. Cotton gave the Charge, and the Rev. Mr. Cook the Right Hand of Fellowship.”

Thus was the town of Lexington, after being destitute of a settled minister nearly three years, blessed with a pastor, whose subsequent labors and character showed that he was a pastor, indeed, guiding his people safely both in temporal and spiritual things, during his life, and leaving a name which will be fondly cherished by every patriot and every Christian. The name and services of Rev. Jonas Clarke are so interwoven with the history of Lexington that we shall have occasion frequently to allude to him hereafter.

In 1734, John Flint and others residing in the southeasterly part of Concord, in the southwesterly part of Lexington, and in the part of Weston adjoining, petitioned the General Court to be set off from these towns respectively, and be incorporated as a town or precinct. This was successfully resisted at the time; but the petition was renewed the following year. Lexington chose a committee consisting of Mr. Justice Bowman, Captain Bowman, and John Mason, to oppose the prayer of the petitioners. In their remonstrance, dated September 10, 1735, they allege that many within the territory were opposed to the petition, that some who had signed the petition were “very unqualified persons,” that most of the

petitioners from Lexington constantly attended church there, that they had voted to settle Rev. Ebenezer Hancock, and ought to remain and help pay him, that the roads were being improved, and that they were well accommodated as they were. The remonstrants prevailed again, as they had the preceding year.

But in 1744, a similar petition found favor with the Court, and a precinct was created, granting, however, the privilege to several persons within the territory to be exempt from its operation if they should so elect. In 1753, Chambers Russell, Esq., and others within the territory were chosen a committee to petition the Legislature to be incorporated as a town. Captain William Reed and Deacon Stone appeared for the town of Lexington to oppose the petition, but without success. On the 19th of April, 1754, the town was incorporated by the name of *Lincoln*.¹ The name was given by Chambers Russell, Esq., after Lincolnshire, England, the residence of his ancestors.

The creation of this town reduced the territory and population of Lexington, and so impeded its growth. I find on the public records no accurate description of the line or the amount of territory taken from Lexington. But Josiah Parker, one of the assessors of Lexington for that year, and who, from his long experience in that office, was well qualified to judge, and whose intimate acquaintance with the premises and the whole subject enabled him to know the facts, has left under his own hand the following important document in the archives of the State:—

LEXINGTON, May 27, 1754.

The following is an account of that part of the town of Lexington, which has lately been taken from us, and now makes a part of a new township known by the name of Lincoln:—

The whole number of acres in Lexington was.....	11,000
Out of which is taken.....	974
The number of polls was.....	215
Out of which is taken.....	14
The valuation of said town was.....	£6,000
Out of which is taken.....	£372 4s.
Lexington's province tax in 1753 was.....	£55 10s.
Of which those taken paid.....	£3 5s. 6d.

What is taken off of Lexington is computed to be about one-six-

¹ See History of the Town of Lincoln. Ed.

teenth part of said town; as to the number of acres it is about one-eleventh part.

JOSIAH PARKER,
Assessor.

In 1756, there was a warm controversy relative to a choice of Representative. The selectmen were arraigned before the General Court, charged with improper conduct in managing the town meeting. The selectmen vindicated their course, and the whole affair ended in calling another meeting and electing a Representative.

There are many little incidents occurring in a community, and many things which find their way upon public records of but little moment in themselves, which nevertheless show the spirit of the times, the feelings of the people, and the motives by which individuals and bodies of men are actuated. Of this character are the following.

At a meeting of the freeholders, May 7, 1756, —

"Benj^a Reed Esq^r Paid to Mr Jonas Stone Town Treasurer ye Sume of 6-4-0 it being ye wages he Re'd for ye time that he Did not actually attend the General Court ye Last Year."

At a meeting of the selectmen, June 28, 1755, —

"also ye Selectmen appointed Mr Cornelius Meads to See that Brute Creatures that Dye of any Distemper Buried according to a Law of ye Province."

. At a meeting of the inhabitants of Lexington, held March 7, 1757, the following note was handed to the Moderator: —

"To the Inhabitants of ye Town of Lexington Gentlemen, ye Publick Expences in General, and those of this Town in Particular, being at Present not Small.; If you will accept of ye Sum of Six Pounds thirteen Shillings & four pence, of my Salary, for this present year, you will Greatly oblige Gent^m Your Sincere Frind & hearty well wisher Jonas Clark."

At a town meeting held May 16, 1757, —

"Voted that whosoever Shall be Chosen to Represent ye Town at ye Great & General Court this Year. Shall Return into ye Town Treasurer all ye mony that Shall be made up in ye General Courts List for ye Representative above thre Shillings a Day for attending at ye said great and General Court & Except ye Person Chosen Doth Promise to Return sd Mony as afor said the Town to proceed to ye Choice of an other."

This vote was repeated several years in succession, and such was the patriotism of the age that men enough were found willing to serve their country at that reduced rate.

About the time of the settlement of Mr. Clarke, the town appointed a committee to repair their meeting-house; and as one improvement naturally leads to another, they were impressed with the idea that their bell was not sufficiently large to bring in a congregation commensurate with the capacity of the house. This feeling prevailing, at a town meeting held June 15, 1761, —

“Mr Isaac Stone of said Town Came into Said Meeting & Gave ye town a Bell to be for the Towns Use forever, which Bell was there & weighted four hundred and sixty three pounds, for which ye Moderator in ye Name of ye Town Returned him thanks

“then voted to hang ye Bell on ye top of ye Hill upon ye North side of Lie^t Jonas Munroes house. Voted to take ye timber of off ye Ministerial Land for sd Building.”

It appears that the town took a deep interest in this liberal gift of Mr. Stone, and resolved to use it in a manner calculated to fill the eye, and please the ear, as far as practicable; for at an adjournment of the meeting six days after, they

“voted to Case ye belfree with white pine Boards: Also voted to Cover ye Rooffe with Pitch Pine & Shingle it: voted to Leave it to ye Com'tee to Lett out ye belfree by ye Great or by ye Day as they think best.”

The following year the committee rendered their account for building this “Bell free,” which amounted to £21 12s. 10½d.

But the attention of the people to the new bell and the “Bell free” did not, it appears, render them unmindful of the meeting-house itself; for at a town meeting held March 14, 1763, they voted “to couliour y^e Meeting House Att y^e Back of y^e pulpit the Same Couliour the pulpit is coulioured.”

In speaking of the pulpit and preacher, we should not forget the school-house and the schoolmaster. They are kindred institutions, and cannot safely be dissevered. Up to 1714 the schools were kept in private houses, but at that time a school-house was erected in the centre of the town, and schools, kept generally by females, were established in the out-parts of the town. As it is proposed to treat of the public schools of the town in a separate chapter, I will only say here that our

BOWMAN HOUSE

HOME OF MARRETT AND NATHAN MUNROE

TIDD HOUSE

DANIEL HARRINGTON HOUSE



fathers, ever true to the great cause of education, have made suitable provision in all portions of their history to educate the rising generation.

As this chapter is designed to carry the general history of the town to the close of the French war in 1763, it seems proper to take a general view of the town from its incorporation to that period. The French and Indian wars fill an important page in the history of the town and of the Colony. The dangers to which the people were exposed, the repeated drafts made upon their men and their means, the sufferings of the soldiers, and the great loss of life, in the camp and in the field, give to this part of our history a thrilling interest; and were it not for the more recent struggles, which gave us a place among the nations of the earth, and which have shown to the world that we can support our Union, the "old French wars," as they have been denominated, would be regarded as the most important era in our annals. Viewed in the light of the philosophy of history, these wars may be regarded as among the primary causes of our free institutions. They were contests between Catholic France and Protestant England for supremacy in North America; and upon their result hung, in a great degree, the destiny of these Colonies and the cherished hopes of our Puritan ancestors. Not only the religious but the political fate of New England was in a manner involved in the contest. Great Britain had, at an early day, asserted her right to legislate for the Colonies, — a right which the Colonies had denied. But while they had asserted their right to raise their own money, call out their own troops, and make their own laws, the colonists had ever professed their readiness to sustain His Majesty's Colonies, protect His Majesty's possessions, and defend, with their lives and fortunes, His Majesty's right on this continent. These wars gave them an opportunity to redeem their pledges, and so to lay a broad foundation for the gratitude of the parent country.

The French wars not only gave our fathers a juster appreciation of their rights, but impressed them with a consciousness of their ability to maintain and defend them. Men who had taken Louisburg from the veteran troops of France, served under England's most experienced commanders, and contributed largely to the conquest of Canada, felt that they had rendered their sovereign essential service, and were justly entitled to the consideration of the Crown. They had

also acquired that knowledge of military science and that experience in the art of war which enabled them to meet the shock of the Revolution unmoved, and to persevere to the end of that glorious contest.

But these wars, though they were a part of the stern discipline to prepare the people for the Revolutionary struggle, were a great drain upon the Colony; and the actual sufferings and hardships endured by the soldiers in the field and the people at home were as great as, if not greater than, those experienced during the War of Independence. The rolls of the service in these early wars are very imperfect, and in some cases are entirely lost; so that we are unable to give the number of soldiers furnished by Lexington. From a thorough examination, however, we are able to state that the number was large, considering that the population of the town at the close of the war, in 1763, could not have been over six hundred. In 1740-41, an expedition was fitted out against the Spanish West Indies settlements, Cuba being the principal object. Five hundred men were furnished by Massachusetts, and such were the accidents of the expedition and such the mortality among the troops that only fifty of the number returned. No regular rolls of that service have been found; but we have been able to find the names of six men from Lexington.

In 1745, the memorable expedition against Louisburg was fitted out; Massachusetts furnished thirty-two hundred and fifty of the four thousand and seventy men comprising that expedition. The rolls of the troops are not found in the archives of the State, it being generally supposed that they were sent to England as vouchers. It is not, therefore, possible to state the number of men from this town. But as every town, especially near the seaboard, furnished more or fewer men, it is safe to conclude that Lexington was represented in that brilliant expedition. In fact the obituary notices give the names of several who died at Cape Breton that year, and hence it follows with almost mathematical certainty that they were soldiers.

In 1748, there appear to have been three Lexington men in the service; in 1754, four; in 1755, there were twenty-three; in 1756, twenty-four; in 1757, thirty-three; in 1758, nine; in 1759, six; in 1760, forty; in 1761, five, and in 1762, twenty-eight. The rolls of the service are imperfect at best. Some of them are lost, and others are so dilapidated that many of the

names are illegible. Besides, many of the rolls do not give the name of the town where the soldier resided. Under these circumstances it is impossible to give a full list of those who were in the service. The true number must have been greater than stated above. Enough, however, is known to justify the statement that Lexington was not behind her sister towns in responding to the calls of the country. In fact few, if any, towns, numbering only about six hundred inhabitants, and remote from the scene of danger, sent forth a larger number of men.

The effects of these exhausting wars must have been great upon every town in the Province. Nothing retards the growth of population like war. Of the soldiers called into service, those who fall in battle make but a small part of those lost to their respective towns. Many fall a prey to disease, and many more to the vices of the camp and the habits of roving and idleness, and so never return to their respective towns. Besides, the soldiers in the field generally belong to the producing class, so far as population is concerned. Many young men return comparatively poor, and so are not in a condition to support a family; consequently, if they marry at all, they marry late in life. I mention these things to account for the fact that the population of Lexington was nearly stationary during the French and the Revolutionary wars.

There are many things in the manners and customs of those days which appear singular to us. The system of "Warning out of town" ¹ is among them. The General Court had authorized towns to take this precaution, to prevent strangers from becoming a town charge as paupers. The practical working of this system was this: When any family or single person, even to a domestic in a family, came into town, the head of the family, or person owning the premises, was required to give notice to the selectmen of the names and numbers of the newcomers, the place whence they came, the date of their coming into town, and their pecuniary condition. If the selectmen thought there was danger of their becoming a public charge, they caused them to be warned to leave the town, and to have a "caution," as it was termed, entered with the Court of Sessions. This matter appears on our records as early as 1714, when "Capt: Joseph Estabrook

¹ For an exhaustive and interesting discussion of this matter, see *Warning Out in New England*, by J. H. Benton. Boston, 1911. *Ed.*

was made choyce of by ye selectmen to request the honorabl Sessions In June next to Enter Cautions against Dauid Cutting, and his wiffe: Sarah Cookse? and Joanna Snow: that thay might not be burthensum to Lexington." In 1722, Daniel Roff with his family were ordered to depart out of Lexington. We will add a few specimens of these notices: —

"Lexington January 6th: 1761 To the Select men gent'; These are to Inform you that on ye 19 of December Last past I toke ye widdo Elisabeth Sampson as a house keeper from harvard that being her Last place of Residence She being under Good Circumstances

"JOHN BRIDGE"

"To the Select Men of the Town of Lexington Gent these are to Inform you that I Recived into my house to Reside with me Abigail Stone on or ye 12 day of may her Last place of Residenc was woburn Her Curcumstances I belive are Low May ye 29 1762 Signed

"JAMES ROBINSON"

"At December Court 1760 Caution was Entered Against Edmund Dix Hannah Stockbridge Ann Hedge Hannan Ross as ye Law Directs."

"the Widdow Abigail Whittemore Informs that on ye 26 Day of December 1755 She took into her house as Inmates her Son in Law Nathaniel Whittemore with his wife & Child under Poore Curcumstances thay Came from Lincoln She Informed January ye 5th: 1756."

At a meeting of the selectmen August 27, 1744, allowed "Constable Daniel Brown: 3 Shillings for warning Rich^d Hutchingson with his family out of Town."

"Also Ordered ye Clerk to Giue a warrant to ye Constable to warn Thom^s Poore and Mary Winship to Remoue out of town."

These examples, which are taken promiscuously from the records, show the manner in which business was done at that time, and the general supervision which the authorities took of public, or as some might say, private affairs. It seems by the examples that a gentleman could not hire a man to live with him, or a girl to work in his family, or allow a tenant to occupy his house, or a house under his care, without giving notice thereof to the selectmen. And it is worthy of remark that these notices were given of the incoming of certain individuals who afterwards became some of the most respectable and influential men in the town. Some of the young women whose ingress into town was thus publicly heralded won the hearts of permanent residents, and became the mothers of

some of Lexington's most honored citizens. And when the calls of our country required the services of her patriotic sons, several of the very men who had been "warned out of town" were among the first to obey the call.

The ground on which this rigid policy was justified was that the town might be apprised of those immigrating into the township, so that they might be warned out, and thereby prevented from becoming a charge as paupers in case they should need assistance. This rule was so strictly adhered to that persons having servants come to live with them were compelled, either to send them out of town or give bonds that they should never become a town charge. One case will serve as a specimen: In 1769, William Reed had a negro servant named Pompey, and he gave a bond to the town in the sum of fifty pounds. Having the instrument before me, I will cite its terms: —

"The Condition of this Obligation is Such, that if ye the above Bouned William Reed his heirs Executors administrators or Assigns Shall from time to time and at all times for Ever hereafter Saue y^e Town of Lexington harmless from any Charge ariseing for the Support or maintenance of his Negro man Servant named Pompei: then this obligation to be void & of none Effect But if otherwise to Stand & Remain in full force & vertue.

"Signed, WM. REED."

"Signed Sealed & Deliv^d
In the Presence of

"BENJA. BROWN.

"THAD. BROWN."

There is one important fact which should be stated in connection with this practice of giving notice of the arrival of strangers and of warning them out of town through fear of their becoming a public charge, — it was more benevolent and humane than a practice sometimes adopted after this regulation became obsolete. Many cases have, since that period, occurred where poor persons, coming into a town, have been fitted out with a small supply of food on condition that they should go on to another town; and sometimes they have been taken, without any conditions or assent, and carried in the night-time and set down within the limits of another town. Such practices savor of inhumanity, and show that our fathers had not, at that day, learned the true system of providing almshouses for the support and comfort of the poor and unfortunate.

CHAPTER III

CIVIL HISTORY FROM 1763 TO 1775

The Natural Expectations of the Colonists — The Stamp Act — Instructions to the Representative — Declaration of Rights, and Resolutions — Endorsement of the Doings of Boston — Committee of Correspondence chosen — The Stamp Act repealed — The Importation of Tea — Resolutions in Opposition to the Importation and Use of the Tea — Measures of Preparation for the Last Appeal — A Pledge that they would support their Resolutions with their Fortunes and their Lives — The Certainty of a Conflict.

THE bloody contest with the French and Indians was over; Canada was conquered; and the domain of North America was secured to Protestant England. The stern Puritans, who had served so heroically, and we may add prayerfully, in the cause, and who had given success to the arms of Great Britain, were filled with rejoicing. They had proved their devotion to the Crown, and had contributed largely to the extension of His Majesty's possessions in North America; and, by so doing, had secured to themselves the great blessing of enjoying undisturbed the freedom of Congregational worship. They also flattered themselves that the king they had served, the country whose interest they had promoted, and the ministry whose administration they had contributed to make illustrious would gratefully remember the services rendered, and treat their faithful colonists, not only with justice, but with generosity. They expected, and had a right to expect, that, as they had shared with the mother country the dangers and the burdens of these protracted struggles, they should at least be left in peace, to recover from their exhaustion by their own industry and frugality.

In this general expectation the good people of Lexington participated. They had experienced the dangers, encountered the hardships, and felt the exhaustion of the war; and they needed repose. Lexington according to her population had furnished a large number of men. Her citizens, who had rendered distinguished service to their king and country, had returned to their homes and families, to engage in their industrial pursuits, to render their families more comfortable, and to retrieve their ruined fortunes; and by their manly exertion

and strict frugality, to bear their share of the taxes incident to the war, and at the same time contribute to the maintenance of civil and religious institutions in their native town. Industry revived in the place, and the people were exerting themselves to improve their highways, to increase the facilities for the education of their children, and thus to promote the prosperity of the town. But these dreams of peace and prosperity were disturbed by intimations that the Ministry they had served with so much fidelity, and in whose cause they had cheerfully made such sacrifices, instead of requiting these favors with kindness, was meditating a system of unjust exaction and servitude, greater than anything to which the colonists had ever before been subjected.

In fact, while the colonists were freely pouring out their blood and treasure in support of the Crown and His Majesty's possessions in America, the Ministry was meditating a plan by which the colonists should not only support their own government, but contribute to the maintenance of that power which had oppressed them. This was to be done by enlarging the prerogatives of the home government at the expense of the colonial charters. These contemplated encroachments were looked upon by the people of Massachusetts with peculiar jealousy, and by none more than by the people of Lexington. They had served the King with fidelity, and they claimed justice at his hands. Their proximity to the town of Boston, against which British tyranny seemed, from the first, to be mainly directed, made them alive to everything which tended to impair the prosperity of their principal market. Besides, there were causes operating within the town itself which served to keep up a high tone of patriotic feeling. The men who had fought as faithful English subjects in defence of English institutions, and also to acquire a larger domain for the Crown, felt that they were entitled to the rights of English subjects. They had paid too dearly for their homes and firesides, to be willing to have them invaded by the nation they had served. The military experience they had had, and the knowledge of arms they had acquired, gave them confidence in their own strength, so that they were not to be intimidated by any threat of enforcing oppressive laws at the point of the bayonet.

There was another general cause in operation in the Colonies to make the people jealous of their rights, and awake to

the spirit of liberty. The clergy in those days exercised a controlling influence in their respective parishes. In most of the country towns the minister was the only educated man in the place, and consequently was consulted on all great questions, more frequently than any other individual. And as the great theme of that day was religious freedom, the clergy were almost uniformly found on the side of liberty. They knew that religious and civil rights were so nearly allied that they must stand or fall together. They had taught the necessity of resisting oppression, during the French wars. The voice of the clergy at that period was on the side of defending our rights at every hazard. "An injured and oppressed people, whose destruction and overthrow is aimed at by unreasonable men, ought, surely, to stand upon their defence, and not tamely submit to their incursions and violence."¹ Such was the feeling of that day. It pervaded the whole community in a greater or less degree. But in no town was this doctrine inculcated with more force or fidelity than in Lexington. Their clergyman, the Rev. Jonas Clarke, was a man of decided ability, who was capable of comprehending the whole subject in all its bearings, of showing the intimate connection between civil and religious liberty, and of enforcing the high and important duty of fidelity to God, by maintaining the liberties of the people. He not only sympathized with his brethren generally on these subjects, and acted in harmony with them in inculcating the duty of patriotism; but in everything pertaining to human rights and the sacred obligation to maintain them, he was one who took the lead. Understanding the whole subject perfectly, and having a controlling influence in his own parish, he had brought the people up to a high state of enlightened patriotism. No man better understood the civil rights of the colonists than the Rev. Mr. Clarke, and no man was more successful in infusing his feelings into the great body of the people around him. Under these circumstances, it would be strange if the people of Lexington were not fully alive to the encroachments of the mother country, and ready at all times to maintain their own rights.

In March, 1765,² the first of a series of measures for taxing

¹ Fast Sermon of Mr. Maccarty, of Worcester, 1759.

² Bill introduced March, 1764, to take effect in a year. First action taken at Boston, May, 1764, containing "the first formal and public denial of the right of Parliament to tax the Colonies without their consent," by Sam Adams. J. Fiske, *The American Revolution*, Vol. I, pp. 15-16. Ed.

the Colonies passed the British Parliament, and soon after received the sanction of the Crown. This aroused the just indignation of the American people.

On the 21st of October, 1765, a town meeting was held in Lexington, to see what Instructions the town would give in relation to the Stamp Act. The subject was referred to the selectmen, consisting of James Stone, Thaddeus Bowman, Robert Harrington, Benjamin Brown, and Samuel Stone, Jr., for their consideration, who, being duly prepared, submitted at once a draft of Instructions. It is but justice to the memory of Mr. Clarke to say that this paper, as well as several other able papers recorded in our town book, were from his pen. The committee who reported them, though undoubtedly sensible and patriotic men, laid no claim to that finished scholarship which characterizes this and the other papers to which reference is made. There is internal evidence of their authorship, and it has ever been conceded that they were written by Mr. Clarke; as further evidence of the fact, I have now before me the original draft of one of these papers in Mr. Clarke's own handwriting. The instructions are so fraught with wisdom, so patriotic in their doctrines, and reflect so fully the sentiments of the people of the town who adopted them unanimously, that I give them in full: —

"To William Reed, Esq., the present Representative of Lexington: —

SIR, — We have always looked upon men, as a Set of Beings Naturally free: — And it is a Truth, which ye History of Ages and the Common Experience of Mankind have fully confirmed, that a People Can Never be divested of those invaluable Rights & Liberties which are necessary to ye Happiness of Individuals, to the well-being of Communities or to a well regulated State, but by their own Neglegence, Imprudence, Timidity or Rashness. — They are seldom lost, but when foolishly forfeited or tamely resigned.

"And therefore, when we Consider the invaluable Rights and Liberties we now possess, the Firmness and Resolution of our Fathers, for the Support and Preservation of them for us, and how Much we owe to our Selves and to Posterity, we Cannot but look upon it as an unpardonable Neglect, any longer to delay expressing how deeply we are Concerned at Some Measures adopted by the late Ministry, and how much we fear from Some Acts lately passed in the British Parliament, which appear to us, Not only distressing to the Trade and Commerce of this Province, but subversive of several of our most invaluable internal Rights, as well as Privileges, and from which we apprehend the Most fatal Consequences.

"What of all most alarms Us, is an Act Commonly Called the *Stamp Act*; the full Execution of which, we Apprehend would divest us of our Most inestimable Charter Rights and Privileges, Rob us of our Character as Free and Natural Subjects, and of almost Everything we ought, as a People to hold Dear.

"Admitting there was No Dispute as to the Right of Parliament to impose Such an Act upon us, yet we Cannot forebare Complaining of it in itself considered, as unequal and unjust, and a Yoke too heavy for us to bear. And that not only as it falls heaviest upon ye poor, the widow & The Fatherless and the Orphan; Not only as it will embarrass the Trade and Business of this infant Country and so prevent Remittances to England; But more especially as the Duties and Penalties imposed by it, are Numerous, and so high that it will quickly drein the Country of the little Cash remaining in it, Strip Multitudes of their Property, and reduce them to Poverty and in a short Time render it utterly impossible for the People to subsist under it — and what will be the Consequences of this, to our Friends in Great Britain, as well as to our Selves is easily Seen.¹

"But then, We humbly conceive this Act to be directly repugnant to those Rights and Priviledges granted us in our Charter, which we always held sacred, as confirmed to us, by the Royal word and Seal, and as frequently recognized by our Sovereign and the Parliament of Great Britain, wherein it is expressly granted to us and to our children — That We shall have and enjoy all Liberties and Immunities of Free and Natural Subjects, within any of his Majesties Dominions, to all Intents, Constructions and Purposes, as if we were every one of us born in his Majesties Realm of England. — And Further that the Full Power and Authority to impose and levy proportionable and reasonable Taxes upon the Estates and Persons of all the Inhabitants within the Province, for the Support and Defence of his Majesties Government are granted to the General Court or Assembly thereof —

"But by this Act, a Tax, — Yea an heavy Tax is imposed Not only without and beside the Authority of Said General Court, in which this Power (which has never been forfeited nor given up) is Said to be Fully (that is exclusively) lodged; But also directly in opposition to an essential Right or Priviledge of Free and Natural Subjects of Great Britain, who look Upon it as their Darling and Constitutional Right, Never to be Taxed but by their own Consent, in Person, or by their Representative. —

¹ By this Act, a ream of bail bonds, *stamped*, cost £100; a ream of common printed ones before had been sold for £15. A ream of *stamped* policies of insurance cost £190; a ream of common ones without stamps, £20. Other papers were taxed in the same proportion. All persons who should sign, write, or seal, neglecting to stamp as required, were subject to a fine of £10. Fifty-five specified items in all. E. Chase, *Beginnings of the American Revolution*, Vol. 1, p. 27. *Ed.*

"It is vain to pretend (as has been pretended) that We are virtually or in any Just Sence represented in Parliament — when it is well known that so far from this, our humble Petitions and Decent Remonstrances prepared and Sent Home by the Representative Body of this People, were not admitted an Hearing, in Parliament, even at The time when those Measures and Acts from which We apprehend so Much, were Depending in the Hon: House of Commons — An Hardship, which greatly adds to the Grevance, and Seems to Intimate that we have but too little to hope in Consequence of the most Humble and Dutifull Steps —

"However, this is not all: — By this Act we are most deeply affected, as hereby we are debarred a Right of being tried by Juries in Case of any Breach, or Supposed Breach of it — A Right which, untill Now, we have held in Common with our Brethren in England — A Right, which, under Providence, has been the Great Barrier of Justice; the Support of Liberty and Property in Great Britain and America: and a Right which is the Glory of the British Government.

"The Great Charter of England (commonly called *Magna Charta*) happily provided for all free and Natural Subjects of the Realm of England — 'that No amerciament shall be Assessed, but by the Oath of honest and lawfull men of the Vicinage (or Neighbourhood)' and That 'No Freeman shall be taken or imprisoned, or dissiezed of his Freehold or Liberties, or free Customs, nor passed upon, nor Condemned, but by the Lawfull judgment of his Peers, by the Law of the Land.' — But instead of this Most important Right, Such is the Extension of Power, given by this Act to Courts of Admiralty, that all offences against it may be heard, and tried, and determined, in said Courts, to the entire Subversion of this important Right, confirmed to us by the Great Charter and our own. —

"This, we apprehend, will open a Door to Numberless Evils, which time only can discover — at best, It will oftentimes oblige us to risk our Fortunes, our Liberties and Characters, upon the Judgment of one, and perhaps a Stranger, or perhaps that which is worse: — This will Subject us entirely to the Mercy of avaritious Informers, who May at Pleasure summon us from one part of the Province to the other, upon Suspicion of the least offence, and thus bring upon innocent Persons a Sort of necessity of pleading Guilty by paying the penalty to avoid a Greater Expense. — And this being the State of things, what will then be Necessary, but a weak or a wicked Person for a Judge, and of Natural and Free born Subjects, we shall quickly become the Most abject Slaves. — and wholly Cut off from our last Resource — *Hope of Redress!* —

"These, Sir being the real Sentiments of us, The Freeholders & other Inhabitants of this Town, of this Act, as in its Nature and Effects Considered, you can't be Surprised to find us Greatly

alarmed and Deeply affected. — And therefore at ye Same Time that We are firmly resolved in all possible ways to Express our filial Duty and Loyalty to our Sovereign, and a due Veneration for both Houses of Parliament, We do also, as Concerned for our Selves, our Posterity and Country, entreat and enjoin it upon you, that so far from encouraging, aiding or assenting in the Execution of this Act, you do reather endeavour as far as Consistent with Allegiance and Duty to our rightful Sovereign, to promote such Measures as on the Contrary, May tend to preserve Us in the Enjoyment of the invaluable Rights & Liberties, We at present possess; — at Least, till We hear the Result of the Measures, already taken for General Redress.

“In the Mean Time, We earnestly recommend to You the most calm, decent and dispassionate Measures, for an open, Explicit and resolute assertion and vindication of our *Charter Rights* and Liberties; and that the Same be so entered upon Record, that the World may see, and future Generations Know, that the present both knew and valued the Rights they enjoyed, & did not tamely resign them for Chains & Slavery — We shall only add, that the best economy of the public Money, is at all Times Necessary, and never more so than at present, when Public Debts are heavy, the People’s Burdens Great, and like to increase: —

“We take it for Granted therefore that you will Carefully avoid all unaccustomed and unconstitutional Grants, which will not only add to the present Burden but make such Precedents, as will be attended with Consequences which may prove Greatly to the disadvantage of the Publick.”¹

Instructions such as these, read in open town meeting, and discussed and adopted by a unanimous vote of the inhabitants, would do much towards creating a just appreciation of their rights as subjects, and of the duties they owed, not only to their sovereign, but to themselves. A people thus instructed, and trained in the school of stern religious principles, would be found ready for almost any emergency. Consequently when the inhabitants of the town of Boston, to manifest their opposition to the oppressive acts of the Ministry, resolved that they would not import or use certain

¹ The Americans had “explicitly adopted the distinction between internal and external taxation and declared themselves ready to submit to the latter while determined to resist the former.” “His [Townsend’s] course was a distinct warning to the Americans that, if they yielded now, they might expect some new Stamp Act . . . the revenue was to be used . . . to assert British supremacy over the Colonies at the expense of their political freedom. By providing for a civil list . . . to be responsible only to the Crown . . . it meddled with the internal police of every colony.” J. Fiske, *The American Revolution*, Vol. 1, pp. 30–31. *Ed.*

articles on which these duties were laid, the inhabitants of Lexington at a meeting held December 28, 1767, —

"Unanimously Voted, to Concur with ye Town of Boston Respecting Importing & using forreign Commodities as mentioned in their votes passed at their Meeting on the 28th day of October 1767."

Nothing of moment occurred in the municipal affairs of the town during the period under review. Roads were repaired, schools were supported, the poor were provided for, and the paramount subject, the maintenance of public worship, received its due share of attention. But the subject which pressed upon them most heavily during this period was the oppression of the mother country. Not, however, that the measures of the British Ministry did bear directly and immediately upon them with any distressing hardship at that time. But our patriotic forefathers viewed all such subjects on a broad and disinterested scale; they looked at the principle involved in the measures; and they knew full well that a trifling tax upon stamped paper or upon tea would serve as an entering wedge to a system of taxation which must reduce the Colonies to a state of absolute dependence, if not complete vassalage; and patriotism prompted, nay, religion required, that they should oppose the first attempt to trample upon their rights. These feelings were general among the people, and nowhere were they entertained with more ardor than in the parish over which Mr. Clarke presided; consequently the people here let pass unimproved no opportunity which bore upon the great subject of human rights.

On the 21st day of September, 1768, the inhabitants of Lexington assembled in town meeting legally warned, to "Take into their Serious Consideration The Distressed State of ye Province at ye present Day and pass any votes Relative thereto." After due consideration, they made choice of Isaac Bowman, Esq., William Reed, Esq., and Deacon Jonas Stone, "to prepare Reasons for our Present Conduct"; who subsequently reported the following Declarations and Resolves: —

"Whereas it is the first principle in Civil Society founded in nature and Reason, That no Law of the Society can be Binding on any Individual without his Consent Given by himself in Person or by his Representative of his own Free Election; — And whereas in

& by an Act of the British Parliament, passed in ye first year of the Reign of king William and Queen Mary of Glorious & blessed memory, Entitled an act Declaring the rights and Liberties of the Subjects and Settling ye Succession of the Crown: The Preamble of which act is in these words, (viz): —

“Whereas the late king James the Second, by ye Assistance of Divers evil Counselors Judges & ministers employed by him, did endeavor to Subvert & Extirpate ye protestant Religion & the Laws & Liberties of this Kingdom: it is expressly among other things Declared, that ye Levying money for the Use of the Crown by Pretence of prerogative, without Grant of parliament for a Longer Time or in other Manner then ye Same is Granted, is illegal’: —

“And whereas in the third year of ye reign of ye Same King William & Queen Mary their majesties were Graciously pleased by their Royal Charter, to Give & Grant to the Inhabitants of this his majesties province, all ye Territory therein Described, to be holden in free & Common Coccage: & also to ordain & Grant to ye Sd Inhabitants certain rights Liberties, & privileges therein Expressly mentioned: Among which it is Granted, Established and ordained That all & every ye Subjects of Them their heirs, and Sucessors which Shall Go to inhabit within Sd province & Territory, & Every of their Children which Shall happen to be born their or on the Seas in Going thither or returning from thence, Shall have & enjoy all the Liberties & Immunities of free & Natural Subjects, within any of ye Dominions of them, their heirs and Sucessors to all Intents, purposes, & Constructions, whatever, as if thay and every of them were Born within the Realm of England.

“And whereas by ye aforesaid Act of parliament made ye first year of ye Sd King William & Queen Mary all & Singular the premises Contained therein are claimed Demanded and insisted on as ye undoubted Rights & Liberties of ye Subjects Born within ye Realm: And whereas the Freeholders & other Inhabitants of this Town in Sd Charter mentioned, do hold all ye Rights and Liberties therein Contained to be Sacred & inviolable: At ye Same time publicly & Solemnly acknowledging their firm & unshaken Allegiance to their alone rightfull Sovereign King George the 3d ye Lawfull Sucessor of the Sd King William and Queen Mary to ye British Throne: Therefore,

“Resolved, That the Freeholders & other Inhabitants of the Town of Lexington, will at ye utmost peril of their Lives & Fortunes, take all Legal & Constitutional measures to Defend and maintain ye person, Family, Crown & Dignity of our Said Sovereign Lord, George ye Third: & all & Singular the Rights Liberties privileges & Immunities Granted in ye said Royal Charter: as well those which are Declared to be Belonging to us as British Subjects by Birthright, as all others therein Specially mentioned.

"And whereas by ye Said Royal Charter it is Specially Granted to ye Great & General Court or Assembly therein Constituted to impose & Levy proportionable & Reasonable Assessments Rates & Taxes upon ye Estates & persons of all and every ye proprietors & Inhabitants of ye Sd province or Territory, for the Service of ye King in ye necessary Defence and Support of his Government of the Province, & the protection & preservation of his Subjects therein:

"Therefore, Voted, as ye opinion of this Town that Levying money within this province for the Use & Service of ye Crown in other manner then ye same is Granted by the Great & General Court or Assembly of this province is in violation of ye Said Royal Charter: and ye Same is in violation of ye undoubted natural Rights of Subjects, Declared in the aforesd act of Parliament, freely to give & Grant there own money for the Service of ye Crown, with their own Consent in person, or by Representatives of their own Free Election.

"And whereas in ye afore Said Act of Parliament it is declared, that the Raising or keeping a standing army within ye Kingdom in time of peace unless it be with ye Consent of parliament is against Law: it is the opinion of this Town that ye Sd Declaration is founded in ye indefeasible Rights of the Subjects to be Consulted, and to Give their free Consent in person or by Representatives of their own Free Election, to the raising & keeping a Standing Army among them: and the Inhabitants of this Town being Free Subjects have the Same rights, Derived from nature And Confirmed by ye British Constitution as well as ye Sd Royal Charter: & therefore ye Raising or keeping a Standing Army without their Consent in person or by Representatives of their own free Election, would be an Infringement of their Natural, Constitutional, and Charters rights: And the employing Such Army for the Inforcing of Laws made without ye Consent of ye people in person or by their Representatives, would be a Grievance.

"The foregoing Report being Several Times Distinctly read & Considered by ye Town — The Question was put whether ye Same Shall be accepted and Recorded: & passed unanimously in the Affirmative. — The following vote was unanimously passed (viz) —

"Whereas by an Act of parliament of the first of King William & Queen Mary, it is Declared: that for the Redress of all Grievances & for Amending, Strengthening, & preserving the Law, Parliaments ought to be held frequently & in as much as it is ye opinion of this Town that ye people of this province Labour under many Grievances which unless Speedily Redressed threaten ye Total Destruction of our Invaluable natural Constitutional & Charter Rights. — and furthermore as his Excellency the Governor at the request of the Town of Boston, has Declared himself unable to Call a General Court which is the Assembly of the States of this Province for the Redress of Grievances: —

"Voted, that this Town — will now make Choice of Some suitable person to Join with Such as are or may be appointed & Sent from ye Several other Towns in this province to Consult & advise what may be best for ye public Good at this Critical Juncture.

"Then made Choice of William Reed, Esq.

"also voted to keep a day of prayer on ye occasion, and Left it to ye Rev. Mr. Clarke to appoint ye time."

These sentiments published in open town meeting, and sanctified by a day of fasting and prayer, would of course govern the conduct of a sincere and conscientious people. No wonder, therefore, that we find them in 1769, ready to make what at the present day would in some families be considered a great sacrifice; by voting "Not to use any Tea or keep in Snuff nor Suffer it to Be used in our families till ye Duties are taken of."

In 1772, a measure was on foot to make the Supreme Judges independent of the people, by granting them a salary directly by Parliament, thus taking from the people the only hold they had upon those officers — that of withholding supplies. This measure was no sooner talked of, than the alarm was given.

At a meeting of the inhabitants of Lexington, held December 31, 1772, the following *Resolves* were passed: —

"1. That it is the natural Right & Indisputable Duty of every Man, & consequently of every Society or Body of Men to consult their own Safety, & to take Measures for the Preservation of their own Liberty and Property, without which Life itself can scarcely be deemed worth possessing. —

"2. That the Security of Life, Liberty & Property, to a People is, or ought always to be considered as the Great End of all Government, and is acknowledged to be the professed End of the happy Constitution of the British Government in particular. —

"3. That when through Imperfections Necessarily attendant upon the Wisest Systems of which fallible men are capable, or through the Design of wicked or Crafty Men, in Places of Power & Trust any Laws or Acts of Government are found to be Obnoxious or oppressive to the Subject it is wisely provided and established by Magna Charta, the Petition of Rights, and other Statutes of England, that not only Counties, Cities, & Corporations, but also Towns & Individuals, may consult & Go into Measures for Redress, by Petitions Remonstrances or Other ways, as Occasion & Emergency of Affairs may require. —

"4. That the Inhabitants of this Town & Province by the Royal

Charter (a Sacred Compact between them and the Crown) being Vested with all the Rights & Privileges of Englishmen, & British Subjects, have indisputable Right, both as a People and as Individuals, to Judge for themselves when Laws or Measures of Government are Obnoxious or oppressive, and to Consult upon, & go into the best Measures in their Power for Redress when oppressed. — and therefore, —

“5. That as the Inhabitants of this Town look upon themselves in common with their Brethren & Fellow Subjects through the Province, to be greatly Injured & Oppressed in Various Instances by Measures of Government lately Adopted, especially by the proposed measure of making the judges dependent upon the crown alone for their support, they cannot but judge it their unalienable right & a Duty they owe to themselves and Posterity; as a Town, as well as Individuals, to take these Matters into Serious Consideration, freely to express their Sentiments concerning them, and consult Measures for Redress. —

“Then voted that a Committee of Seven be Chosen to report to the Town at the Adjournment of this Meeting, a Draft of Instructions for their Representative, also of Such further Votes and Resolves, as they may think it best for the Town to come into. — Then made choice of William Reed, Esq., Isaac Bowman, Esq., Capt. Thaddeus Bowman, Dea. Benjamin Brown, Mr. Samuel Bridge, Dea. Joseph Loring, and Mr. Joseph Simonds.”

At an adjourned meeting held January 5, 1772, this committee submitted the following document, fraught with the wisdom and patriotism of their pious and devoted pastor, which was unanimously adopted: —

“*To Mr. Jonas Stone, Representative of the Town of Lexington : —*

“Sir It is not to call in Question your Capacity, Disposition or Fidelity of our Estimation of which we have Given the fullest Evidence, in the Choice we have made of You to Represent Us in the General Court of this Province; but in exercising our Right of Instructing Our Representative, to open Our Minds freely to You Upon Matters which Appear to Us interesting to ourselves, to the Province and Posterity, and to Strengthen & confirm You in Measures which (we trust) your own Judgment would have Suggested, as necessary and important to our Common safety & Prosperity, though we had been Silent. —

“Our worthy Ancestors after many Struggles with their Enemies in the Face of every Danger, and at the expense of much Treasure & Blood, secured to themselves, & transmitted to us, their Posterity, a fair and rich Inheritance, not only of a pleasant & fertile Land, but also of Invaluable Rights and Privileges, both as Men &

Christians, as stated in the Royal Charter of this Province, and Secured to us by the Faith of the British Crown and Kingdom. As we hold due Allegiance to our rightful Sovereign *King George III.*, and are ready with our Lives & Fortunes, to support his just and constitutional Government: so we look upon ourselves as bound by the most sacred Ties, to the Utmost of our Power to maintain and defend ourselves, in our Charter Rights and Privileges, and as a sacred Trust committed to us, to transmit them inviolate to succeeding Generations.

"It is the General Voice, at least of the more thinking & judicious among us, that our *Charter Rights & Liberties* are in danger, are infringed, and upon a most careful, Serious, and mature Consideration of them, as stated in our *Charter*, and comparing them with Acts of the *British Parliament*, & Measures adopted by the *British Court, Ministry & Government*, relating to this and other *American Colonies*, some of which have been carried into Execution among us, We are clearly of opinion, that they have been for some time past and are at present, greatly infringed & Violated hereby, in Various Instances. And those Measures have been gone into from Time to Time by the Honorable Council & House of Representatives, of the Province for Relief & Redress; Yet so far from being successful, our Grievances seem to increase & be more & more intolerable every Day. —

"The unhappy & distressing Effects of the Measures referred to, are too many to admit, and too well known and felt to require a particular Mention. — But we cannot forbear observing the glaring Contrast, which in some Instances is to be seen between our Charter and the Resolves & Acts of the *British Parliament*, & Measures of Administration, adopted by the British Court, respecting the People of this Province, as well as other Colonies.

"The Charter grants to our General Court 'full Power & Authority, from Time to Time to make, ordain & establish all manner of reasonable Laws, &c., and that such Laws, &c., not being disallowed by the King within Three Years, shall continue in full force, until the expiration thereof, or until Repealed by the Same Authority.' But the *British Parliament* have resolved, 'That they have a Right to make Laws binding upon the Colonies in all Cases whatsoever'; so that whenever they please to carry this Resolve into Execution, they may by another resolve passed into an Act, by one Powerful Stroke vacate all our Charter, and in a Moment dash all our Laws out of Existence, or bury them together in one common Ruin. — By the Charter, the Right of Taxing the People is lodged in the General Court of the Province, (and we think exclusively). But by the late Revenue Acts, which have been (with so many Ensigs of Power and Terror; in open Violation of the Laws and Liberties of this People) put in Execution by the Commissioners of the Customs,

this Right is clearly infringed, & the Power put into & exercised by other Hands. —

“By the Charter, we are Vested with all the Rights & Liberties of British Subjects, one of which we know is in *Magna Charta* declared to be that of Tryal by Juries; & ‘that no Freeman shall be disseized of his Freehold, Liberties, &c., but by the Lawful Judgment of His Peers, &c.’ But such is the provision made in the Revenue Act, and Such the exercise of the Power of Courts of Admiralty, that Men may be disseized of their Liberty and Carried from one Part of the Country to the Other, and be tryed and Sentenced by one Judge, for any, even the smallest Breach of this Act, whether real, or supposed. Though the Charter provides for Erecting of Judicatories for hearing & trying all Manner of offences, as well Criminal and Capital as civil; Yet if we are rightly informed, a late Act of Parliament provides, & directs in some Cases, that Persons may be seized and carried to England for Tryal, and that for Life. Should this be the Truth, where is the Right of Freeman,—where the boasted Liberty of English subjects?

“The Charter represents the Governor of this Province, as *Captain General*, and as having full Power & authority in all Military & warlike affairs: and of himself, to appoint all Military officers, to Erect Forts & Commit them to the Custody of Such Person or Persons as to Him shall seem meet. But can it be said that this is the Truth of Fact, when the *Governor* himself declares, He has no Authority over those who have Custody of the most important Fortress, and when Garrisons are Changed and officers appointed, not only, not by the Governor, but even without His Knowledge or Consent. — Whether this is the state of *Castle William*, the principal Fortress of this Province, appears to us to be a Question not unworthy the serious attention, & further most critical Enquiry of the Great and General Court.

“The Charter not only Vests the General Court with the Right of imposing Taxes, but also points out the Ends for which Taxes are to be raised; one of which is the Support of Government; Justly Supposing that Necessary Connection between the Governing, & Governed; and that mutual Dependance which preserves a due Balance between them, which in all well regulated States, has been found to have the happiest Tendency to promote good Government on the one hand, and Chearful Obedience on the other: — But not enough that the Right of Taxation is Violated, but the Right of determining the Merit & Services of those that are employed in Government must be yielded too. Thus with respect to the first offices among Us, the only remaining Tie of Interest, whereby Persons in the service of the Public were induced to be Faithful in their Trust to the People, is dissolved: and being intirely dependant upon the Crown, for both Place & Support, it becomes their Inter-

est, at least in many Cases, to be Unfaithful & partial in their Administration with regard to the People. — And considering the Imperfections of human Nature, it is scarcely possible it should be otherwise, even though the best of Men were in Authority. For Interest will have its Influence to blind the Eyes and pervert the Judgment of the Wisest and most upright.

We have been certified in Form, that this is the Case with the Gentleman in the Chief Seat of Government, & at the Head of the Province, And from the best Intelligence we are able to obtain, we have but too much reason to fear, that the Same Plan has taken Place with respect to a Number of others in Places of Trust & Power, of no small Importance to the well being of this People. Particularly we have Reason to think this to be the Fact with Respect to the Judges of the Superior Court; the highest Court of Justice in the Province, the Court upon the Decisions and Determinations of which, all our Interests Respecting Property, Liberty or Life, do Chiefly, if not Ultimately depend; And what adds to the Indignity of this Measure is, that it is carried into Effect, as we have just Reason to suppose at our Expense at the Same Time that it is against our Consent. Thus the Plan of Oppression is begun, & so far carried on, that if our Enemies are still Successful, and no Means can be found to put a Stop to their Career, no Measures contrived for a Restoration of our affairs to a Constitutional Course, as pointed out in our Charter; we have just Reason to fear, That the Eyes of the Head of Government being blinded, the Sources of Justice poisoned, and Hands of Administration bribed with Interest, the System of Slavery will soon be compleat. These things are of so Interesting a Nature, so deeply affecting, & so big with the Ruin of all our Rights & Liberties, both Civil & religious, that we readily acknowledge, that we cannot so much as transiently view them without a Mixture of Horror, Indignation, & Grief.

“But this is not all. — Our Charter knows no such thing as Instructions to Governors; and yet what have not Instructions done to distress this People! — and if in Addition to these, it should be found, upon the Enquiry of the Guardians of the Province in General Court assembled, (and they have a right to Enquire,) that the Law has not, in all Instances had its Course, or that at any Time Measures have been Successful, to Stay Justice from Offenders — it seems as if it was Time to be Alarmed, & provide for our Safety; or else tamely to bow to the Yoke, & forever hereafter be silent. — Whether this representation be just, is submitted, And must be left to Time & Facts to discover. — But that these among other things are worthy most Serious attention, as Subjects of Enquiry and deeply Interesting can’t be disputed.

“And therefore to You, Sir, whom we have Chosen to represent Us in the Great Court of Inquest for this Province, We do most ear-

nestly recommend it that You use your utmost Influence, that these as well as all other Matters, in which the Rights and Liberties of this People are concerned; are impartially enquired into, and dispassionately considered by the General Assembly, and that Measures be pursued, by Petition to the Throne, or otherways as the Court in their Great Wisdom shall see Meet, for a Radical & lasting Redress. That thus, whether Successful or not, Succeeding Generations might know that we Understood our Rights & Liberties, and were Neither afraid nor ashamed to assert & maintain them; and that we ourselves may have (at least) this Consolation in our Chains, that it was not through our Neglect, that this People were enslaved.

"WILLIAM REED, *Per Order.*"

At the same meeting the town took into consideration a communication from the town of Boston on the same general subject, and

"*Voted*, That this Town entirely concur with them in their sentiments, both as to the Nature of our Rights, and the high Infraction of them, by the late Measures of Government; and with pleasure embrace this Opportunity, to express the great Sence they have of the Vigilance & Patriotick Spirit they (& our Brethren in many other Towns) have discovered upon this and Various Occasions, for the preservation of Our Rights, &c. —

"*Voted also* That this Town has a Right to Correspond with other Towns, Upon Matters of Common concern—and that a Committee be accordingly Chosen, to transmit the Proceeding of this Meeting, to the Gentlemen of the Committee of Correspondence in Boston; and further to Correspond with them as well as the Committees of other Towns Upon Matters of Common concern as Occasion may require."

The town then proceeded and chose the following named gentlemen, as their Committee of Correspondence: Captain Thaddeus Bowman, Deacon Jonas Stone, Ensign Robert Harrington, Deacon Benjamin Brown, and Deacon Joseph Loring.

The opposition to the Stamp Act was such that Parliament was induced to repeal it, which they did in 1766. But this was a change rather than an abandonment of their policy. They repealed an act which they saw that they could not enforce, for the purpose of adopting other measures which they deemed more artful and seductive, and hence more likely to bring the colonists to their feet. The sequel will show their measures, and the manner in which they were met by the people of America.

In December, 1773, the inhabitants were called together to consider the state of public affairs, and especially the subject of the tea, sent over by the East India Company; when the whole subject was referred to the Committee of Correspondence, who subsequently submitted the following Report, which was unanimously adopted: —

“That from the Intelligence transmitted by the Committee of Correspondence in the Town of Boston, to the Committee of Correspondence for this Place, and by them Communicated to the Town, it appears, that the Enemies of the Rights & Liberties of *Americans*, greatly disappointed in the Success of the Revenue Act, are seeking to Avail themselves of New, & if possible, Yet more detestable Measures to distress Enslave & destroy Us. — Not enough that a Tax was laid Upon Teas, which should be Imported by Us, for the Sole Purpose of raising a Revenue to support *Task Masters Pensioners*, &c., in Idleness & Luxury; But by a late Act of Parliament, to Appease the Wrath of the East India Company, whose Trade to America had been greatly clogged by the operation of the Revenue Acts, Provision is made for said Company to export their Teas to America free and discharged from the Payment of all Duties, & Customs in England, but liable to all the same Rules, *Regulations, Penalties & Forfeitures* in America, as are Provided by the Revenue Act, as much as if the Above mentioned Act had never been passed. —

“Not to say anything of the Gross Partiality herein discovered in favour of the East India Company, and to the Injury & oppression of Americans; — We are alarmed at this masterly Effort of Iniquitous Policy, as it has the most gloomy Affect on the Trade of these Colonies, and gives an Opening to the East India Company, or others (under the covert of an Act of Parliament, & for the unrighteous Purpose of raising & securing a Revenue to the Crown, out of the Purses of Industrious *Americans*) to monopolize one Branch after another, untill in Process of Time, the whole Trade will be in their Hands, and by their Consignees, Factors, &c., they will be the sole Merchants of America. —

“And further, we are more especially Alarmed, as by these Crafty Measures, the Revenue Act is to be Established, and the Rights and Liberties of Americans forever Sapped & destroyed. These appear to Us, to be Sacrifices we must make, and these the costly Pledges, that must be given Up into the Hands of the Oppressor, The moment we receive this detested Article, by which the Tribute will be established upon Us. — For nothing short of this will ever fill the Mouth of Oppression, or gorge the insatiate appetite of Lust & Ambition! — Once admit this subtle, wicked Ministerial Plan to take Place — Once permit this *Tea* thus imposed upon Us by the

East India Company to be landed, received & Vended by their Consignees, Factors, &c., the Badge of Our slavery is fixed, the Foundation of Ruin is surely laid, and unless a wise & Powerful GOD, by some Unforeseen Revolution in Providence, shall prevent; we shall soon be obliged to bid Farewell to the once flourishing Trade of America, and an everlasting Adieu to those Glorious Rights & Liberties, for which our Worthy Ancestors, so earnestly prayed, so bravely fought, so freely bled!! —

“This being the Light in which we View These Measures of Administration in their Nature and Tendency, We cannot but be Alarmed, especially when we see our Danger so great, our Ruin so nearly effected — The Ship with the detested tribute TEA in the Harbour, and the Persons Appointed to receive, & sell the same, unnaturally refusing to resign their Appointment, though by carrying it to Effect, they should procure their Country’s Ruin. — As therefore we should be wanting to ourselves, to Our Country and Posterity, to be silent upon such an Occasion as this, and as we have no reason to expect that GOD the Supreme disposer of all things will work Miracles for Us, while we neglect Ourselves, we do with the greatest seriousness & Sincerity, come into the following

RESOLVES

“1. That as the Revenue Act, and the Act allowing the East India Company to export Teas into the Colonies Subject to Duties, with all the Measures of the Ministry and Administration, whether by secret Craft, or open Violence to Carry Said Acts into Effect; appear to Us, to be a direct Violation of our Charter Rights & Liberties, We are determined, to the Utmost of our Power, in every rational Way, upon this, and all proper Occasions to Oppose them, and use our most Vigilant & Resolute endeavors to prevent their taking Place among Us. —

“2. That we will not be concerned, either directly or indirectly, in landing, receiving, buying or selling, or even Using any of the Teas sent out by the East India Company, or that shall be Imported Subject to a Duty, imposed by Act of Parliament, for the Purpose of raising a Revenue in America.

“3. That all such Persons as shall directly or indirectly Aid and Assist in landing, receiving, buying, selling or Using the Teas sent out by the East India Company, or imported by others, Subject to a Duty, for the Purpose of a Revenue, shall be deemed, & treated by Us as Enemies of their Country. —

“4. That the Conduct of Richard Clark, & Son, the Governour’s Two Sons Thomas & Elisha Hutchinson, and the other Consignees, in refusing to resign their Appointment, as Factors, or Vendue Masters for the East India Company, when repeatedly requested by

the Town of Boston, has justly rendered them Obnoxious to their fellow Citizens to the Inhabitants of this Town, and to the People of this Province & America in General, and as upon this Ocasion they have discovered not only want of due affection for their Native Country, but also from selfish Views, (as we think,) a strange disposition to accelerate its Ruin, We cannot but consider them as Objects of our just Resentment Indignation & contempt.

"5. That as it has been basely insinuated, that the Measures taken to prevent the Reception of the East India Company's Teas, are the Effect of a Scheme of the Merchants, to advance their own Interest; it is the Opinion of this Town, that the Suggestion is false & Malicious, and designed at the same time, to deceive & delude the People into a Compliance with the Measures of their Enemies, and to prevent the good Effects of the honest Patriotic Endeavours of so Valuable and powerful Part of the Community, to rescue the Trade & Liberties of their Country from impending Destruction.

"6. That as with Gratitude to our Brethren in Boston, and other Towns, we do express our satisfaction in the Measures They have taken, and the struggles they have made, upon this, as well as many other Occasions, for the Liberties of their Country, and America, We are ready and resolved to concur with them, in every rational Measure, that may be Necessary for the Preservation or Recovery of our Rights & Liberties as Englishmen and Christians; and we trust in GOD That should the State of Our Affairs require it, *We shall be ready to Sacrifice our Estates, and every thing dear in Life, Yea & Life itself, in support of the common Cause.*

"The above Resolves being Passed, a Motion was made that to them, another should be added, accordingly it was Resolved *nem. con.*

"That if any Head of a Family in this Town, or any Person shall from this time forward; & untill the Duty be taken off; purchase any Tea, or Use, or consume any Tea in their Famelies, such person shall be looked upon as an Enemy to this Town, & to this Country, and shall by this Town be treated with Neglect & Contempt."

At a meeting of the inhabitants of Lexington, duly warned, on the 26th of September, 1774, Deacon Stone was chosen to represent the town in the General Court. A committee, consisting of Captain Bowman, Deacon Brown, and Lieutenant Edmund Munroe, was chosen to prepare Instructions, who reported the following draft, which was adopted:—

"The Alarming Situation of Our Public Affairs, being So distressing, as at present, and our Council being chosen by Mandamus from the King; whose Authority as a Council we cannot Own, nor consent to,

"We therefore the Inhabitants of the Town of Lexington, being

Assembled at the Meeting House in Said Town, on Monday the 26 Day of September Instant, to Make Choice of a Representative, and having made choice of Dea. Stone as our Representative, We putting the firmest Confidence in Your Integrity & Abilities, do Instruct You (Sir,) in the following Manner, to Use Your Utmost Influence at the Great & General Court, that nothing there be transacted as a Court, under the New Council, or in Conformity to any of the late Acts of Parliament."

At the same meeting they chose Deacon Stone a delegate to the Provincial Congress. Having repeatedly denounced the acts of the Ministry and Parliament, as acts of oppression, designed to rob the people of the Colonies of every right which they held dear; and having pledged their *fortunes and their lives*, should the occasion require, in defence of the great principles of liberty, like men who knew what they said, and said what they meant, the inhabitants of the town made preparations for the last resort of oppressed subjects. Consequently, at meetings held in November and December, they voted to provide "a suitable Quantity of Flints," — "to bring the Two pieces of Cannon from Watertown & Mount them," — "to provide a Pair of Drums for the Use of the Military Company in Town," — "to provide Bayonets at the Town's Cost for One Third Part of the Training Soldiers," — "to have the militia and alarm list meet for a view of their arms," etc. And that these votes should not prove a mere dead letter, committees were chosen to carry them into effect.

Besides, as the Provincial Congress had recommended to the people to put themselves in a state of defence by organizing military companies, to be armed and equipped, and to be ready to march at the shortest notice, it was voted by the inhabitants of Lexington that they would carry out these recommendations, and committees were appointed for that purpose. As the Congress had also chosen Henry Gardner, Esq., of Stow, to be Receiver-General of all province taxes which should be collected, and requested the several towns to pay their respective portions of the taxes, when collected, over to him, instead of paying them over to Harrison Gray, Esq., His Majesty's Receiver-General, the people directed their collectors to pay the province tax, when collected, over to Henry Gardner, Esq., and assured them by solemn vote that the town would see them harmless for so doing. These "awful notes of preparation" showed that the people were prepared

for any emergency, and firmly resolved to maintain their rights by the sword, if remonstrance and entreaty should prove ineffectual. We do not claim for the town of Lexington any exclusive honor in this respect. But we do say that no town, under all the circumstances, is deserving of more praise. No town was more ready to resolve, and no town backed up her declarations with more promptitude, or made greater sacrifices in the cause than the town of Lexington. Her population was small, being only about seven hundred, and her means were limited; but like the woman in Scripture, "she did what she could" in the cause of the Colonies — the cause of freedom.

I have been thus particular in presenting the acts and doings of the inhabitants of Lexington, preparatory to the opening of hostilities; for, after all, we are to contemplate the American Revolution, not so much in the strife upon the ensanguined field as in the cool deliberation and the firm resolve which characterized our people at the period immediately preceding the open rupture. I have been thus particular in order to present to the public those valuable state papers, written by the Rev. Jonas Clarke, which prepared our people, not only for the contest, but for the just appreciation of rational and constitutional liberty. It is an easy thing in times of excitement to arouse the passions of men, and nerve their arms for battle — "to teach their hands to war and their fingers to fight." But to instill into their minds the great principles of civil and religious liberty, and make them realize their duty as citizens, is a more difficult task. But this has been done in a clear and able manner in the documents above cited. So fully and so clearly are the grievances under which our fathers labored, and the causes which gave rise to the American Revolution set forth, that if all other records were destroyed and all recollections blotted from the memory, the faithful historian could, from the Instructions given to the Representatives of Lexington, and the other papers found in our Records, emanating from the pen of Mr. Clarke, trace the development of oppression from year to year, and state the true causes of that mighty struggle.

With the master mind of this pious divine, operating upon and almost controlling the people of his charge, and with the military discipline to which some thirty of the citizens of Lexington had been subjected in their service in the French wars,

we can easily account for the firm and manly resistance made by them on the 19th of April, 1775.

As the feelings and sentiments which prevailed among the people of Lexington pervaded the whole community on the opening of the year 1775, an open rupture was a mere question of time. With such haughty pretensions as were put forth by the Ministry and Parliament of Great Britain on the one side, and the calm but resolute determination of the colonists to enjoy the rights and maintain the privileges of British subjects on the other, it was certain that this controversy could not end in words.¹ There was too much pride on the one hand, and too much principle on the other, to justify the belief that England would abandon her policy, or the colonists their rights.

Those, therefore, who contemplate the Revolution as commencing on the 19th of April, 1775, must look at effects rather than at causes; and suffer their minds to rest upon the outward and visible, rather than to penetrate the great moral causes operating by fixed and certain laws, which had been developing themselves for more than a century. The rash act of Pitcairn at Lexington Common was by no means the cause of the Revolution. It was merely the accidental occurrence which opened the drama at that time and place. The tragedy had been written, the great parts assigned, and the grand result penned by the recording angel, and if the first act had not been opened at Lexington and Concord, it must have transpired on some other field. Otis and Adams opened the battle of the Revolution, long before the bayonet was fixed or the sword drawn. Clarke's Instructions to our Representatives did as much to make the patriots stand firm on the Common in the very face of a superior force, as did the stern command of the gallant Parker.

Nor does this view of the subject lessen the praise due to the band of patriots who rallied in freedom's cause on the 19th of April. On the contrary, it adds greatly to their honor, and reflects imperishable lustre upon their names. It shows that they acted, not from passion, but from principle, and fought not to conquer, but to defend — not to despoil a foe, but to establish for themselves and for their posterity a government of laws, which should mete out to every citizen his rights and his privileges, and secure him in their enjoyment.

¹ Compare J. Fiske, *The American Revolution*, Vol. 1, pp. 34-45. *Ed.*

CHAPTER IV

CAUSES OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

the State of Feeling towards the Mother Country — Allegiance to the Crown — Massachusetts the First to deny the Right of Parliament to legislate for us — Massachusetts Charter annulled — Andros appointed Governor, with Despotic Powers — Andros imprisoned — A New Charter granted — Writs of Assistance issued — Otis opposed them — Admiralty Jurisdiction extended — The Stamp Act passed — Stamp Officer hung in Effigy — General Congress at New York — Stamp Act repealed — A Ship-of-War sent to Boston — Governor Bernard dissolves the General Court — Refuses to order a New Election — A Convention assembles in Boston — Two Regiments sent to Boston — The People refuse to furnish them Quarters or Rations — Bernard recalled, and Hutchinson appointed Governor — The Boston Massacre — Hutchinson removes the Troops to the Castle — Boston laid under Martial Law — Committees of Correspondence organized — The Tea destroyed — Massachusetts the First to deny the Power of Parliament, and the First to baffle the Ministry.

IN the preceding chapter, the state of feeling in the town of Lexington, up to the commencement of the revolutionary struggle, and the measures there adopted have been presented. We have seen in the instructions to their representatives the great doctrines of freedom and good government plainly foreshadowed, and the causes which led to the Revolution strongly set forth in general terms. In this chapter it is proposed to state these causes on a broader scale, and to trace, from time to time, the developments of oppression on the one hand and of the spirit of freedom on the other.

Springing from a stock proverbial for its loyalty, our fathers were not inclined to revolt from the mother country. On the contrary, they were proud of their ancestry, and claimed nothing but the rights of English subjects. Those who emigrated to these shores were deeply imbued with the spirit of liberty, both civil and religious. They had felt the exactions of the State and the persecutions of the Church in their own country, and rather than submit to these evils, they chose to encounter the perils and privations of a life in a wilderness, surrounded by savage foes.

But though they had fled from persecution in their native land, they did not design to throw off their allegiance to their rightful sovereign. The first settlers of New England, before

they left the *Mayflower*, declared that they came to this wilderness to promote "the glory of God, the advancement of the Christian faith, and the honor of their king and country." And after they had reached these shores, they cherished a fond recollection of the land of their birth. But being separated from the parent country by the broad expanse of ocean, they knew that they must rely mainly upon themselves. Realizing that they held their fortunes in their own hands, they naturally felt that they had a right to manage their own affairs in their own way. Holding the country by the double right of charter and of purchase, they could not divest themselves of the conviction that the lands they had cleared and the huts they had erected were theirs by no ordinary title. Claiming by their Charter, not only their possessions, but all the rights and immunities of Englishmen, — while they acknowledged their allegiance to the *Crown*, they maintained that they had full powers of legislation: and hence they denied all right in Parliament to impose taxes upon them without their consent.

As the controversy, growing in part out of taxation, gave rise to the Revolution, of which the events of the 19th of April were the commencement; and as the resistance of our fathers to the Acts of Parliament is sometimes appealed to to justify resistance to our laws at the present day, — it is important to a just understanding of the issue then, and of our duty now, that the facts be distinctly stated, and the exact issue be kept in view. The precise question was this: *Has the British Parliament, in which the Colonies have no representation, a right by the Colonial Charters and by the English Constitution, to tax the Colonies for the support of the Home Government, or to modify their Charters, without the consent of the colonists?* Great Britain claimed this right, and rested it upon the supremacy of Parliament. The Colonies, they said, were of their own planting; and being a part of the British Empire, were subject to all the laws of the realm; and that Parliament, being supreme, "had a right to legislate for them in all cases whatsoever." On the other hand, it was maintained by the colonists that on leaving Great Britain with a Charter from the Crown, they brought with them to this country all the rights and immunities of English subjects; that on the great principles of natural rights, recognized and secured by the English Constitution, all private property was sacred,

and hence that all taxes must be granted by the people themselves, or by representatives chosen by them; that those natural and constitutional rights were not only inherent in the colonists, but were also secured to them in their Charters, which were sacred compacts that no power on earth could rightfully infringe; that by the fundamental law of the empire, taxation and representation were inseparably united, and as the Colonies were not, and from the nature of the case could not be, represented in the British Parliament, so Parliament had no right to impose taxes upon them, especially for the maintenance of the Government at home.

The Colony of Massachusetts may justly claim the honor of being the first to put forth this doctrine. As early as 1634, attempts were made to vacate the Charter of the Colony, rather for non-conformity in religious matters than anything else, and the people of Massachusetts distinctly intimated that they had full powers of themselves to make all needful laws for their own preservation. But in 1646, Parliament having asserted full powers over the Colonies, the General Court of Massachusetts protested against the doctrine, as one calculated to bring them into a state of vassalage. In a memorial to Parliament they say, "We have not admitted appeals to your authority, being assured that they cannot stand with the liberty and power granted to us by our Charter, and would be destructive of all government." In the same spirit, Winslow, the agent of Massachusetts in England, publicly denied the jurisdiction of Parliament over the Colonies. "If the Parliament of England," said he, "should impose laws upon us, having no burgesses in the House of Commons, we should lose the liberties and freedom of Englishmen indeed."

The arbitrary claims of Great Britain being persisted in, the people of Massachusetts declared in 1661 that, under God and their Charter, they had a right to choose their own officers, to exercise "all power and authority, legislative, executive, and judicial, to defend themselves by force of arms against every aggressor, and to reject, as an infringement of their rights, any parliamentary or royal imposition prejudicial to the country, and contrary to any just act of colonial legislation."

To punish Massachusetts for her bold and independent opposition to the claims of the King and Parliament, a *quo warranto* was issued, in 1688, to annul her Charter; the King

at the same time making a public declaration that pardon would be extended to the colonists in case they would consent to certain modifications of the Charter. The Governor and assistants were persuaded that it was hopeless to resist, and recommended that agents be sent to England "to receive His Majesty's command." This recommendation was sent to the representatives of the people, who returned it with this laconic endorsement, "*The Deputies consent not, but adhere to their former bills.*" The Charter, however, was annulled, and the Colony was left to the tender mercy of the corrupt court of Charles II.

The revocation of the Charter was followed by the introduction of a despotism more grievous than anything before known in Massachusetts. Sir Edmund Andros, who had been appointed Governor of New England, arrived in Boston, in 1686, empowered by the new sovereign, James II, to appoint and remove his own Council, and with their consent to exercise all powers of legislation, to make laws, lay taxes, control the militia, and sustain his authority by force. To carry out this arbitrary and despotic system of government, he resolved that no printing-presses should be tolerated in the country, and that the people should not be permitted to assemble in town meetings to deliberate upon public affairs. Under his corrupt administration, public schools were neglected, religious institutions were impaired, and the personal rights of the citizens were either disregarded or basely trampled upon. But a despotism like this was not long to be endured. Those who had denied the power of the King and Parliament would not long submit to the imposition of taxes by a subordinate magistrate. And while his monarch was preparing the way for his own overthrow in Great Britain, Andros was laying the foundation for his overthrow in the Colonies. When the news reached Boston, in the spring of 1689, that James II had fled his country, and that the Prince of Orange had ascended the throne, the people were determined to imitate the example of their British brethren and rid themselves of their tyrant. Andros attempted to sustain himself by force; but the people were too sensible of their rights, and of his weakness, to submit. They seized the sheriff, the military commander, and, at last, the Governor himself, and committed them to prison. The whole town of Boston was in arms, and, actuated by what they declared to

be their sense of duty to their God and country, completely overthrew the government of Andros.

The Charter of the Colony of Massachusetts, which was annulled in 1685, was restored by William and Mary in 1691, with several limitations; the Crown claiming the right to appoint the Governor, who should have a negative upon the Legislature. The Council, however, were to be chosen by the Legislature. Though this Charter did not restore to the people all the rights and privileges which they had formerly enjoyed, taken in connection with the arbitrary government of Andros, it contained some important provisions. It revived the town meeting, which had been suspended under Andros, and gave the royal construction in favor of what may be denominated the "political rights" of towns. This construction of the rights of the people will appear more important in the subsequent part of this narrative. Under this modified Charter the General Court were to provide for the support of the Government and the payment of its officers; and to make these officers responsible to the people, they claimed the right of fixing their salaries annually instead of establishing them by standing laws. This course involved the Colony in a controversy with the Crown, which was renewed from time to time for nearly forty years, when Governor Belcher prevailed upon the Crown to accept the annual grant; and so the controversy subsided, leaving the Colony victor in the field.

During the war between England and France for the conquest of Canada, the controversy between the former and her Colonies was in a great measure suspended; though the attempts of Great Britain to quarter her troops upon the people, without the consent of their legislatures, kept them alive to a sense of their rights and of the injustice of the parent country. But after the close of the war with France in 1763, the British Government turned its attention to the Colonies, and attempted by various means to bring them to subjection. One measure was to make the judges dependent upon the Crown alone; thus making the judiciary the mere creature of the King, and a fit instrument by which to oppress the Colonies, and so bring them to submission.

But the darling policy of the Administration was to raise a revenue from the Colonies. Various propositions were presented for some new and direct enactment, which would bear

upon the Colonies, and do something to supply the British Treasury. It was, however, thought best to revive and enforce some general existing law regulating trade, rather than to adopt a special provision for America. An effort was consequently made to carry out this plan, and, to render it effectual, it was thought necessary to clothe the officers of the customs with full power and authority to call to their aid all the executive and judicial officers in the Colony. As Boston was the great mart of trade, and Massachusetts the most perverse Colony, it was deemed advisable to try the experiment there. In 1761, the officers of the customs applied to Hutchinson, who had been raised to the chief justiceship in Massachusetts, for "Writs of Assistance," to enable them to collect the duties upon various imported articles. The application was resisted, and the case argued before the whole court. Jeremiah Gridley appeared for the Crown, and argued the necessity and legality of the writ; but when he had closed, James Otis, a man of ardent feeling, exalted patriotism, and thrilling eloquence, stepped forth in behalf of the colonists. "I am determined," said he, "to sacrifice estate, ease, health, applause, and even life itself, to the sacred calls of my country, in opposition to a kind of power, the exercise of which cost one king of England his head and another his throne." He then proceeded to point out the illegality and oppressive character of such a writ. He denounced it "as the worst instrument of arbitrary power, the most destructive of English liberty and the fundamental principles of law." "No Act of Parliament," said he, "can establish such a writ; an Act of Parliament against the Constitution is void."

The court, after some delay and consulting of the English Ministry, granted the writ, which greatly heightened public feeling, and prepared the people for more decisive measures. But the great cause of discontent was the enforcing of the acts of trade by the Courts of Admiralty, — courts entirely independent of the Colonies, and depending upon the Crown alone, — courts in which all cases were decided without the intervention of a jury, and where the pleasure of the Ministry was the paramount law.

While the public mind in the Colonies was thus agitated, and fears were entertained for the safety of their rights, the Board of Trade recommended, in 1763, the passage of an act requiring all the legal instruments in the Colonies, including

notes, receipts, orders, certificates, etc., to be written on stamped paper, upon which a duty should be imposed — the agents of the Colonies in England partially assenting to the measure. On the arrival of this intelligence in America, the people of Boston and the Legislature of Massachusetts, ever alive to the rights of freemen, in their instructions to their agent in London remonstrated against the threatened measure, declaring “that the silence of the Province should have been imputed to any cause, even to despair, rather than be construed into a tacit cession of their rights or an acknowledgment of a right in the Parliament of Great Britain to impose duties and taxes upon a people who are not represented in the House of Commons.” In the same instructions, they endorsed the doctrine of Otis, “that the imposition of taxes, whether on trade or on lands, on houses or ships, on real or personal, on fixed or floating property in the Colonies, is absolutely irreconcilable with the rights of the colonists as British subjects or as men.”

In 1765, the worst fears of the Colonies were realized in the passage of the Stamp Act, and the adoption of other measures designed to support the absolute supremacy of Parliament over them. And to insure the execution of these odious and oppressive acts, not only all the civil officers in the Colony were put in requisition, but the whole naval and military force, which was to be increased in America, was to aid in the support of these arbitrary measures; and to render the pill more bitter, the people here were required to support the troops which were sent over to oppress them. To render the tyranny absolute, all cases arising under these acts were to be decided in Courts of Admiralty, without the intervention of a jury, by a single judge created by the Crown, whose sole support was to be drawn from his share of the profits of his own condemnations.

Massachusetts took the alarm. Her people saw in this series of measures a fixed and determined plan to reduce them to subjection, and to bring them to the foot of the throne. Governor Bernard, in his message to the Legislature, assured them that it was the duty and interest of the Colony to submit, for the law “would now be prosecuted to its utmost completion”; but the representatives of the people addressed letters to the other Colonies, inviting them to choose delegates to meet in a General Congress at New York, to con-

sult together on the affairs of the Colonies. In the mean time the Stamp Act arrived in Boston, and Oliver, naturally odious to the people, was announced as the officer who was to receive and dispose of the stamps. The Act was universally condemned in Boston, "as arbitrary, unconstitutional, and a breach of the Charter." Oliver, the stamp officer, was hanged in effigy. A few evenings after, the mob assembled near the old State House, seized and burned the records of the Admiralty Court, and afterwards assaulted the house of the Comptroller of Customs, and of the Chief Justice,¹ who had rendered himself extremely odious to the people. The demonstration was so strong that Oliver was induced to resign his office, and the stamps were left in the hands of the Governor.

Pitt, Barre, Burke, and others connected with the Government pleaded the cause of liberty, in the British Parliament, with such distinguished ability and force of argument, that the Ministry, fearing the strength of the opposition at home and the resistance of their subjects in America, consented to the repeal of the Stamp Act. Thus was Great Britain completely foiled in her first attempt at raising a revenue in her Colonies to sustain her burdened treasury. The repeal of the Stamp Act produced a general rejoicing in the Colonies. The Legislature of Massachusetts passed an act remunerating those who had suffered in the destruction of their property in attempting to execute the Stamp Act. But with characteristic wisdom, they were careful to state in the bill itself that the sufferers had no just claim, and that the relief was granted of "their own good will" and not from deference to any "requisition made upon them."

In the mean time the Ministry was devising measures of taxation in the shape of duties upon imports into the Colonies. In the debates upon the Stamp Act a distinction had been taken between internal and external taxation. It was maintained by the opponents of the Stamp Act that it related to the internal trade of the Colonies and was a proper subject to be regulated by local law. The Ministry thought to avoid this objection by imposing a duty upon imports, which related to foreign commerce — to the general subject of trade. But the colonists were not disposed to acquiesce in any such distinction. They renewed their former declarations that

¹ The "one disgraceful riot in Boston" during the ten years preceding the Revolution. J. Fiske, *The American Revolution*, Vol. 1, p. 53. Ed.

Parliament had no right to tax the Colonies; and they further declared that the creation of new crown officers and the sending of a standing army to be quartered upon the people were in fact introducing an absolute government into the Colony which would lead to the most dangerous consequences; for they added significantly, "the laws of God and Nature are invariable." They also addressed a circular to the other Colonies, setting forth their common grievances and asking their coöperation in all such measures as may be found necessary for the maintenance of their rights as freemen.

Governor Bernard, with all his professions, was a deadly enemy to the Colony. For while he was pretending to be friendly to the people and assuring them of his coöperation and aid in all their efforts to obtain their rights, he was writing to the Ministry, representing the Colony in a state of rebellion, and urging upon it the necessity of sending over a naval and military force to reduce them to subjection.¹ In May, 1768, the *Romney*, a ship-of-war, arrived in Boston Harbor from Halifax, being sent at the suggestion of Bernard, and at the request of the Commissioners of Customs, to awe the Bostonians into submission. To strengthen his crew and to show his entire disregard of the feelings of the people and the rights of the colonists, the commander forcibly and insolently impressed New England seamen to serve on board his ship. He also seized a merchant ship² belonging to John Hancock and anchored her under the guns of his vessel. This created intense feeling among the inhabitants. A town meeting was called, and a committee of twenty-one was chosen to wait upon the Governor, and to present an address to the citizens, in which they claimed for the Colony the sole power of taxation. At the same time they condemned in strong terms the practice of impressment, and demanded the removal of the *Romney* from the harbor. The town also declared and put on record their irrevocable determination to assert and maintain their dear and invaluable rights and liber-

¹ "Since Machiavelli undertook to teach the Medici how principalities might be governed and maintained, no such body of literature was put on paper as that in which Sir Francis Bernard instructed George the Third and his Ministers in the art of throwing away a choice portion of a mighty Empire." G. O. Trevelyan, *The American Revolution*, Part I, p. 44. *Ed.*

² The sloop *Liberty*. The consequent disturbance would not have been considered in England, but all reports were magnified and exaggerated concerning any trouble in America. J. Fiske, *The American Revolution*, Vol. I, p. 53. Also G. O. Trevelyan, *The American Revolution*, Part I, p. 36. *Ed.*

ties at the utmost hazard of their *fortunes and their lives*. At the same time they expressed their readiness to maintain loyalty and submission to Great Britain in all things necessary to the preservation of the whole empire.

In the midst of this excitement Governor Bernard laid before the Legislature a letter from the British Ministry, calling upon them to rescind their Resolutions denying the power of Parliament to tax the Colonies; and also to recall their Circular addressed to the other Colonies, asking their coöperation and support in defence of their just rights. Under the guidance of Samuel Adams, who was ever ready to meet any emergency, an answer was returned to Lord Hillsborough, justifying the course of the Legislature and refusing to retrace their steps. This bold and independent measure was sustained by the House with great unanimity, there being but seventeen against the measure and *ninety-two* in its favor. When the Governor was informed by a message from the House that they had refused to rescind and had affirmed their former doings, trembling with fear he first prorogued and then dissolved the assembly.

In the autumn of 1768, hearing that three regiments of troops were to be sent to Boston to reduce them to a state of subjection, and the Legislature having been dissolved by the Governor, the people requested him to order a new election. On hearing of the refusal of Bernard to call a new Legislature, the people of Boston repaired to Faneuil Hall, that cradle of American liberty, and resolved, "That the inhabitants of Boston will, at the utmost peril of their *lives and fortunes*, maintain and defend their rights, liberties, privileges, and immunities; and that money cannot be granted, nor a standing army kept up in the Province, but by their own free consent." They also unanimously requested the selectmen to wait upon the clergymen of the town and request them to set apart the following Tuesday as a day of *fasting and prayer*. The request was cheerfully complied with and the day kept in a solemn manner.

Shortly after, a Convention of the Province assembled at Boston to consult upon the public safety. One of their first acts was to petition the Governor to summon a constitutional Legislature, to prevent the encroachments of the military upon the civil power. The Governor not only refused to receive their petition, but admonished the Convention to

separate, as they should "repent of their rashness." The Convention, however, continued in session six days, and repeated the protest of the Colony against taxation by Parliament and against a standing army quartered among them.

A few days after the adjournment of the Convention, a squadron from Halifax, with two regiments of troops and a company of artillery on board, arrived in the harbor of Boston. The selectmen being called upon to provide quarters for the troops, taking advantage of an Act of Parliament, refused to grant them "till the barracks were full" at Castle William. The Governor's Council also insisted upon this provision of law, and refused to furnish quarters. They also refused to provide supplies of provisions and fuel without the consent of the Legislature, which had been dissolved by the Governor himself. Thus was the treacherous Bernard caught in his own toils.¹ He was greatly perplexed in providing for the troops he had secretly called for; to send them down to the "Castle," as Fort Independence was then called, would be to remove them too far from the point where he wished to station them, that they might awe the people into submission. Great efforts had been made, both in England and in this country, to have Otis, Adams, and other leading patriots sent to Great Britain to be tried for their lives. But after all the endeavors of the corrupt and deceitful Bernard and the administration at home, it was decided by the law officers of the Crown that their acts did not constitute treason, the only crime which by the statute would justify their being brought to England for trial.

The people of Boston were encouraged to persevere in their resolution not to import dutiable articles. Many of the towns in the Province adopted resolutions, assuring the citizens of the metropolis that they would aid them in carrying out that policy. The people of Lexington, as we have already seen, declared in 1769 that they would drink no more tea till the unconstitutional revenue act should be repealed. Such assurances from every quarter gave the people of Boston great courage and induced them to persevere. Boston being the seat of oppression was of course the first to complain — the first to speak out — the first to act. And its people per-

¹ "General Gage came on from New York: but he could do nothing without running the risk of being cashiered." J. Fiske, *The American Revolution*, Vol. 1, p. 59. *Ed.*

formed their part nobly. But at the same time it should be understood that the patriots of Charlestown, of Roxbury, of Cambridge, of Salem, and, we may add, of the towns generally, counselled with the patriots of Boston, and whatever was done at Boston was sustained in the interior.

The treacherous Bernard was succeeded by the more treacherous Hutchinson; and the affairs of the Colony were not at all improved by the change. The Ministry had so far yielded to the Colonies as to remove the tax upon tea; but the concessions came too late. The people plainly saw that paying the duty upon one article would be surrendering the great principle for which they had contended; and they boldly declared that they would resist the payment of taxes in any form. On the 18th of October, 1769, the town of Boston published an "Appeal to the World," in which they say, "A legal Meeting in the Town of Boston is an Assembly where a noble freedom of speech is ever expected and maintained; where men think as they please, and speak as they think. Such an Assembly has ever been the dread, and often the scourge of Tyrants. Our Rights are invaded by the Revenue Acts; therefore, till they are all repealed, and the troops recalled, the cause of our just complaints cannot be removed."

On the evening of the 2d¹ of March, 1770, a number of British soldiers, having collected in State Street, insulted some of the citizens who were passing, which soon drew together a considerable concourse of people. Preston, a British captain, who was officer of the day, soon appeared with a file of men with fixed bayonets and loaded muskets. Preston ordered them to fire upon the citizens, which they did, killing three men,² and wounding several others.³ The excitement was fearful. At eleven the next day, a town meeting was opened at Faneuil Hall with a prayer by Rev. Mr. Cooper. Samuel Adams and fourteen others were chosen a committee to wait upon the Governor, and, in the name of the town, demand the removal of the troops. The Governor after considerable hesitation consented to remove one regiment to the Castle;

¹ 5th of March. See E. Chase, *Beginnings of the American Revolution*, Vol. 1, pp. 171-246, using as her authority *History of the Boston Massacre*, containing the Narrative of the Town, the Trial of the Soldiers, and A Historical Introduction, unpublished documents of John Adams and Notes, Frederic Kidder, Albany, 1870: Joel Munsell. *Ed.*

² One more "died next morning" and another "lingered until the 14th." *Ed.*

³ Six. *Ed.*

but decided to retain the rest in the town. Faneuil Hall being insufficient to contain the multitude which had assembled, the meeting was adjourned to the Old South Church. The committee which had waited upon Hutchinson, came in with its report of the interview, and pronounced the answer of the Governor *unsatisfactory*.

The town, after due deliberation,¹ raised a new committee, composed of Adams, Hancock, Warren, and other prominent citizens, to bear to the Governor their final message. "It is the unanimous opinion of the meeting," said Adams to the Governor, "that the reply to the vote of the inhabitants in the morning is by no means satisfactory; nothing less will satisfy them than a total and immediate removal of the troops." Hutchinson hesitated, repeating his former statement, that he had no power to remove them. "If you have power," rejoined Adams, "to remove *one* regiment, you have power to remove *both*. It is at your peril, if you refuse. The meeting is composed of three thousand people. They are become impatient. A thousand men are already arrived from the neighborhood, and the whole country is in motion. Night is approaching. An immediate answer is expected. Both regiments or none."² Hutchinson hesitated, trembled, and finally quailed before the master spirit of this patriot band, and consented to withdraw the troops³ from the town and quarter them at the Castle. On the return of the committee with the intelligence, the meeting dispersed; but not until they had provided a strong military watch of their own, to be on duty till the regiments should leave the town whose peace and safety they had disturbed.

The Governor was mortified and chagrined at finding himself foiled in his plan, and his military force checked and con-

¹ By a vote of "4000 plus only one dissentient." E. Chase, *Beginnings of the American Revolution*, Vol. I, p. 236. *Ed.*

² W. V. Wells, *Life and Public Services of Samuel Adams*, Vol. I, p. 323. The following variant appears in the *Life and Works of John Adams*, Vol. x, p. 352. *Ed.*

"If the Lieutenant-Governor or Colonel Dalrymple, or both together, have authority to remove one regiment, they have authority to remove two, and nothing short of the total evacuation of the town by all the regular troops will satisfy the public mind or preserve the peace of the Province. A multitude, highly incensed, now await the result of this application. The voice of ten thousand free men demands that both regiments be forthwith removed. Their voices must be respected, their demand obeyed. Fail, then, at your peril to comply with this requisition: on you alone rests the responsibility of this decision; and if the just expectations of the people are disappointed, you must be answerable to God and your country for the fatal consequences that must ensue. The Committee have discharged their duty, and it is for you to discharge yours. They wait upon your final determination."

³ The Fourteenth and Twenty-ninth were thereafter known in Parliament as "Sam Adams's regiments." *Ed.*

trolled by the civil authority. The Government at home, sharing in this mortification, strove to raise the military above the civil power by placing the proscribed town of Boston under martial law. The Governor, in consequence of this step, resigned the Castle to the military commander at Boston. This new act of arbitrary power on the part of the King and Council tended to hasten the rupture which the wisest statesmen had long seen to be merely a question of time.

Up to the commencement of 1772, Boston had acted without any special concert with other towns in the Province. Resolutions had been adopted, and the leading patriots in Boston had counselled with kindred spirits in other towns; but there had been no organized channel of communication. But as the weight of British vengeance seemed to be concentrating upon Boston alone, many of her patriotic citizens were filled with apprehension, bordering upon despair. John Adams had retired from the service of the people; Hancock faltered; Cushing, Phillips, Church, and others, who had been active before, hesitated or declined active service in the patriot cause. But there was one man among them who knew not despondency; one who was reared up for the crisis, and who, like all truly great men, was sure to rise with the occasion. Samuel Adams stood firm at his post. He saw in prospect the independence ¹ of the Colonies, and, knowing that great events could be brought about only by active and well concerted means, he conceived the plan of opening a correspondence with all the towns in the Province; and by an organized system of town and county committees to form a sort of government by which the energies of the Colony might be directed, and so be prepared for any exigency which might arise. And though his plan at first was but feebly seconded in Boston, and some who had been active before refused to act on the committee, in a short time there came a response from the country ² which infused new life into the people, confirming the wavering and gaining new advocates for the cause of popular rights.

When the Legislature assembled in January, 1773, these responses from the towns were laid before them. The popular

¹ "In the summer of 1768 Sam. Adams had concluded the only proper course was independence when the time was ripe." J. Fiske, *The American Revolution*, Vol. I, pp. 54-57. *Ed.*

² Eighty towns organized committees of correspondence. J. Fiske, *The American Revolution*, Vol. I, p. 79. *Ed.*

voice thus expressed, the firmness manifested, and the determination evinced by the people themselves in their primary meetings, strengthened the hands of the Assembly, and rekindled in their breasts those fires of patriotism which were never more to expire. Encouraged by the almost unanimous voice of the whole Province, and strengthened by the noble and patriotic response from Virginia, the leading patriots of Massachusetts saw that the issue was fairly made, that a rupture between the Colonies and Great Britain was inevitable, and that nothing but union and firmness were necessary to insure independence. Their future measures, therefore, must look to this result.

While these things were occurring, the feelings of the people of Massachusetts were further exasperated by the publication of sundry letters written by Governor Hutchinson to the Ministry in England, urging the adoption of the most arbitrary and oppressive measures against the Colony. It appeared that the Governor had been guilty of the greatest hypocrisy and treachery, urging Great Britain to oppress the people over which he was ruling, while to them he was making the most solemn protestations of friendship and assuring them that he was doing everything in his power to lessen their burdens and secure their rights.

The East India Company, anticipating a profitable market in America, had purchased a large amount of tea, and to prevent a heavy loss they prevailed upon the Council to allow them to ship it to America free of duty in England. Three cargoes were destined to Boston. In the mean time, the Committee of Correspondence had succeeded in enlisting the sympathy of most of the towns in the Province; and had obtained the assurance from the other Colonies that they would resist this new imposition and would not suffer the tea to be landed. The amount of duty was small, but, as the payment of it would recognize the right of Parliament to tax them, they could not, consistently with their oft-repeated declarations, submit.¹

Besides, the leading statesmen were fully sensible that an open rupture must inevitably take place at no very distant day; and they did not intend that any act of concession should be cited against them when the eventful period should arrive. They chose rather to meet the oppressor at the

¹ Compare J. Fiske, *The American Revolution*, Vol. 1, pp. 82-85. *Ed.*

threshold and to admonish him of the danger of his measures before it was too late. It was for Massachusetts in this case, as in all others, to take the lead. The people knew that the tea ships were on their passage, and that the Governor himself, in the name of his sons, was among the consignees. A large assembly convened at the "Liberty Tree," where the consignees had been requested to meet the people. Adams, Hancock, and other distinguished patriots were present, but the consignees failed to appear.

A committee was chosen to wait upon them at their warehouses, and to request them not to land the tea, but to return it to England in the same vessels in which it had been shipped. The consignees without hesitation refused to hearken to their request. A town meeting was called, and a similar request made in the name of the town. In the mean time one of the ships arrived in the harbor, the owner of which promised the Committee of Correspondence that the entry of the ship should be delayed for several days. The citizens of Boston held a meeting the next morning, which was the largest ever known in the town. Adams, Hancock, Warren, and other prominent men were present, and took part in the proceedings. It was voted unanimously that the tea should not be landed, but should be sent back without the payment of the duty. The owners of this ship and others which were soon expected finally agreed that they would not enter the tea, but would return it, agreeably to the request of the citizens. Meantime the people of Boston were receiving assurances of coöperation from all parts of the Province. Cambridge, Charlestown, Roxbury, Dorchester, and many other towns in the immediate vicinity acted with them through their committees. Towns more remote assured them of their aid. "We trust in God," wrote the people of Lexington, "that should the state of our affairs require it, we shall be ready to sacrifice our *estates and everything dear in life, yea, and life itself, in support of the common cause.*" Such was the pledge given; and nobly was it redeemed.

The other two ships had arrived, and the twenty days had nearly elapsed within which they must enter at the custom-house or obtain a clearance. The Governor had stationed an armed ship in the channel below, and had caused the guns at the Castle to be loaded, to prevent the departure of the ships without his permission, — which he had resolved not to

grant. On the 16th of December, 1773, the people of Boston, with at least two thousand men from the country, assembled at the Old South Church, and resolved that the tea should not be landed. The meeting continued in session till after dark, when the final report came that the Governor had resolved that the vessels should not pass the Castle till the tea had been discharged. Whereupon Samuel Adams rose in great dignity and said, "*This meeting can do nothing more to save the country.*" In a moment a shout was heard at the door; the war-whoop resounded; a party of forty or fifty men, disguised as Indians, passed by the door; and encouraged by the presence of Adams, Hancock, and others at the meeting, repaired to the wharf, where the ships were lying, and, having posted sentinels to keep off intruders, took possession of the vessels, and in about three hours the whole quantity on board, some three hundred and fifty chests of tea, was emptied into the dock, without any injury being done to the rest of the cargo.¹

The course pursued by Massachusetts from the first had rendered her the special object of British displeasure; the destruction of the tea at Boston filled up the measure of her iniquity in the estimation of the King and Parliament; and this Province was marked as the victim on which to pour out the vials of their wrath. And well did she merit this pre-eminence. She was the first to assert the rights of the Colonies, and the boldest in proclaiming them to the world. She was the most steadfast in her determination to resist British encroachments, and the most active in her efforts to unite the Colonies in the great cause of human freedom.

That Massachusetts stood first in what they denominated rebellious Provinces, the records of Parliament abundantly show. On the 7th of March, 1774, the Earl of Dartmouth laid before the House of Lords a great variety of papers in relation to the conduct of the American Colonies with reference to the duty on tea. These papers were referred to a committee consisting of about fifty members, who at once selected Massachusetts as the head and front of the offending, not only with reference to the destruction of the tea, but also in relation to the whole subject of taxation and the power of Parliament. In an elaborate report submitted to the House of Lords by the

¹ Paul Revere rode post-haste to Philadelphia to carry the news. J. Fiske, *The American Revolution*, Vol. 1, p. 90. *Ed.*

Earl of Buckinghamshire, April 20, 1774, the Committee say "that they have attentively read and considered the several papers relative to the proceedings of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay, in opposition to the sovereignty of his Majesty in his Parliament of Great Britain, and have carefully inspected the journals of the House from the 1st of January, 1764, to the present time." They then proceed to give a detailed account of the doings of this Colony for the period of ten years — showing that Massachusetts had, during that period, not only denied the right of Parliament to tax the Colonies, but had uniformly thrown every obstacle in the way of collecting a revenue in America — overawing the officers of the Crown and compelling them to resign; refusing to quarter troops sent over to enforce the laws, and even denying the right of sending troops into the Province in times of peace without their consent; asserting for themselves an exemption from the laws of Parliament, and also claiming for themselves the right to legislate in all cases whatsoever. And while they had in this manner denied the power of Parliament and resisted the execution of the laws, they had taken active measures to draw the other Colonies into the same rebellious policy; and that the destruction of the tea in the harbor of Boston was the crowning act of their insubordination and hostility to the British Government.

Lord North, in introducing the Boston Port Bill, gives Massachusetts the preëminence in disloyalty by saying, "Boston had ever been the ringleader in all riots, and had at all times shown a desire of seeing the laws of Great Britain attempted in vain in the Colony of Massachusetts Bay. That the act of the mob in destroying the tea, and the other proceedings, belonged to the acts of the public meeting; and that though the other Colonies were peaceable and well inclined towards the trade of this country, and the tea would have been landed at New York without opposition; yet when the news came from Boston that the tea was destroyed, Governor Tryon thought it would be prudent to send the tea back to England. Boston alone was to blame for having set the example; therefore Boston ought to be the principal object of our attention for punishment."

Thus, Massachusetts justly claims the merit, if merit it be, in being first and foremost in pleading the cause of freedom in opposition to the demands of despotic power, and in adopting

measures which led to the independence of these States. The fact that she was singled out by the British Government as the object of what they denominated parental chastisement shows that she was regarded as the most forward of the Colonies of Great Britain in resisting their acts. From this time forth Massachusetts was made to feel the special vengeance of an oppressive administration.

TONGUE OF THE OLD CHURCH BELL

Which, on the morning of April 19th, 1775, sounded the Alarm
summoning the Citizens of Lexington to rally and
meet the approach of the British.

CHAPTER V

GOVERNOR GAGE'S ADMINISTRATION

Passage of the Boston Port Bill — Gage appointed Governor — His Instructions from Dartmouth — Gage arrives in Boston — The Bill goes into Operation — Bells tolled, and a Day of Fasting and Prayer appointed — Boston holds a Town Meeting — Two Other Bills passed by Parliament transferring Appointments to the Crown, and changing fundamentally our Charter — Four Counties meet in Convention — Resolutions adopted — Officers appointed by the Crown compelled to resign, and Jurors refuse to be sworn — Middlesex Convention's Address — Gage forbids the Holding of Public Meetings — Seizes Public Powder at Charlestown and fortifies Boston Neck — Gage calls a General Court — Call revoked — A Provincial Congress organized at Salem, and adjourned to Concord — The Provincial Congress recommend an Organization of the Militia, appoint General Officers, and Committees of Supplies and Safety — Delegates to the Continental Congress — Provincial Congress appoint a day of Fasting and Prayer — Worcester and Concord selected as Depots for Military Stores.

THE steady and undeviating opposition of the Province of Massachusetts to the oppressive acts of the Ministry and Parliament, and the wisdom by which all their measures had been made abortive, naturally rendered that corrupt court impatient to crush the Colony at a blow. They only waited for a convenient opportunity. In the estimation of the Ministry the destruction of the tea filled up the measure of colonial iniquity; and the mighty power of a mighty nation was to be concentrated upon the town of Boston. Lord North brought forward his bill for closing the port. It was hurried through both houses of Parliament, and received the royal assent on the 31st of March, 1774. This Act, which has generally been denominated the "Boston Port Bill," fell particularly hard upon the people of Boston and Charlestown. As it was the great mart of commerce in New England, and a large share of the people depended in one form or another upon the trade of the place, for employment, closing the port, and so annihilating all commerce, spread consternation among thousands of the inhabitants. But the Act had passed, to take effect on the 1st of June; and Thomas Gage, who was appointed Captain-General and Governor of Massachusetts, was entrusted with its execution.

The Earl of Dartmouth, in his letter of instructions to

Gage, under date of April 9, informed him that "the sovereignty of the King in his Parliament over the Colonies, required a full and absolute submission," and that "his command over the King's troops," and his employing those troops with effect "would in all probability secure the execution of the law, and sustain His Majesty's dignity." Gage landed in Boston on the 17th of May, and was received by the people and the Legislature with all the attention and with every demonstration due to his station. He undoubtedly flattered himself that he would be able in a short time to bring the people to submission; for two days after his arrival he wrote to Lord Dartmouth "that the Port Bill has staggered the most presumptuous." Still he thought it prudent to call for additional troops,¹ which were forwarded in the course of the summer and early autumn, so that he wrote that he was able "to form a force of nearly three thousand men, exclusive of the regiment to defend the Castle."

The Boston Port Bill went into operation on the 1st of June, without any opposition on the part of the people. Still, the tolling of bells, fasting and prayer, and the exhibition of emblems of mourning proclaimed a deep religious feeling more dangerous to the peace of the Governor and the success of his measures than any display of military force could have been. Amid this state of gloom the people were not inactive. On the 13th of May, the very day on which General Gage arrived in the harbor, the people of Boston met at Faneuil Hall, chose Samuel Adams moderator, and adopted a vote inviting all the other Colonies "to come into a joint resolution to stop all importations from Great Britain till the Act for blocking up the harbor of Boston be repealed." At an adjournment of this meeting, on the 31st, they resolved, "that the impolicy, injustice, inhumanity, and cruelty of the Boston Port Bill, exceed our powers of expression; we therefore leave it to the just censures of others, and appeal to God and the world."

Samuel Adams, writing to Arthur Lee, then in London, under date of April 4, says, the acts of Great Britain will produce the "*entire separation and independence of the Colonies*," and that "it requires but a small portion of the gift of discernment for any one to foresee that Providence will erect a mighty empire in America." But while this great leader in

¹ Fourth and Forty-third Regiments. *Ed.*

the Province saw that a collision was inevitable, and that the result must be glorious to the Colonies, with that prudence characteristic of the truly great, he recommended wise moderation. In a letter to Lee, May 18, 1774, he says, "Our business is to find means to evade the malignant design of the Boston Port Bill. Calmness, courage, and unanimity prevail. While they are resolved not tamely to submit, they will, by refraining from any acts of violence, avoid the snare that they discover to be laid for them, by posting regiments so near them." ¹

But it was not the Boston Port Bill alone that General Gage was to carry into effect. The British Parliament had passed two other acts, quite as objectionable as the Port Bill — acts which robbed the people of many of their rights and substantially nullified their Charter. One was entitled "An Act for better regulating the government of the Province of Massachusetts Bay," and provided that the counsellors, who had been chosen annually by the General Court, should be appointed by the King, and be removable at his pleasure; that the judges, sheriffs, and other civil officers should be appointed by the Governor; that all jurors, who had been chosen by the people, should be selected by the sheriffs; — thus making the whole judicial department dependent upon the Crown and subservient to his will. The same act provided that no town meetings, except the annual meetings for the choice of town officers in March or May, should be holden without the consent of the Governor. The other act provided that any person charged with any capital offence, committed while acting "as a magistrate for the suppression of riots, or in the support of the laws of revenue, or acting in his duty as an officer of revenue," might, at the pleasure of the Governor, be removed to any other Colony, or to Great Britain for trial.

These acts formed a system of oppression hardly to be endured by a people born to the enjoyment of constitutional liberty. Up to this period the question had been mainly one of taxation; but now almost every right was impaired and every privilege taken away. The great principles of the English Constitution and the American Charters were wantonly violated. These acts not only shut up the harbor of Boston and thereby destroyed the trade of the town, bringing

¹ W. V. Wells, *Life of Samuel Adams*, Vol. II, pp. 149-50, 168. *Ed.*

bankruptcy and ruin upon men of business and extreme suffering upon the laboring poor, but they virtually destroyed the impartial administration of justice and practically annulled that great prerogative of the citizen — *trial by jury*. Another grand prerogative of the citizens of Massachusetts was grossly trampled in the dust. From the very first, the people of New England had been accustomed to assemble in their town meetings and there discuss all measures which related to their temporal and spiritual interests. Such meetings were by implication granted in their first Charter, and were clearly established by usage and enjoyed by the whole people; and when the despotic Andros attempted to abridge this right, the people resisted the encroachment as an attack upon one of their dearest privileges.

The last-named acts were received by General Gage on the 6th of August, 1774, and he lost no time in attempting to carry them into effect. Most of his counsellors accepted their appointments; the courts convened under this new authority, and the sheriffs summoned their jurors. But the people in the mean time were not idle. The town committees, the organization of which was, as we have already seen, devised by Samuel Adams, constituted a sort of government to which the people looked for advice and protection. A meeting of delegates from the town committees of the counties of Suffolk, Essex, Middlesex, and Worcester met at Faneuil Hall and deliberated upon the state of the Province. They pronounced the new measures of Parliament "a complete system of tyranny," robbing the people of the most essential rights of British subjects, and resolved that all officers accepting appointments under these oppressive acts ought to be regarded as traitors to the Colony; that a Provincial Congress ought to be held, and that the action of the courts in the mean time ought to be suspended. Such suggestions were readily adopted by the people. The judges in attempting to hold a court in Berkshire County were driven from the bench, and jurors selected by the sheriff in the County of Suffolk refused to be sworn. The counsellors who had been appointed by the King were compelled to resign or seek safety in Boston.

On the 30th of August, a convention was held at Concord, consisting of delegates from every town and district of Middlesex County, to deliberate upon the state of the Province. Being aware of the critical condition of affairs, they say in

their Address, "The question now is, whether by a submission to some of the late Acts of Parliament, we are contented to be the most abject slaves, and entail that slavery upon posterity after us; or by a manly, joint, and virtuous opposition, assert and support our freedom. Life and death, or what is more, freedom or slavery, are, in a peculiar sense, now before us; and the choice and success, under God, depend greatly upon ourselves." They resolved that the late Acts of Parliament are unconstitutional, and that no officers appointed under them ought to be obeyed, and concluded by saying, "No danger shall affright, no difficulties shall intimidate us; and if in support of our rights, we are called upon to encounter death, we are yet undaunted, sensible that he can never die too soon, who lays down his life in support of the laws and liberties of his country." Such was the patriotic ground taken by the freemen of Middlesex — such the ennobling sentiments they would instill into the bosom of every American. Nor was this an empty boast. Their conduct at Lexington, Concord, and Bunker Hill showed that they were true to their professions. To Middlesex County belongs the honor of holding the first convention, and taking the lead in making a perfect organization against the arbitrary power and oppressive policy of the British Ministry. With a promptness worthy of all praise every town and district responded to the call.

General Gage kept a watchful eye upon these proceedings; and, regarding these public meetings as among the most dangerous means of rallying the people in opposition to his authority, was determined to suppress them. Notices were issued for a meeting in Salem to choose delegates to a county convention. General Gage issued a proclamation forbidding the people "at their utmost peril from attending any meeting not warranted by law." He also sent a detachment of troops¹ to disperse the meeting, but on their arrival the people had dispatched their business and adjourned. Failing in his attempts to prevent such meetings, and hearing that the people were taking public measures to perfect themselves in military discipline, the Governor resolved to deprive them of all means of defence, and sent out a detachment to seize all the powder in the public magazine at Charlestown. Fortunately for the cause, the towns had withdrawn their respective stocks, and

¹ August 23, 1774. Twenty-third Royal Welch Fusiliers had landed. *Ed.*

consequently none was left but a small quantity belonging to the Province. About this time General Gage commenced fortifying Boston Neck, as the isthmus connecting Boston with the mainland was generally called. This added greatly to the excitement which already existed. It was regarded as a warlike demonstration, and gave evidence of a determination on the part of the Governor to enforce the odious laws at the point of the bayonet.

Yet the people had no disposition to provoke a contest with the King's troops. They chose rather to take peaceable measures to prevent the execution of the laws. Nor were they wanting in devices of this kind. When they obstructed the operation of the courts, or the performance of duties by certain newly appointed officers, it was only on the ground that these officers were appointed in contravention of their Charter and the English Constitution. If they organized military companies, it was only to perfect themselves in the art of war, that they might be better qualified to defend themselves against the King's enemies, and so be enabled to maintain their rights as Englishmen. These measures so annoyed General Gage that he made them the special subjects of remark in his communications with the Ministry. In a letter to the Earl of Dartmouth, August 27, 1774, he says, "It is agreed that popular fury was never greater in this Province than at present; it has taken its rise from the old source at Boston, though it has appeared first at a distance. These demagogues trust their safety in the long forbearance of the Government, and an assurance that they cannot be punished. They chicané, elude, openly violate, or passively resist the laws, as opportunity serves; and opposition to authority is of so long standing that it has become habitual."

On the 1st of September, 1774, Governor Gage issued writs convening the General Court at Salem on the 5th of October. In many cases the towns, in choosing their representatives, had instructed them to use all peaceable means to oppose the late Acts of Parliament. The people of Lexington instructed their representative to "use his utmost influence that nothing be transacted as a court under the new council, or in conformity to any of the late Acts of Parliament." In the mean time there had been several important county conventions, which denounced the Acts of Parliament as severe, oppressive, and unconstitutional, "designed to strip us of our in-

alienable rights and dearest privileges," and pointed out various modes of redress. The Suffolk resolutions declared, "That no obedience is due from this Province to either or any part of these Acts"; that officers who accept appointments under them should be considered "as obstinate and incorrigible enemies to this Colony"; and they recommend that all collectors of taxes withhold the money from the royal treasurer, and hold it subject to the direction of the proposed Provincial Congress, which they recommend being called. The Essex resolutions pronounced all officers and private persons who attempt to carry out the Acts which violate the Charter of the Province "unnatural and malignant enemies"; declared that town meetings "ought to be called agreeably to the laws of the Province"; and that, "if the despotism and violence of our enemies should finally reduce us to the sad necessity, we, undaunted, are ready to appeal to the last resort of states." The Plymouth resolutions declared, "That it is a duty every man and body of men owes to posterity, as well as to God and our country, to oppose with all our power the execution of these unjust and oppressive Acts"; and they recommended to the inhabitants of the Province "never to submit to them in any instance whatever." The Worcester resolutions recommended to the towns to instruct their representatives, chosen to meet at Salem, "absolutely to refuse to be sworn," except by some officer "appointed according to the Charter of the Province." They also recommended to the several towns to appoint military officers, and to provide themselves with arms and ammunition, against any emergency that may arise.

Such is a specimen of the resolutions of the several counties. They all recommended a Provincial Congress, and some recommended that the members chosen to meet at Salem resolve themselves into such a Congress. They also recommended military preparation; and while they discouraged and denounced any attack upon the King's troops, they more than intimated that they would resist by force of arms rather than be converted into slaves. They also declared in favor of holding town meetings to deliberate upon the affairs of the Province, and recommended that no money be paid into the treasury of the Province organized under the late Acts of Parliament. The conventions and their doings coming to the knowledge of Governor Gage, he issued a proclamation on

the 28th of September, adjourning without day the General Court which he had summoned to meet at Salem, October 5. The reasons assigned for this unusual and arbitrary course were that many tumults and disorders had taken place since he called the meeting, and that "the extraordinary resolves which had been passed in many counties and the instructions given by the town of Boston and some other towns to their representatives" rendered it "highly inexpedient that a Great and General Court should be convened" at that time.

But as the proclamation was issued only a few days before the time of meeting, many of the members had already left home and were on their way to Salem before they heard of the high-handed measure of the Governor. In obedience to the summons and a preconcerted arrangement, nearly one hundred members met at Salem on the 5th of October; and after waiting one day to see if the Governor or any public officer would appear to administer the oath of office, on the 6th they resolved themselves into a Provincial Congress, and chose John Hancock, chairman, and Benjamin Lincoln, clerk. After this temporary organization, they voted to adjourn to the 11th inst., to meet at the court-house at Concord, that being the time and place designated by several of the counties for holding a Provincial Congress, before the meeting of the General Court at Salem had been ordered by the Governor.

After a session of three days at Concord, the Congress adjourned to Cambridge, where their sittings were continued from the 17th of October to the 10th of December. During this session they adopted a system of measures to put the Province in a state of preparation and defence. Though they deprecated hostilities with Great Britain, and had not "the most distant design of attacking, annoying, or molesting His Majesty's troops,"¹ they were not insensible to the fact that these troops were brought into the Province to reduce the people to a state of subjection to unjust and arbitrary laws which would render them the mere vassals of a corrupt foreign Ministry. To guard against an evil which they deemed greater than death itself, they adopted a plan of organizing,

¹ The attitude of the troops and their officers towards the Provincials is well shown in the Memoirs and Letters of Captain W. Glanville Evelyn, of the Fourth Regiment ("King's Own") from North America, 1774-1776. Printed for private circulation, by James Parker & Co., Oxford, 1879. Ed.

arming, and calling out the militia in case of emergency. This plan provided, among other things, that all able-bodied men should be enrolled, and that these companies should immediately assemble and elect their proper officers; that these officers, when elected, should assemble as soon as may be and elect field officers; that the field officers should enlist at least one quarter of the men enrolled, and form them into companies of at least fifty men, each man to be armed and equipped and held in readiness to march on the shortest notice. These were what were denominated "minute-men." In addition to the platoon and field officers, they provided for general officers and designated their rank. To meet the expenses which might arise from the employment of the militia, and to procure such arms and military stores as might be necessary, they chose a committee of supplies, consisting of David Cheever, of Charlestown, Mr. Gill, Colonel Lee, Mr. Greenleaf, and Colonel Lincoln; and to carry out this part of the plan more effectually they elected Henry Gardner, Esq., of Stow, as Treasurer and Receiver-General, and directed that all taxes that had been granted and all moneys in the hands of collectors should be paid over to this new treasurer, instead of being paid into the royal treasury. They also created what they denominated a "Committee of Safety," consisting of John Hancock, Dr. Warren, Dr. Church, Mr. Devens, Captain White, Mr. Palmer, Mr. Norton of Quincy, who declined, Mr. Watson, and Colonel Orne, and clothed them with large discretionary powers; and among them the power of calling out the militia in such numbers and at such times and places as they might deem expedient. The Congress subsequently selected Jedediah Preble (who declined the appointment), Artemas Ward, Seth Pomeroy, John Thomas, William Heath as general officers to command the troops in case they were called out.

After adopting this general plan and selecting the appropriate officers to carry it into effect, the Provincial Congress prepared and published an Address "to the freeholders and other inhabitants of the towns and districts of Massachusetts Bay," in which they say, "You are placed by Providence in the post of honor, because it is the post of danger; and while struggling for the noblest of objects, the liberties of your country, the happiness of posterity, and the rights of human nature, the eyes, not only of North America and the whole British Em-

pire, but of all Europe are upon you. Let us therefore be altogether solicitous that no disorderly behavior, nothing unbecoming our characters as Americans, as citizens, and as Christians, be justly chargeable to us." They also prepared an Address to the clergy, in which they recommend "to the ministers of the Gospel in the several towns, and other places in this Colony, that they assist us in avoiding that dreadful slavery, with which we are now threatened, by advising the people of their several congregations, as they wish their prosperity, to abide by, and strictly adhere to, the resolutions of the Continental Congress, as the most peaceable and probable methods of preventing confusion and bloodshed." Before closing their labors, the Provincial Congress made choice of John Hancock, Thomas Cushing, Samuel Adams, John Adams, and Robert Treat Paine to represent this Province in the next Continental Congress.

While these things were occurring in Massachusetts, the Continental Congress was holding a session in Philadelphia. This patriotic body was composed of delegates from twelve Provinces; Massachusetts being represented at that time by Thomas Cushing, Samuel Adams, John Adams, and Robert Treat Paine. They approved the measures and endorsed the doctrines put forth by the county conventions and the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts. They also recommended an agreement and entered into a covenant not to import or consume British merchandise or manufactures. They likewise adopted a Petition to the King, an Address to the people of Great Britain and to the inhabitants of the Colonies, and another to the people of Canada. But while this Congress were truly firm and independent, and were resolved to support the rights of the Colonies, and while they approved of the manly and noble stand taken by the people of Massachusetts, they knew the strong temptation they were under to commit some overt act of war against the King's troops; and hence they recommended to the people of Massachusetts "to submit to a suspension of the administration of justice, where it could not be procured in a legal and peaceable manner under the rules of their present Charter and the laws of the Colony." They also recommended to the people of Boston "to conduct themselves peaceably towards Governor Gage, and His Majesty's troops stationed there, as far as can possibly be consistent with their immediate safety, and the security of the town; avoiding and

discountenancing every violation of His Majesty's property, or any insult to his troops; and that they peaceably and firmly persevere in the line they are now conducting, on the defensive." Such were the measures adopted — and such the policy recommended by the patriots who composed the Continental Congress: — a body of men concerning whom Lord Chatham said in the British Parliament, "I must declare and avow, that for solidity of reasoning, force of sagacity, and wisdom of conclusion, under such a complication of difficult circumstances, no nation or body of men, can stand in preference to the General Congress at Philadelphia. It must be obvious to your Lordships, that all attempts to impose servitude upon such men must be vain — must be futile."

While these decided measures were being adopted by the people in the Colony, and while every county and almost every town in Massachusetts was, in its humble way, resounding with notes of preparation, the Tories and the British officials were ridiculing the idea of attempting to withstand His Majesty's troops. A British officer, writing from Boston, November 3, 1774, says, "The Resolutions of Congress are only thrown out as a bugbear to intimidate the merchants of Boston, and frighten the Ministry into a repeal of the late Acts. The faction in Boston is now very low. Believe me, all ranks of the people are heartily tired of disorder and confusion; as soon as the determination of Great Britain to dispose of their resolves and petitions is known, all will be very quiet." Another British officer, writing from Boston, November 22, to a friend in London, says, "As to what you hear of their taking arms to resist the force of England, it is mere bullying, and will go no further than words; whenever it comes to blows, he that can run the fastest, will think himself best off. Believe me, any two regiments here ought to be decimated, if they did not beat in the field the whole force of Massachusetts Province; for though they are numerous, they are but a mere mob, without order or discipline, and are very awkward at handling their arms." Writing home to Scotland from Boston, December 26, an officer in the King's service declares, "Our army is in high spirits, and at present this town is pretty quiet. I make no doubt things will wear a new face here, especially when your sentiments of the Ministry's firmness are authenticated." While letters from Boston were representing the Americans as cowards, Colonel Grant de-

clared in the House of Commons, February 2, 1775, "that he had served in America, and knew the Americans well; was certain they would not fight. They would never dare to face an English army, and did not possess any of the qualifications necessary to make a good soldier."

Though certain officers in the British army at Boston attempted to call in question the courage of the Americans, and to ridicule the idea of their resorting to arms, General Gage viewed the proceedings of the Provincial Congress with some degree of apprehension; especially their recommendation for the organization of the militia. Consequently on the 10th of November, 1774, he issued a proclamation in which he denounced these measures as having "a most dangerous tendency to ensnare His Majesty's subjects, the inhabitants of this Province, and draw them into perjuries, riots, seditions, treason, and rebellion"; and he exhorts and commands, in His Majesty's name, "all his liege subjects" not to comply "in any degree with the resolves, recommendations, directions, and regulations" of the Provincial Congress, "as they regard His Majesty's highest displeasure, and would avoid the pains and penalties of the law."

The Governor, however, felt himself strengthened and supported by the fact that at the meeting of Parliament, November 29, the King, in his Speech from the Throne, assured them of "his firm and steadfast resolution to withstand every attempt to weaken or impair the supreme authority of Parliament over the Colonies"; and that the Lords and Commons had, by a large majority, sustained the Crown. The Governor was also instructed by Lord Dartmouth, under dates of December 10, 1774, and January 4, 1775, to carry out His Majesty's pleasure, and to use his utmost endeavors to prevent the appointment of delegates to the Continental Congress, to be holden in May, 1775. The Governor, in response to these instructions, assures his lordship that the firm stand taken by the King and Parliament "has cast a damp upon the faction," and he begins to hope that "they will fall on some means to pay for the tea" they had destroyed.

But while Gage was flattering himself with the hope that the action of Parliament would awe the Colonies into submission, the fires of patriotism were burning brighter and brighter in the bosoms of all true Americans. The several towns and districts in the Province had elected their dele-

gates to the second Provincial Congress, and on the 1st day of February, 1775, they assembled at Cambridge, and organized for the dispatch of business. On the 9th, they elected Hon. John Hancock, Dr. Joseph Warren, Dr. Benjamin Church, Jr., Mr. Richard Devens, Captain Benjamin White, Colonel Joseph Palmer, Mr. Abraham Watson, Colonel Azor Orne, Mr. John Pigeon, Colonel William Heath, and Mr. Jabez Fisher a Committee of Safety, to continue in power till the further order of this or some other Congress or House of Representatives of the Province. They also "empowered and directed" them, when they should think it expedient "to alarm, muster, and cause to be assembled with the utmost expedition, and completely armed and accoutred, and supplied with provisions sufficient for their support in their march to the place of rendezvous, such and so many of the militia of this Province as they shall judge necessary for the end and purpose of opposing" the execution of the late Acts of Parliament, designed to annul the Charter and enslave the people of the Province. And they earnestly recommended to all officers and soldiers of the militia to obey the calls of this committee, "and to pay the strictest obedience thereto, as they regard the liberties and lives of themselves and the people of the Province."

At the same time they had appointed, as before stated, general officers to command the troops called out by the Committee of Safety. They also published a patriotic and spirited Address to the Inhabitants of Massachusetts, which commences and closes as follows:—

"Friends and Fellow Sufferers;—

"When a people, entitled to that freedom which your ancestors have nobly preserved as the richest inheritance of their children, are invaded by the hand of oppression, and trampled on by the merciless feet of tyranny, resistance is so far from being criminal, that it becomes the Christian and social duty of each individual. Your conduct hitherto, under the severest trials, has been worthy of you as men and Christians, and notwithstanding the pains that have been taken by your enemies, to inculcate the doctrine of non-resistance and passive obedience, and by every art to delude and terrify you, the whole continent of America has this day come to rejoice in your firmness. We trust you will still continue steadfast, and having regard to the dignity of your characters as freemen, and those generous sentiments resulting from your natural and political connections, you will never submit your necks to the galling yoke of

despotism prepared for you; but with a proper sense of your dependence on God, nobly defend those rights which Heaven gave, and no man ought to take from you."

Having dispatched its business, and appointed Thursday, the 16th day of March, as a day of fasting and prayer to the Sovereign Ruler of nations, the Provincial Congress adjourned on the 16th of February, to meet at Concord on the 22d of March.

The Committee of Safety and the Committee of Supplies held meetings almost daily between the sessions of the Congress, and adopted the most active and efficient measures to put the Colony in a state of defence. That there might be more harmony and efficiency, they generally met together. They directed sub-committees to procure cannon and small-arms, powder and ball, and military stores, such as provisions, tents, entrenching tools, and whatever would be required in case troops were called into the field. The journal of their proceedings shows at once their energy and their poverty — their strong devotion to the cause of liberty, and the destitution of the Colony in almost everything necessary to carry on a war, in case they were driven to the necessity of taking up arms in defence of their rights. They selected Worcester and Concord as the depots of such arms and stores as they could obtain. But their journal shows greater preparation than was actually made. The cannon and other stores ordered could not in many cases be obtained. But everything in the Colony went to show that a rupture was expected, and that stout hearts and strong hands were relied upon to supply the defects of munitions of war; and that the patriots trusted in the justice of their cause and the overruling providence of God to bring them off conquerors and more than conquerors, should their oppressors take the field against them.

As the object of this chapter has been to state the real question at issue, and to show the various steps by which the collision was brought about, we have brought the account down to the 1st of March, 1775, being about the period when General Gage commenced operations in the field. We have seen that the controversy originated in the question of taxation; Great Britain claiming the right to legislate for the Colonies "in all cases whatsoever," and consequently to impose such taxes upon them as the King and Parliament might think fit; and the Colonies insisting that by their Charters and

the great principles of Magna Charta, they, having all the rights, immunities, and prerogatives of Englishmen, could not be taxed without their consent; that taxation without representation was oppressive, and that all laws to raise a revenue in America, without the consent of the people, were in direct contravention of the English Constitution and the colonial Charters, and so were unconstitutional and void. The British Government, finding itself unable to meet this issue in the field of debate, and knowing that the united voice of the people in the Colonies was sustained by many of their ablest statesmen at home, resolved to change the issue by altering the American Charters, so as to give Great Britain, if not civil at least military control over the Colonies. The Charter of Massachusetts was at first taken away, and subsequently restored with important changes, greatly increasing the power of the Crown, and consequently reducing that of the colonists. But though this modified Charter was in fact forced upon the colonists, the Ministry were not disposed to abide by it, but actually took the liberty of infringing its provisions, whenever they were found to stand in the way of their unjust and oppressive measures. They not only trampled upon the rights of the Colony, as a body politic and corporate, but they invaded the private rights of individuals in points relating, not only to property, but to liberty and life, by controlling the courts of justice, depriving the people of the right of trial by jury, and the privilege of meeting together peaceably to deliberate upon their own affairs. These unconstitutional and oppressive measures — this system of tyranny, deliberately adopted and persistently adhered to, for the express purpose of reducing the Colonies to a state of abject and degrading servitude, they attempted to enforce at the point of the bayonet.

It was not simply a question of taxation or no taxation, but a question of freedom or slavery that the people were called upon to decide; — not merely a question whether they should be taxed to feed their oppressors, but whether they should submit to evils far greater, and enormities more to be dreaded, because more personal in their character; — whether they should have their property torn from them in mock trials by judges taken from among their oppressors, and by juries packed by corrupt crown officers; — whether their lives should be put in jeopardy by being torn from their families

and transported beyond the seas to be tried for pretended offences. This was the issue forced upon the people at that day. Our patriot fathers were not rebels in the common acceptance of that term. They did not revolt against the mother country, or refuse to obey laws constitutionally made, and designing to apply to all His Majesty's subjects. No; they simply refused to acquiesce in a system of measures applying to themselves alone, and adopted for the avowed purpose of depriving them of the rights of British subjects and of bringing them trembling to the foot of the throne.

Nor was this noble stand taken by our fathers till all other means had failed. Petition and entreaty had been resorted to, but repeated petitions had been answered only by repeated injuries; and it was not till all hope of redress had failed that they took the last resolve to stand by their rights at the hazard of their lives. And even then they resolved not to be the aggressors. Though they believed their cause to be just, they would not forfeit the approbation of the God of battles by any hasty or rash act of their own.

It is a libel upon the character of our fathers to say that they involved the country in all the horrors of war rather than pay a petty tax upon stamped paper and tea. They had motives higher, purer, and holier than that of avoiding the payment of an insignificant tax. They planted themselves upon the great principles of human rights — of fealty to their country and fidelity to their God. They felt that they had personal rights which they were bound to defend — a duty they owed to posterity, which they were under a sacred obligation to discharge — a devotion to the Most High, which it were treason to disregard. Such were the motives and the convictions of our patriot sires. They fought not to conquer, but to defend; not to humble a foe, but to build up a commonwealth on the great principles of equal rights. To these duties they were prompted by the dictates of patriotism, and the teachings of the Word of Life.

NOTE. — An event worthy of notice occurred within the period covered by this chapter, which is stated here, so as not to interrupt the chain of events which were tending to an open rupture with the mother country. On the 22d of May, 1773, Rev. Mr. Clarke's house was entered by a burglar, who carried off a silver tankard and other articles of plate. Levi Ames was subsequently arrested, and the articles found in his possession. He was arraigned and found guilty. He confessed his guilt, and as burglary in the night-time was at that day a capital offence, he was executed, October 20, 1773. Mr. Clarke visited him in prison, and prayed with him, after his conviction. The stolen articles were restored to Mr. Clarke.

CHAPTER VI

THE BATTLE OF LEXINGTON

The Policy of General Gage — His Expedition to Concord — Attack upon the Americans at Lexington — The Gathering of the Militia — The Skirmish at Concord — Destruction of Military Stores there — The Retreat of the British Troops — Reinforcement under Lord Percy.

WE now come to the most eventful period in the history of Lexington, and indeed of our country. We have seen in the preceding chapters the causes which led to the Revolution, and the steps by which the great conflict of opinions was developed. We have witnessed the acts of oppression on the one side and the firm and manly opposition on the other. We have felt the ground-swell of public sentiment and heard the busy notes of preparation. We have seen that the town of Lexington had contributed its full share to the patriotic tide and was measurably prepared for the issue.

If the importance of a battle depended upon the number of troops engaged, or upon the military science displayed in the operation, the Battle of Lexington would dwindle into comparative insignificance. The events of the 19th of April, 1775, are not characterized by any remarkable exhibition of military skill, or by those combined desperate deeds of daring which excite admiration and render a military expedition remarkable. There were no dangerous defiles, to be passed at every hazard, in the face of disciplined troops,— no strong batteries to be stormed,— no commanding positions on which depended the fortunes of the day, to be carried at the point of the bayonet. Nor were there any of those desperate encounters between veterans, well armed and equipped, and led on by brave and experienced commanders, of which we have so many accounts in history. There was true bravery — but it was the firm principle of patriotic valor, unaided by military skill — the uprising of a people poorly armed, in defence of their dearest rights.

The Battle of Lexington, in its commencement, was little more than a cowardly and brutal attack of some eight hundred veteran troops upon fifty or sixty peaceable citizens.

The whole movement of General Gage was simply a secret expedition of a well-appointed corps to destroy a few unguarded military stores — a march through a country of unoffending citizens, where there were no troops to oppose. It was not an expedition into an enemy's country in time of war; but a sort of excursion party in times of peace, sent out by the acknowledged Governor of the Province, some twenty miles into the country. And yet the fate of two mighty empires hung upon the conduct of this party. Their excursion was among men who knew their rights, and knowing dared maintain them. If their march was peaceable, and the rights of the people were respected, they had nothing to fear from the inhabitants. But if they should invade the rights of the citizens by destroying their property or ruthlessly entering their dwellings; and especially if their march should be marked by violence and massacre, it would in all probability cause a wound never to be healed. And yet this party, with a haughty disregard of the rights of the inhabitants, wantonly commenced a system of pillage and massacre as though it were a mere holiday pastime; and thus brought on a collision, the effects of which were not only felt in both hemispheres at that day, but may yet extend to unborn ages.

The pages of the world's history present many sanguinary battles, and even decided and brilliant victories which were attended with no particular results. The battle of the Pyramids in Egypt, and of Buena Vista in Mexico, are of this description. Nor is it obvious to the most careful observer at the present day what principles, moral or political, were involved in those bloody and terrible conflicts or were settled by their results. The desperate struggle in the Crimea, which ended in the partial fall of Sebastopol, where the mighty energies of the three great powers of the world were put forth, and where blood and treasure were poured out like water, decided nothing, except that the advance in military science gives neither party any advantage where both avail themselves of the latest improvements.

But with the affair of the 19th of April the case was widely different. It involved the enfeebling of one empire, and the creation of another. It was a conflict of opinions rather than of arms. It was a war of opposing principles which had divided the public mind for centuries, — it was a stern debate upon the ensanguined field of the great question of human

rights against arbitrary and despotic power, — of the privileges of the many against the prerogatives of the few. But though the collision on that memorable day was the opening scene of the Revolutionary drama, it was by no means the moving cause of that eventful struggle. We must look to causes more remote than the marching of the British troops from Boston, and to questions more momentous than the possession of a few rusty cannon at Concord, if we would comprehend the issue decided by the American Revolution. Nor are the effects of that day's adventure to be confined to the precipitate and ignominious flight of the British army and its arrival under cover of its ships at Charlestown. No; the events of that day, by inspiring confidence and securing union on the one side and by creating distrust on the other, insured to America the blessing of independence, and gave an impulse to the cause of liberty which has cheered many a heart on both continents and may yet contribute to the emancipation of the world.

The spring of 1775 opened with every indication that the crisis was rapidly approaching, and that General Gage had resolved to make some decisive demonstration in the field. Parliament had signified its determination to sustain the Ministry in bringing the Colonies to a state of subjection. The Earl of Dartmouth had suggested to General Gage the propriety of disarming the colonists;¹ and though General Gage had in November, 1774, intimated that true wisdom would require the employment of twenty thousand troops,² yet in January, 1775, he had written to his lordship that matters looked more favorable, and that it was the general opinion that "if a respectable force is seen in the field, the most obnoxious of the leaders are seized, and a pardon proclaimed for all others, the Government will come off victorious."³ General Gage was also aware that there was a growing dissatisfaction in the Ministry with the course he was pursuing. His policy was deemed inefficient, and his inactivity was complained of.⁴ He knew, moreover, that additional troops were to be sent to Boston, and that Generals Howe, Clinton, and Burgoyne were to join, and probably in the end to supersede him. Such facts

¹ Force's Archives, 4th Series, Vol. i, p. 1045.

² Sparks's Washington, Vol. III, p. 506.

³ Force's Archives, Vol. II, p. 336. *Ed.*

⁴ Chatham's Speech in Parliament, January 20, 1775. *Ed.*

and considerations would naturally prompt him to action. He was probably further encouraged by certain demonstrations, in favor of the royal cause, made at Marshfield and several other places.

Knowing that some cannon and other military stores had been collected at Salem, he sent, on the 25th of February, a detachment of his troops to seize or destroy them. But the people, anticipating his design, raised the drawbridge leading to the part of the town where they were deposited, and so prevented their falling into his hands.¹ Meditating the destruction of the military stores which the Committees of Safety and Supplies had been collecting at Worcester and Concord, General Gage sent officers in disguise to sketch the topography of the country and ascertain the feelings and preparation of the people. Under date of February 22, Captain Brown, of the Fifty-second Regiment, and Ensign D'Bernicre, of the Tenth, were directed to make this reconnoissance, with instructions not only to note the roads, distances, heights, passes, rivers, and the like, but to "notice the situation of the towns and villages, *their churches and churchyards*, whether they are advantageous spots to take post in, and capable of being rendered defensible."² These officers in disguise visited Worcester by way of Sudbury, Framingham, and Marlborough, and subsequently, on the 20th of March, visited Concord by way of Sudbury and returned through Lexington; and on their return, reported the result of their exploration to General Gage.³

¹ Essex Gazette. See also E. Chase, *Beginnings of the American Revolution*, Vol. II, pp. 248-61. Ed.

² Force's Archives, Vol. I, p. 1263.

³ See Journal of John Howe, a British spy, in Ellen Chase, *Beginnings of the American Revolution*, Vol. II, p. 295. See also D'Bernicre's Narrative, as follows. This reference to the Battle of Lexington is from the original pamphlet in the possession of the Lexington Historical Society, and also republished in the Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., Vol. IV, 2d Series. (Page 17 of pamphlet:)

"TRANSACTIONS of the British troops previous to, and at the Battle of Lexington; with a Return of their killed, wounded and missing, as made to General Gage.

"On the night of the 18th of April 1774, at nine o'clock, the grenadiers and light infantry of the army at Boston, received orders to embark immediately under the command of Col. Smith, in the men of war's boats, and proceed according to his directions. They embarked at the common in Boston, and crossed to the shore lying between Charlestown and Cambridge, where they landed and received a day's provisions: They began their march about twelve o'clock for Concord, that being the place they were ordered to go to, for the purpose of destroying some military stores laid up there by the rebels. The troops received no interruption in their march until they arrived at Lexington, a town eleven miles from Boston, where there were about 150 rebels drawn out in divisions, with intervals as wide as the front of the divisions; the light-infantry who marched in front halted, and Major Pitcairn came up immediately and cried out to the rebels to throw down their arms and disperse, which they did not do; he called out a second time, but to no purpose; upon which he ordered our light-infantry to advance and disarm them, which they

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In the mean time there were many indications that the British officers, stationed at Boston, were becoming weary of those "piping times of peace," and were desirous of bringing

were doing, when one of the rebels fired a shot, our soldiers returned the fire and killed about fourteen of them; there was only one of the 10th light-infantry received a shot through his leg; some of them got into the church and fired from it, but were soon drove out. We then continued our march for Concord, and arrived there between nine and ten o'clock in the morning of the 19th April, the light-infantry marched on the hills that lay the length of the town, and the grenadiers took the lower road immediately on our arrival; Capt. *Parsons* of the 10th, was dispatched with six light-companies to take possession of a bridge that lay three quarters of a mile from Concord, and I was ordered to shew him the road there, and also to conduct him to a house where there was some cannon and other stores hid; when we arrived at the bridge, three companies under the command of Capt. *Lowry* of the 43d, were left to protect it, these three companies were not close together, but situated so as to be able to support each other; we then proceeded to Col. *Barrat's*, where these stores were, we did not find so much as we expected, but what there was we destroyed; in the mean time Capt. *Lowry* and his party were attacked by about 1500 rebels and drove from the bridge, three officers were wounded and one killed, three soldiers were killed and a number wounded, notwithstanding they let Capt. *Parsons* with his three companies return, and never attacked us; they had taken up some of the planks of the bridge, but we got over; had they destroyed it we were most certainly all lost; however, we joined the main body. Col. *Smith* during our absence, had sent Capt. *Pole* of 10th regiment, to destroy some provisions and cannon that were lodged in another part of the town, he knock'd the trunnions off three iron 24 pound cannon and burnt their carriages; they also destroyed a quantity of flour, and some barrels of trenchers and spoons of wood for their camp. Upon the different detachment's joining the main body, and after getting some horses and chaises for the wounded, we began the march to return to Boston, about twelve o'clock in the day, in the same order of march, only our flankers were more numerous and further from the main body; all the hills on each side of us were covered with rebels — there could not be less than 5000; so that they kept the road always lined and a very hot fire on us without intermission; we at first kept our order and returned their fire as hot as we received it, but when we arrived within a mile of Lexington, our ammunition began to fail, and the light-companies were so fatigued with flanking they were scarce able to act, and a great number of wounded scarce able to get forward, made a great confusion; Col. *Smith* (our commanding-officer) had received a wound through his leg, a number of officers were also wounded, so that we began to run rather than retreat in order — the whole behaved with amazing bravery, but little order; we attempted to stop the men and form them two deep but to no purpose, the confusion increased rather than lessened: At last, after we got through Lexington, the officers got to the front and presented their bayonets, and told the men if they advanced they should die: Upon this they began to form under a very heavy fire; but at that instant, the first brigade joined us, consisting of the 4th, 23d, and 47th regiments, and two divisions of marines, under the command of Brigadier-General Lord *Percy*; he brought two field-pieces with him, which were immediately brought to bear upon the rebels, and soon silenced their fire. — After a little firing the whole halted for about half an hour to rest. Lord *Percy* then made the light-infantry march in front, the grenadiers next, and the first brigade brought up the rear and sent out flankers; the rebels still kept firing on us, but very lightly until we came to *Menotomy*, a village with a number of houses in little groups extending about half a mile, out of these houses they kept a very heavy fire, but our troops broke into them and killed vast numbers; the soldiers shewed great bravery in this place, forcing houses from whence came a heavy fire, and killing great numbers of rebels. At about seven o'clock in the evening we arrived at *Charlestown*, they kept up a scattering fire at us all the way; at *Charlestown* we took possession of a hill that commanded the town, the Selectmen of which sent to Lord *Percy* to let him know that if he would not attack the town, they would take care that the troops should not be molested, and also they would do all in their power for to get us across the ferry; the *Somerset* man of war lay there at that time, and all her boats were employed first in getting over the wounded, and after them the rest of the troops; the piquets of 10th regiment, and some more troops, were sent over to *Charlestown* that night to keep everything quiet, and returned next day. The rebels shut up the neck, placed sentinels there, and took prisoner an officer of the 64th regiment that was going to join his regiment at *Castle-William*. — So that in the course of two days, from a plentiful town, we were reduced to the disagreeable necessity of living on salt provisions, and fairly blocked up in Boston.

RETURN of the killed, wounded and missing, on the 18th of April, 1775, as made to General Gage.

KILLED.

IVth regiment, Lieut. *Knight*, at *Menotomy*.

XLIIIId, ditto, Lieut. *Hull*, bridge beyond Concord.

WOUNDED.

IVth regiment, Lieut. *Gould*, bridge beyond Concord.

Vth ditto, Lieut. *Hauschaw*, near Lexington.

on a collision with the people. On the anniversary of the Boston Massacre, Dr. Warren delivered the Oration at the Old South Church, and Samuel Adams presided. A large number of British officers were present, and attempted to break up the meeting by cries of fire, hissing, and other disorderly conduct.¹ On the 8th, Thomas Ditson, Jr., a citizen of Billerica, being in Boston, was seized by a party of the King's troops, on the vain pretence of having urged one of their soldiers to desert; and without any trial or examination was taken to their guard-house and kept a prisoner till the next day, when he was stripped, tarred and feathered, placed upon a truck, and drawn through some of the principal streets, attended by forty or fifty soldiers of the Forty-seventh Regiment with arms and fixed bayonets, led on by Colonel Nesbit of that regiment, the music at the same time playing "Yankee Doodle" by way of derision.² On the 16th of March, which was observed as a day of fasting and prayer in obedience to the recommendation of the Provincial Congress, several congregations in Boston were annoyed by a party of the Fourth Regiment. They pitched their tents near one of the churches,

Vth regiment, Lieut. *Cox*, ditto.
ditto, Lieut. *Baber*, ditto.
Xth ditto, Lieut. Col. *Smith*, ditto.
ditto, Lieut. *Kelly*, bridge beyond Concord.
ditto, Ensign *Lester*, near Concord.
XXXIIIth ditto, Lieut. Col. *Bernard*, Menotomy.
XXXVIIIth ditto, Lieut. *Sunderland*, bridge Concord.
XLVIIth ditto, Ensign *Baldwin*, near Lexington.
ditto, Ensign *McCloud*, ditto.
Marines { Capt. *Souter*, and } near Lexington.
Lieut. *Potter*

PRISONERS.

IVth regiment Lieut. *Gould*.
LXIVth ditto, Lieut. *Hamilton*.
Marines, Lieut. *Potter*.

	<u>Killed.</u>	<u>Wounded.</u>	<u>Missing.</u>
Officers	2	18	8
Sergeants	2	7	1
Drummers	1	0	1
Rank and file	68	154	21
Total	73	174	26

See also F. W. Coburn's list (The Battle of April 19, 1775, p. 159). *Ed.*

¹ Force's Archives, Vol. II, p. 120. "The red-coated gentry behaved with tolerable decency till after the Doctor had finished; when, taking exception at the words of the vote that was put for the appointment of an orator for the next year, one of them cried out *fire! fire!* This exclamation was seconded by two or three others; and the people thinking it was the cry of fire, great confusion was occasioned . . . much mischief would have ensued, had not the gentlemen in the desk very strenuously exerted themselves to restore quiet." See also *Atlantic Monthly*, April, 1877. *Ed.*

² Ditson's Deposition, and Remonstrance of the Selectmen of Billerica.

and during the service greatly disturbed the worshippers by their drums, fifes, and other noises. Colonel Madison was present with them a part of the time. On the 17th, in the evening, Colonel Hancock's house, near the Common, was attacked by a party of British officers, who cut and hacked the fence in front of the house and otherwise behaved very abusively, breaking windows, and insulting almost every person they met. On the 18th, the guard at the Neck seized 13,425 musket cartridges with balls, and about three hundred pounds of musket balls, the property of private persons, which the General refused to give up to the owners. They also abused the teamster, pricking him with their bayonets, and assaulted the Providence stage, breaking the windows and insulting the passengers. On the 19th, a party of officers and soldiers again insulted Colonel Hancock, entering upon his premises and refusing to retire, boasting that his house, stable, and other property would soon be theirs, when they would use it as they pleased.¹ Though these aggressions were of a private character and related to the rights of individuals, they served to irritate the people, and showed at the same time a haughtiness on the part of the British officers which would naturally lead to a collision with the inhabitants.

While General Gage was employed in making preparation for excursions into the country to destroy the military stores that the Provincials had collected together, the patriotic inhabitants were not inactive. The Second Provincial Congress, which held its first session at Cambridge, had adjourned, on the 16th of February, to meet at Concord on the 22d of March. On coming together at that time, and being fully impressed with the critical state of public affairs, they adopted the most efficient means in their power to meet the crisis, which they knew could not be far distant. They adopted a code of Rules and Articles for the regulation of the army of the Province, elected committees from the several counties to see that the recommendations of the Congress were fully carried out, and renewed their recommendation for exercising and drilling the militia. Having received certain intelligence that large reinforcements were on their way to Boston, they sent delegates to New Hampshire, Connecticut, and Rhode Island, to apprise them of the common danger, and if possible to enlist them in the common cause. They assured their sister Colo-

¹ *Forster's Archives*, Vol. II, p. 211.

nies "that we are determined to take effectual measures for our security and defence by raising an army"; and requested them "to coöperate with us by furnishing their respective quotas for the general defence." They also voted to raise six companies of artillery, to be organized, disciplined, and in "constant readiness to enter the service of the Colony" whenever it should become necessary. And as they appealed to Heaven for the justice of their cause, and trusted in the God of battles to carry them successfully through the contest which they feared was approaching, they appointed a day of fasting and prayer. On the 15th of April, they adjourned to meet on the 10th of May, unless sooner called together on an emergency by a committee which they had designated for that purpose.¹

In the mean time the Committees of Safety and of Supplies, which generally met together, were in session almost daily, using the most efficient means in their power to put the Province in a proper state of defence. On the 14th of March, being in session at the house of Captain Stedman, in Cambridge, and anticipating some movement on the part of General Gage, they voted "that watches be kept constantly at places where the Provincial magazines are kept." They also requested the Committees of Charlestown, Cambridge, and Roxbury "to procure at least two men for a watch every night, to be placed in each of these towns, and that the said members be in readiness to send couriers forward to the towns where the magazines are placed, when sallies are made from the army by night." Pursuant to this request, on the day following the Committees directed Colonel Barrett, of Concord, "to engage a sufficient number of faithful men to guard the colony magazines in that town, and to keep a suitable number of teams in constant readiness by day and by night, on the shortest notice to remove the stores; and also to provide couriers to alarm the neighboring towns, on receiving any information of any movement of the King's troops." The Committees were in session at Concord on the 17th of April and adjourned to meet at Menotomy, now Arlington, at Wetherby's Tavern the next day.²

Preparatory to any attempt to make a descent upon Worcester or Concord, for the purpose of destroying the military

¹ Journals of the Provincial Congress.

² Journals of the Committees of Safety and of Supplies.

stores, General Gage sent out detachments of his troops into the neighboring towns, probably with the design of exercising his men and of habituating the inhabitants to these excursions, so that no apprehension might be felt in case the troops should be seen leaving Boston. On the 30th of March, the First Brigade, under Lord Percy, marched out to Jamaica Plain, in Roxbury. They were narrowly watched by the people, who collected in large numbers; but as they were without artillery or baggage, it was inferred that their excursion was but a short one; and as they did not interfere with the inhabitants, they were permitted to pass without molestation. They did, however, commit depredations upon private property by throwing down a considerable quantity of stone wall.¹ Whether this was done as wanton mischief, or whether they thought that these walls would afford a rampart for the militia in case they should attempt an expedition in that direction, it is impossible to say.

The day of debate had now passed, and the day of action — open, efficient action — had come. Active efforts were now making in all parts of the Province. Not only were the Committees of Safety and of Supplies adopting efficient measures, but almost every town was resounding with “awful notes of preparation.” The towns were furnishing arms and munitions of war to the utmost extent of their ability. The minute-men and the alarm-lists, as they were called, the latter being composed of the aged and the young, were out almost daily for exercise and drill. The people felt the awful responsibility which rested upon them. They knew that to resist the King’s troops would be treason, which they might be called upon to expiate upon the gallows; but to submit to the arbitrary and unjust requisitions of Great Britain would be courting a chain and entailing slavery upon themselves and their children. The feeling which pervaded the community was one of the purest patriotism, sanctified and hallowed on the altar of religion. Their sense of justice and of right, their regard for the welfare of their children, their love for their country, and their devotion to their God prompted them to action and inspired them with confidence in their ultimate success.

No class in the community contributed more to produce this state of feeling and to animate and sustain the people as

¹ Force’s Archives, and Warren’s Letter to Arthur Lee.

the danger approached than the pious and patriotic clergy of New England. Their appeals were ardent and touching. They recurred to the causes which had brought us to this country, and recounted the instances in which our fathers had been brought out of a wilderness of dangers and through scenes of blood. They pointed to that Canaan of rest which awaited us, if we would put our trust in the Lord and rely upon his outstretched arm. They taught their people that the Gospel was a self-sacrificing system, that patriotism was a Christian duty, and that he who refused to suffer for his country in such a holy cause was false to Him who died that we might live. And among those who animated and encouraged the people, and thus kindled the fires of patriotism upon the altars of religion, none was more active or successful than the distinguished and pious priest who ministered to the people of Lexington. His intimacy with Adams and Hancock made him minutely acquainted with the affairs of the Colony, his clear and far-reaching perception enabled him to judge with great accuracy, and his noble and manly independence gave him a controlling influence over the minds of men. "Mr. Clarke was a man of high rank in his profession — a man of practical piety, — a learned theologian, — a person of wide general reading, — a writer perspicuous, correct, and pointed beyond the standard of the day, — and a most intelligent, resolute, and ardent champion of the popular cause. He was connected by marriage with the family of John Hancock. To this circumstance, no doubt, may properly be ascribed some portion of his interest in the political movements of the day; — while on the mind of Hancock an intimacy with Mr. Clarke was calculated to have a strong and salutary influence." ¹

Mr. Clarke took a broad and enlightened view of the duties and obligations of the citizen. With him patriotism was a virtue of religious growth. In his estimation love to God involved a love of country, and devotion to religion implied devotion to the state. Describing the true patriot, he says, "Inspired with the principles of piety, governed by the laws of God, encouraged and supported with motives of religion, such men in the court or in the field, in peace and in war, in private and in public stations, look with a generous contempt, a sacred abhorrence upon every advantage they might make to themselves at the expense of their virtue. No self-interest,

¹ Everett's Address at Lexington in 1835.

no venal motive can countervail with them the public good, the safety and happiness of society — of mankind. The frowns of the great and the flatteries of the vulgar are equally despised; the greatest trials are cheerfully endured, the most self-denying services are with pleasure engaged in, in the cause of God. In honor to God they wait upon the King, in devotion to him they serve their country, and for the glory of his name stand ready cheerfully to submit to every hardship, firmly to face every danger, and for the support of his cause, and the defence of the liberties and lives of his people, freely to make their own a sacrifice, and shed their dearest blood.”¹

Such were the sentiments of Mr. Clarke, uttered seven years before hostilities commenced; and they had become more deeply seated and had taken a more active form as the crisis approached. Such sentiments and feelings had extended in a good degree throughout all the Colonies, — though in Massachusetts they had well-nigh ripened into action. The town of Lexington, as we have already seen, had from the first taken a deep and lively interest in the controversy between the parent country and the Colonies, and had made every effort to prepare her sons for any emergency which might arise. In 1774, she had “voted to increase the town’s stock of ammunition,” “to encourage military discipline, and to put themselves in a posture of defence against their enemies”; she had voted to supply the “training soldiers” with bayonets and had distributed, at the expense of the town, arms and ammunition to the “training-band” and “alarm-list” of her citizens. Such was the liberality of the town to her patriotic sons, who in the day of trial stood firmly by the cause of freedom, and nobly “showed that they were worth their breeding.”²

The Second Provincial Congress, of which John Hancock was President and Samuel Adams one of its most distinguished members, having closed its session at Concord on the

¹ Artillery Election Sermon, 1768.

² As a specimen of the spirit which prevailed at that day, we subjoin the following: “At a meeting of the people of the Alarm List of the third Company in Danvers, held in said Danvers, the 6th of March, 1775, for the purpose of electing officers for said Alarm List Company, Rev. Benj. Balch, Chairman; said people unanimously made choice of Dea. Edmund Putnam for Captain; Rev. Benj. Balch for Lieutenant, and Mr. Tarrant Putnam for Ensign. The said gentlemen being present, declared their acceptance.” American Archives, Vol. II, p. 37.

This fact is well worthy of a town, which, though distant, nobly joined the affair of the 19th of April, 1775.

15th of April, these champions of freedom, instead of returning to Boston, had taken up their abode with Rev. Jonas Clarke at Lexington. This they were induced to do in consequence of the impression which had become quite prevalent that General Gage had meditated their seizure. It was well known that Hutchinson, the predecessor of General Gage, had used his influence to have Adams arrested and sent to England to be tried for treason; and the subsequent course of Adams had been still more offensive to the royal Governor. General Gage had, by his proclamation of November, 1774, pronounced the Provincial Congress over which Hancock had presided "an unlawful assembly, tending utterly to subvert" government, and to lead directly "to sedition, treason, and rebellion," and had held up "the pains and penalties of the law," to prevent their reassembling or their measures from being carried into effect. There was reason, therefore, to apprehend that these distinguished patriots, after attending another session of this unlawful assembly and adopting measures still more odious to His Majesty's Government, would not be safe in Boston; abounding, as it did at that time, in a large number of inveterate Tories from all parts of the Province, who were constantly urging the Governor to deeds of violence and desperation. This impression was strengthened by various other causes. Gordon, the historian, informs us that an intercepted letter from Mr. Mauduit to Commissioner Hollowell, brought over by a vessel from England which arrived here on the 2d of April, contained distinct intimations that some of the leading patriots were to be seized and sent to England as traitors. A letter from London, under date of February 24, 1775, contained this passage, "those Lords who advised the King to declare you rebels, and apprehend Messrs. Hancock and Adams, &c., &c., have gone so far as to say that Chatham shall fall a sacrifice to their designs." ¹ Another letter from London says, "Orders are certainly sent to seize particular persons." ² Another letter, subsequently received, declares that "the Administration, on Friday, received advices from General Gage to the 18th of *March*, wherein he acknowledges the receipt of the King's order to apprehend Messrs. *Cushing, Adams, Hancock, &c.*, and send them over to *England* to be tried; but that the second orders, which were to hang them in *Boston*, he said the

¹ *Forre's Archives*, Vol. II, p. 345.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 319.

SAMUEL ADAMS¹
PAUL REVERE

DOROTHY QUINCY

JOHN HANCOCK
WILLIAM DAWES

Guests at the Hancock-Clarke House
April 19, 1775

¹ Copyright by A. W. Reed & Co.

General had not then received." ¹ General Gage, as we have already seen, in his letter to Dartmouth, of the 18th of January, had suggested the propriety of seizing "the most obnoxious leaders," and offering pardon to all others; and his Proclamation of the 12th of June, 1775, offering "His Majesty's most gracious pardon to all persons who shall forthwith lay down their arms, and return to their duties of peaceable subjects, excepting only from the benefit of such pardon, *Samuel Adams* and *John Hancock*, whose offences are of too flagitious a nature to admit of any other consideration than that of condign punishment," ² shows that such a measure was premeditated. Lord Dartmouth in his letter to General Gage, under date of April 15, expressly declares that the seizure of the most obnoxious leaders is "already provided for." ³ These facts prove most conclusively that one object of the stealthy movement of the British officers on the evening of the 18th of April was to seize these illustrious patriots, that they might suffer the full penalty of treason. This fact was admitted at the time, and has since been acknowledged by foreign ⁴ as well as by American writers. ⁵

Everything indicated that the crisis was at hand, and a fearful one it was for Massachusetts. General Gage had received a small accession to his forces, which now amounted to about four thousand men, well armed and equipped, and under the most perfect discipline, they could be brought into the field at any moment. Large reinforcements were on their way from Europe, and Boston was their destination. On the

¹ Force's Archives, Vol. II, p. 336.

² Force's Archives, Vol. II, p. 969. *Ed.*

³ Force's Archives, Vol. II, p. 336.

⁴ Botta, Murray, and others.

⁵ Shattuck, in his *History of Concord*, declares that one object of this expedition was "to apprehend Hancock, Adams, *Barrett*, and other distinguished patriots" (p. 101). We have no disposition to detract from the merits of Colonel Barrett. He was undoubtedly a brave and efficient officer, and a true patriot; but we are not aware that he stood so prominent as to be known across the Atlantic, and to be ranked with Adams and Hancock. After a pretty thorough examination of authorities, we have found nothing that could, even by implication, include him in the list of the proscribed patriots. He certainly was not exempted from pardon in Gage's proclamation.

The designs of the British, and the belief of the day, are clearly embodied in a Tory ballad of that period — more remarkable for truth than for poetry, we imagine.

"As for their king, that John Hancock,
And Adams, if they're taken,
Their heads for signs shall hang up high,
Upon the hill, called Beacon."

side of the Province there was no organized army: not a single company in the field to oppose the march of the King's troops. The whole Province was in a state of comparative disorder. General Gage, by dissolving the Legislature, had left Massachusetts without any lawful government. The Provincial Congress, a body almost self-constituted, assumed to act as a sort of legislature, and the Committees of Safety and of Supplies were exercising a kind of executive power. And though these bodies, under all the circumstances of the case, acted with great wisdom and efficiency, they had no power to enforce their measures and no adequate means in their hands to procure the necessary troops or munitions of war. Though the Provincial Congress had, as early as October, 1774, recommended the purchase of arms and ammunition to the amount of £20,800, their Treasurer, on the 25th of April, 1775, reported that only about £5000 had come into his hands.¹ The poverty of the people and the dearth of military stores within the Province are manifest from the journals of those bodies. Most of the arms in the hands of the people were their old hunting guns, without bayonets; hence votes were passed by Congress earnestly recommending the purchase and manufacture of that essential appendage of the musket. The manufacture of saltpetre was also urged upon the people, that they might be able to supply the great demand for powder. The towns were earnestly called upon to furnish, as far as possible, a certain quantity of bayonets, powder, and "firelocks."

The records show the great difficulties under which the Committee of Supplies labored. Many of their votes indicate the straits to which they were driven.² They were directed to "endeavor to procure" such and such articles. The supply of military stores and of provisions indicated their destitution in both the implements and the sinews of war. The Committee of Supplies were directed to "endeavor to procure" 200 spades, 150 iron shovels, 150 pickaxes, 1000

¹ Journals of the Provincial Congress, and of the Committees of Safety and of Supplies.

² "Voted unanimously by both Committees, that the Committee of Supplies do procure ten tons of brimstone, provided it can be had on this condition: that the Committee of Supplies agree to pay therefor, when the present owner shall have opportunity to sell the same, or that it shall be returned in six months, if not used; and if used, it shall be paid for." Journal of the Committees of Supplies and of Safety, February 21, 1775.

six-quart iron pots, 200 bill-hooks, 1000 wooden mess-bowls, 1 tenon-saw, 200 axes, 50 wheelbarrows, and a suitable supply of wooden spoons; also 355 barrels of pork, 700 barrels of flour, 300 bushels of beans, and 20 tierces of rice. Limited as were these amounts and active as were the endeavors of the Committee, these supplies could not be fully obtained. They also secured as many fieldpieces as they could, but so limited was the supply that certain officers were directed, if possible, to borrow of those who possessed them that the men might be instructed in their use. With such comparative destitution, and with a population of only about three hundred thousand, without any organized government, and almost without money or credit, Massachusetts dared with a small number of undisciplined and half-armed militia to withstand the mighty energy of Great Britain, lately victorious on both continents over the most powerful nations of the earth. But great as was the disparity, the patriots stood firm. Animated by the justice of their cause and sustained by a lively faith in an overruling Providence, they were determined to do their duty, and trust the issue to Him "who bringeth the princes to nothing," and "taketh up the isles as a very little thing."

General Gage, having obtained all needed information relative to the topography of the country, planned a secret expedition to Concord for the purpose of destroying the military stores there deposited. On the 15th of April, on the pretence of teaching the grenadiers and light infantry some new discipline or evolutions, he detached about eight hundred of them from the main body and marched them to another part of the town. At night the boats of the transport ships, which had been hauled up for repairs, were launched and moored under the sterns of the men-of-war lying in the river. But the object of this movement was suspected by the watchful patriots; Dr. Warren, ever on the alert, immediately caused information to be communicated to his friends in the neighboring towns; and a messenger was dispatched to Hancock and Adams at Lexington. This timely notice enabled the Committee of Safety, of which Hancock was chairman, to adopt the precautionary measure, on the 17th and 18th, of having a portion of the cannon and stores at Concord removed to Sudbury, Stow, and Groton; and another portion secreted in different places within the town.

On Tuesday, the 18th of April, General Gage detailed a number of his officers and sent them out of town, with instructions to post themselves on the several roads leading from Boston, to prevent, if possible, all intelligence of his intended expedition that night from reaching the country. To avoid suspicion a part of them left Boston in the morning, and dined that day in Cambridge. Late in the afternoon they proceeded leisurely on horseback towards Lexington and Concord. The Committees of Safety and Supplies had been in session that day at Wetherby's Tavern at Menotomy, now Arlington; and as they had not completed their business had adjourned over to nine o'clock the next morning. Mr. Gerry, afterwards Vice-President of the United States, and Colonels Orne and Lee remained there for the night. Mr. Richard Devens and Mr. Abraham Watson started in a chaise for Charlestown; but meeting a number of British officers on horseback, they returned to inform their friends at Wetherby's and remained there till the officers had passed, when they returned to Charlestown. Mr. Gerry lost no time in sending an express to Hancock and Adams that "eight or nine officers were out, suspected of some evil design." The messenger took a by-path and arrived safely at Lexington.¹ But a verbal message had already communicated to the people of Lexington the fact that these officers were on the road.

"Solomon Brown of Lexington, who had been to market at Boston on the 18th, returned late in the afternoon, and informed Col. William Munroe, then the orderly sergeant of the militia company, that he had seen nine British officers, dressed in blue greatcoats, passing leisurely up the road, sometimes before and sometimes behind him, armed, as he had discovered by the occasional blowing aside of their greatcoats. Munroe, suspecting their intention was to seize Hancock and Adams, immediately collected a guard of eight men, well armed and equipped, and placed them, himself at their head, at the house of Mr. Clarke, which was about a quarter of a mile from the main road leading to Concord. . . . Small parties of British officers in the spring of that year, had frequently been seen making excursions into the country, early in the day, and returning before evening. But the unusually late hour of their passing up, at this time, excited the attention of our citizens, and drew together, at an early hour of the evening, about thirty of the militia, well armed, and ready for any emergency, to which the critical and alarming state of things might suddenly call them. It had been cur-

¹ Frothingham's *Siege of Boston*, p. 57, and authorities there cited.

rently reported, that the British had threatened, that Hancock and Adams should not stay at Lexington; and it was generally believed to be the object of these officers, who had passed up, to return secretly, at a late hour in the night and seize and carry them to Boston. After some consultation, it was concluded by the persons present to send three of their number, Sanderson, Brown, and Loring, towards Concord to watch the British officers, and endeavor to ascertain and give information of their movements. In the borders of Lincoln, the whole three were taken prisoners by the British officers, who were paraded across the road.”¹

Soon after Mr. Devens had arrived at Charlestown, he received intelligence that the British troops in Boston were in motion and were preparing to leave the town on some secret expedition. A signal had previously been agreed upon. If the British attempted an expedition by the Neck, one lantern was to be hung out from the steeple of the Old North Church, and if by water, two.² Devens, an ardent patriot and an active member of the Committee of Safety, kept his eye upon the church; the lanterns soon conveyed the tidings that the troops were leaving Boston by crossing the river. Believing that Concord was the place of their destination, and fearing for the safety of his friends at Menotomy and Lexington, he immediately prepared to despatch messengers with the intelligence.

General Gage in the mean time supposed that his movement was unobserved, and that his expedition was known only to himself and the few officers to whom he had committed the secret. Stedman, the English historian, who accompanied Percy in this expedition, informs us that Gage sent for Percy that evening about nine o'clock, communicated to him the contemplated expedition, and congratulated himself upon his success in keeping it from the patriots. But as Percy was crossing the Common a short time after, he saw a group of citizens assembled, and mingling with them he found the subject of this expedition to Concord was freely spoken of and well understood; whereupon he hastened back to Gage's

¹ Phinney's *History of the Battle of Lexington*.

² "The Sunday before . . . I had been to Lexington; . . . there I agreed with a Colonel Conant and some other gentlemen, that if the British went out by water, we would shew two lanthorns in the north church steeple; and if by land, one, as a signal; for we were apprehensive it would be difficult to cross the Charles River; or get over Boston neck." Colonel Revere's Letter, *Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll. for 1798*, 1st Series, Vol. v, p. 107. *Ed.*

quarters, and gave him the information.¹ Mortified at the intelligence and to prevent its further spread, he immediately issued orders that no one should be permitted to leave Boston.²

But it was too late. The intelligence had gone forth from the Old North Church with the rapidity of light;³ and Dr. Warren had a few minutes before dispatched Paul Revere and William Dawes⁴ into the country to give the information and alarm the people. A little before eleven o'clock, Revere crossed the river in his own boat, close to the Somerset man-of-war, unobserved, and landed at Charlestown, where he had an interview with Mr. Devens, who informed him that ten British officers, well armed and mounted, were upon the road. A fleet horse was obtained of Deacon Larkin, and Revere started on his perilous mission about eleven o'clock. Soon after passing Charlestown Neck, he fell in with two British officers who attempted to arrest him; but turning his horse back towards Charlestown, he gained the Medford road, and, owing to the fleetness of his horse, he escaped from his pursuers, one of whom, in attempting to cut him off, rode into a clay-pit.

Relieved from such troublesome company, Revere passed through Medford to Menotomy, alarming the people by the way, and arrived safely at Lexington, where he found Rev. Mr. Clarke's house guarded by Sergeant Munroe and eight men. This was a little past midnight; and on requesting to be admitted to Mr. Clarke's house, he was told by the sergeant that the family had just retired and had requested that they might not be disturbed by any noise about the house. "Noise!" exclaimed Revere, "you'll have noise enough before long. The regulars are coming out." He was then permitted to pass. Hearing knocking at the door, Mr. Clarke opened a window and inquired who was there. Revere, without answering the question, said he wished to see Mr. Hancock. Mr. Clarke, ever deliberate and watchful, was inti-

¹ Stedman's History, Vol. 1, p. 119.

² Dr. Belknap's Journal; Proc. Mass. Hist. Soc., June, 1858. *Ed.*

³ Paul Revere's Signal. The True Story of the Signal Lanterns in Christ Church, Boston, pp. 5, 17, Rev. John Lee Watson, D.D. New York, 1880: Trow's Printing and Bookbinding Co. *Ed.*

⁴ "When I got to Dr. Warren's house, I found he had sent an express by land to Lexington — a Mr. William Dawes." Colonel Revere's Letter, Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll. for 1798. *Ed.*

mating that he did not like to admit strangers to his house at that time of night, without knowing who they were and the character of their business, when Hancock, who had retired to rest but not to sleep, recognizing Revere's voice, cried out, "Come in, Revere, we are not afraid of you." Shortly after, Dawes, who came out through Roxbury, arrived.¹ They both brought the intelligence that "a large body of troops, supposed to be a brigade of twelve or fifteen hundred men, were embarked in boats at Boston, and gone over to Lechmere's Point in Cambridge; and it was suspected that they were ordered to seize and destroy the stores belonging to the Colony at Concord."²

After refreshing themselves at Lexington, Revere and Dawes, not knowing the fate of the three men who had been sent up the road from Lexington, set off for Concord to alarm the people. Soon after, they were overtaken by Dr. Prescott, a young gentleman of Concord, who had been spending the evening at Lexington.³ Being an ardent Whig, Prescott entered heartily into their design, and they proceeded towards Concord, alarming the people on the road. Before reaching Brooks's Tavern at the Concord line, they were suddenly met by a party of British officers, armed and mounted, who immediately surrounded and captured Revere, who was in advance of his companions. Prescott, being a little in the rear,⁴ eluded them, and leaping a stone wall, made his escape and arrived safely in Concord, where he gave the alarm. The same officers had already taken Sanderson, Brown, and Loring of Lexington, and had them then in custody. These prisoners were all subjected to a rigid examination. Presenting their pistols the officers threatened to blow out the brains of their captives if they did not give true answers to their questions. They interrogated the Lexington men relative to Hancock and Adams, and inquired where they could be found. They also questioned Revere, who at first gave them rather evasive an-

¹ The distance covered by Revere in coming to Lexington was about thirteen miles, and that covered by Dawes was about seventeen miles. See F. W. Coburn, *The Battle of April 19, 1775*, p. 25. *Ed.*

² Revere's Narrative; William Munroe's Deposition; Clarke's Narrative; and Phinney's History.

³ Paying court to the young lady whom he afterwards married. *Ed.*

⁴ "I called for the Doctor and Mr. Dawes to come up. . . . The Doctor being foremost he came up: and we tried to get past them; but they being armed with pistols and swords they forced us into the pasture; the Doctor jumped his horse over a low stone wall and got to Concord." Colonel Revere's Letter. *Ed.*

swers; but finding himself in their keeping and seeing no way of escape, he said to them firmly, "Gentlemen, you have missed your aim." One of the officers said, "What aim?" Revere replied, "I came out from Boston an hour after your troops left, and if I had not known that messengers had been sent out to give information to the country, and have had time enough to carry it fifty miles, I would have ventured one shot from you before I would have suffered you to stop me." Startled at this, they pushed their inquiries further, when, on hearing the sound of a distant bell, one of the Lexington prisoners said to them, "The bell's ringing — the town's alarmed — and you are all dead men." These declarations frightened the British officers, who, after a brief consultation aside, started on their return towards Lexington. They kept possession of their prisoners till they came within about one hundred rods of the meeting-house. Then, taking Revere's horse from him and cutting the girths and bridles of the other horses, the officers rode off at full speed towards Boston. This was about three o'clock in the morning of the 19th.¹

While these things were occurring on the road towards Concord, the alarm spread rapidly throughout Lexington, and the minute-men were summoned to assemble at their usual place of parade on the Common. At two o'clock on the morning of the 19th, Captain John Parker caused the roll² of his company to be called, and ordered every man to load his gun with powder and ball. After remaining some time upon parade, one of the messengers who had been sent towards Boston returned and reported that he could hear nothing of the regulars, as the British troops were then generally called.

¹ Sanderson's Deposition, and Revere's Narrative.

The Ride of Paul Revere has been made classic by the poem, *Tales of a Wayside Inn*, by Longfellow. We have heard of *poetic license*, but have always understood that this sort of latitude was to be confined to modes of expression and to the regions of the imagination, and should not extend to historic facts. This distinction Longfellow has not been careful to observe. He says of Revere: —

"It was two by the village clock,
When he came to the bridge in Concord town."

Now the plain truth, as stated by Revere himself, and by all other authorities, is that he did not even enter the township of Concord, or approach within *several miles of Concord Bridge*. When poets pervert plain matters of history, to give speed to their *Pegasus*, they should be restrained, as Revere was in his midnight ride.

² "About one hundred and thirty men answered to their names, including exemptions, armed and equipped; so Daniel Harrington, clerk of the company, stated to Parson Gordon." E. Chase, *Beginnings of the American Revolution*, Vol. II, p. 346. Ed.

This created the impression that the movement of the troops at Boston was a mere feint on the part of General Gage, to call off public attention from an expedition he was about to undertake in some other direction. The night being cool, the company was dismissed, with orders to assemble again at the beat of the drum. Some who resided in the immediate neighborhood repaired to their own homes, but the greater part of them went to Buckman's Tavern, near the place of parade.¹

It may aid the reader in understanding what is to follow, to give a brief description of the village and of the localities where the principal events occurred. Lexington is about twelve miles northwest of Boston, and six miles southeast of Concord. The immediate village at that time did not contain more than eight or ten houses. "The road leading from Boston divides near the centre of the village in Lexington. The part leading to Concord passes to the left, and that leading to Bedford to the right of the meeting-house, and form two sides of a triangular green or common, on the south corner of which stands the meeting-house, facing directly down the road leading to Boston. The road is perfectly straight for about one hundred rods below the meeting-house, and nearly level. The common is a pleasant level green, containing about two acres, surrounded by trees, having on the left a gently rising knoll, on which stands a monument of granite."² On the right of the meeting-house, nearly opposite, and separated from the Common by the road leading to Bedford, stood Buckman's Tavern. The house is still standing, and is owned by the Merriams.³ Its perforated clapboards are living witnesses of the attack of a ruthless foe. On the north side of the Green, in the rear of the meeting-house, at about twenty rods, were two dwelling-houses, one the house owned and occupied by Mr. James Gould,⁴ and the other the old house now standing and owned by Mr. Bowen Harrington.⁵ These houses, with their outbuildings and one or two shops, formed the northerly boundary of the Common. North of this is a belt of low swampy ground, extending, without interruption for a considerable distance, from the northeast to the southwest. The present Bedford road not then having been constructed, the

¹ Gordon's Letter; Phinney's History; and Depositions of 1775.

² Phinney.

³ Stetson heirs. Ed.

⁴ Mr. Leroy S. Brown, 8 Elm Avenue. Ed.

⁵ Taken down in 1875. Ed.

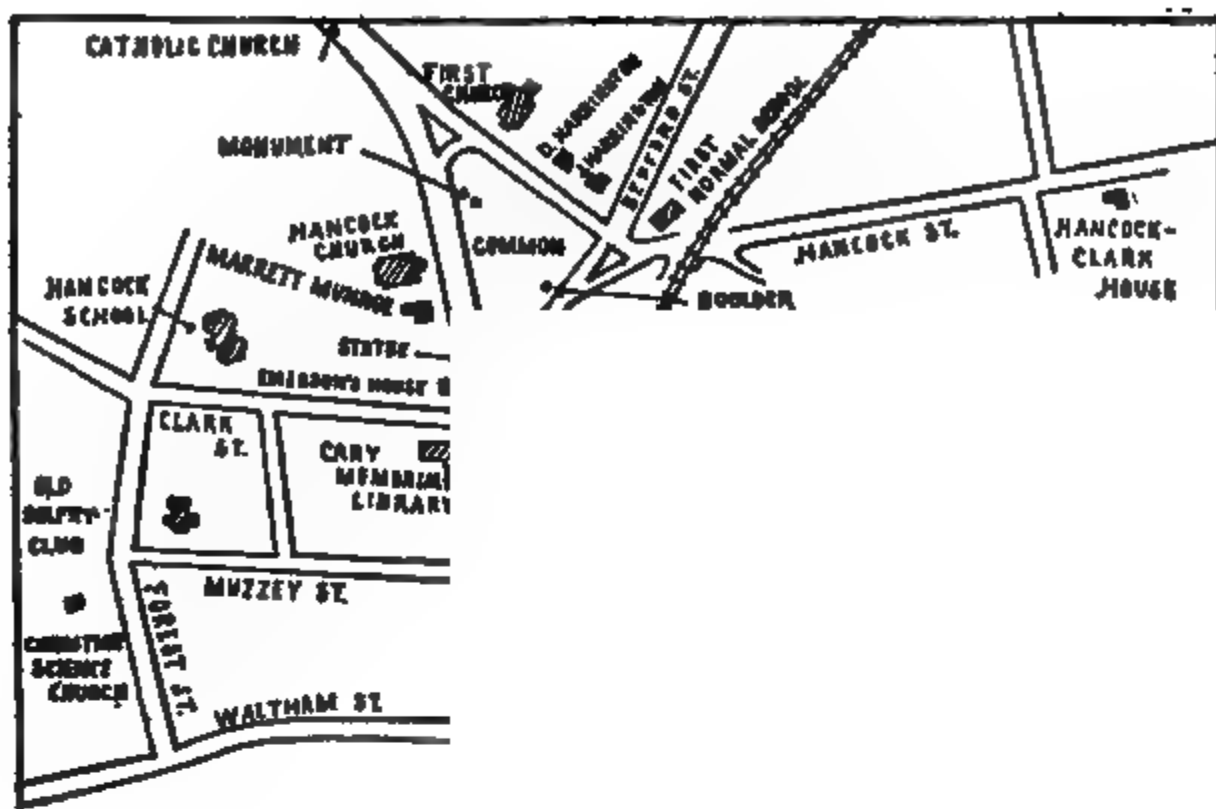
travel to Bedford passed by the house of the Rev. Mr. Clarke, on what is now known as Hancock Street. There were also houses on the Concord road southerly of the Common — the one where Mr. John Hudson ¹ now resides, then occupied by Marrett Munroe. The accompanying diagram will show more fully the localities of the events of that day, and the house where Adams and Hancock were staying.

The apprehension felt for the safety of Hancock and Adams was increased by the report of Sanderson, Revere, and others just escaped from the British officers, who had held them as prisoners. Their inquiries where these distinguished patriots could be found left no doubt in the minds of the people of Lexington that one object of the expedition was to seize them. The friends of Adams and Hancock advised them to leave their present lodgings and repair to a place of greater safety. At first they objected. Hancock declared that "it should never be said of him that he turned his back upon the British." But they were told that their preservation was of the utmost consequence to the interest of the Colony and to the great cause of freedom; and as they were unarmed, they could do but little towards opposing the King's troops. They at last consented, though with great reluctance, to leave the scene of danger and the patriot priest whose hospitality they had shared. It was decided that they should repair to Burlington. But being unwilling to retire at once to a distant place, where they would be beyond the reach of the earliest intelligence, and having a strong desire to witness with their own senses whatever might occur, they at first retired to the hill south-east of Mr. Clarke's house, which was then covered with wood. There they remained concealed till after the British had taken up their line of march for Concord,² when they repaired to the house of a Mr. Reed, in the borders of Burlington. Here they remained a short time,³ when they were induced to retire further from the scene of danger; and they

¹ 526 Mass. Avenue. *Ed.*

² Colonel Revere's Letter states: "They concluded to go from that house towards Woburn. I went with them, and a Mr. Lowell, who was clerk to Mr. Hancock. When we got to the house where they intended to stop, Mr. Lowell and myself returned to Mr. Clark's to find what was going on. . . . We went up chamber (at Buckman Tavern) . . . we saw the British very near upon full march." *Ed.*

³ The Diary of Rev. John Marrett (quoted in Henry Dunster and his Descendants, by Samuel Dunster, 1876) states that they waited at Mr. Reed's in order to send back to Mrs. Clarke's for a salmon, "the first of the season," which had been intended for their breakfast. *Ed.*



BAPTIST
CHURCH

WIN

STON
ST

BLOOMFIELD

TAB
PERRY RD.

ROE
VERM.

MAP OF LEXINGTON CENTRE

were conducted to the house of Madam Jones, widow of Rev. Thomas Jones, and of Rev. Mr. Marrett, in Burlington.¹

Dorothy Quincy, true to the instincts of patriotism and her attachment to Hancock, to whom she was engaged, and whom she married in September of that year, accompanied him on that perilous occasion. It was at this place, in the wood near Mr. Clarke's house, that Adams, on hearing the firing of the British troops, made that memorable exclamation, "*What a glorious morning for America is this!*"²

While these British officers were playing their part on the road towards Concord, the British troops were on their march to their destination. Colonel Smith, at the head of about eight hundred grenadiers, infantry and marines, the flower of the British army, embarked about ten o'clock in the evening of April 18 in the boats of the ships-of-war. They landed at Phipps's farm in Cambridge, near where the present courthouse stands,³ just as the moon was rising; and to prevent discovery took an unfrequented path across the marshes to the old road leading from Charlestown to Menotomy. This subjected them to considerable delay and inconvenience, as the path was untrodden and they were compelled in some cases to wade through water. Being on a secret expedition, their advance was noiseless. Gerry, Orne, and Lee, having been apprised of their approach, rose from their beds at Menotomy, to witness their stealthy midnight march. The front of the column passed the house without annoying any one; but as they proceeded a sergeant's guard was detached to search the house. Gerry, Orne, and Lee, considering themselves in immediate danger, escaped, though but partly dressed, from the house to the neighboring fields, where they remained till the overflowing scourge had passed by.⁴ The

¹ While they were there, an alarm was given that the British were upon them. Whereupon Mr. Marrett conducted them along a cartway to Mr. Amos Wyman's house, in a corner of Billerica. Marrett's Diary states that the salmon was perforce left untasted and that all Mrs. Wyman could give them was cold pork and potatoes. Family tradition has it that in later days Hancock gave Mrs. Wyman a cow. *Ed.*

² This sentence could not have been spoken at the time of the battle, since according to Revere's testimony, Adams must have been at some distance from Lexington at the time of the arrival of the British. See F. W. Coburn, *The Battle of April 19, 1775*, p. 31. *Ed.*

³ Thorndike and Second Streets, East Cambridge. *Ed.*

⁴ Smith, in his West Cambridge Address, says, "Gerry in his perturbation, being on the point of opening the front door in their faces, the landlord cried out to him, 'For God's sake, don't open that door!' and led them to the back part of the house,

soldiers searched the house, and entered the chambers where they had been sleeping, but their intended victims had departed.¹

Colonel Smith had not marched far before he found that the country was alarmed. Though General Gage had used the utmost secrecy in preparing for the expedition, and his own movements had been cautious and stealthy; though no martial airs had animated his troops, and their march was silent as the grave to which many of them were hastening, he found that the news of his expedition had preceded him. The lights from the Old North Church in Boston had drawn forth a chime from the bells of the country churches, and the firing of alarm-guns in every direction showed that the faithful heralds, sent out by the patriots, had performed their duty. If they had not prepared his way before him, they had prepared the people to give him a warm if not cordial reception. Fearing that the country was rising to oppose his progress, he detached six companies of light infantry, under the command of Major Pitcairn, with orders to press forward and secure the bridges at Concord. At the same time, Colonel Smith dispatched a messenger to General Gage for a reinforcement. Soon after, the officers who had been sent forward the preceding night returned with very exaggerated statements of the numbers of the militia which were collecting — representing that there were five hundred assembled at Lexington, and that they were continually coming in from every quarter. The representation so alarmed Pitcairn that when he had arrived near Lexington Common, he halted till the grenadiers came in sight, that he might be supported in case he should be attacked by an overwhelming force.²

"The march of the British," says Phinney, "was silent and rapid. One of the messengers sent by our people to ascertain if they were coming, was surprised before he was aware of their approach, and

whence they escaped into the cornfield, before the officer had posted his guards about the doors. There was nothing to conceal them from view in the broad field but the corn-stubble which had been left the previous fall a foot or two high, and that was but little protection in the bright moonlight. Gerry stumbled and fell, and called out to his friend, 'Stop, Orne; stop for me, till I can get up; I have hurt myself!' This suggested the idea, and they all threw themselves flat on the ground, and, concealed by the stubble, remained there, half-clothed as they left their chamber, till the troops passed on. Colonel Lee never recovered from the effects of that midnight exposure; he died in less than a month from that night."

¹ Gage's Account; and Austin's Life of Gerry, p. 169.

² Gage's Account.

taken prisoner in Cambridge.¹ They thus continued their march undiscovered, taking and detaining as prisoners every person they met with on the road, till they had arrived within a mile and a half of Lexington meeting-house. In order to secure persons travelling upon the road, they would send two soldiers at a considerable distance in advance of the main body, with orders to secrete themselves, one on each side of the road, and when any one approached, they would allow him to pass them, so as to get between them and the troops, and then rise and close upon him. In this way they had taken a number of our men, who had been sent to get information of their approach. Thaddeus Bowman, the last one sent on this business, was riding pretty rapidly down the road, and had proceeded about a mile and a half, when his horse became suddenly frightened, stopped, and refused to go forward. In a moment he discovered the cause. Two British soldiers were perceived just ahead, sitting on opposite sides of the way, close to the fence. It was then daylight. While Bowman was unsuccessfully endeavoring by all the means of whip and spur to urge his horse forward, not conceiving of their plan to entrap him, he caught a glimpse of the main body of the British troops, then about twenty rods off. He instantly turned his horse and rode with all possible speed to the meeting-house, and gave Captain Parker the first certain intelligence of the approach of the King's troops. About the same time that Bowman discovered them, a flanking party made prisoner of Benjamin Wellington, who was within about ten rods of the main road, on his way to join the company at the meeting-house. They took his arms from him, and on his promise to return home, he was released. Wellington, however, took a cross route to the meeting-house, and reached there soon after Bowman. There was no longer any doubt that the regulars were coming."²

It was now about half-past four in the morning. Captain Parker immediately ordered the alarm-guns to be fired and the drum to beat to arms. Sergeant William Munroe was directed to form the company, which he did with the utmost dispatch, in two ranks, a few rods north of the meeting-house. Fifty or sixty of the militia had formed, or rather were forming, while there were some thirty spectators near by, a few of whom had arms.³ But what was to be done! What could this

¹ Clarke's Narrative.

² Phinney's History.

³ Sylvanus Wood's account. "I left my place, and went from one end of the company to the other, and counted every man who was paraded, and the whole number was thirty-eight and no more." Ripley, *A History of the Fight at Concord, 19th of April, 1775*. Theodore Parker says, however: "In all seventy men appeared, were formed into platoons, and marched on to the Common." Force's Archives, 4th series, Vol. II, p. 627. This discrepancy is explained by the Deposition of Wood,

THE BATTLE OF LEXINGTON BY PENDLETON
THE BATTLE OF LEXINGTON BY DOOLITTLE
"THE DAWN OF LIBERTY" BY SANDHAM



little devoted band do in the face of what they then believed to be twelve or fifteen hundred veteran troops? To attack them would, in a military point of view, be the height of madness; to stand their ground in case they were attacked by such overwhelming numbers would be exposing themselves to certain destruction without any justifiable motive. Captain Parker and his men not only knew their danger, but they knew the great responsibility which rested upon them. They stood there not merely as soldiers, but as citizens, nay, almost as statesmen, having the destiny of the country in their hands. Their conduct on that occasion might affect, for weal or for woe, thousands that were to come after them. The patriots in the other Colonies had expressed a fear lest the people of Massachusetts, goaded on by oppression, might indiscreetly commit some overt act and so involve the country prematurely in a civil war. The Continental Congress had recommended to the people of this Colony to avoid a collision with the King's troops, and in all cases to act only on the defensive.¹ Hancock and Adams had recommended prudent measures; and though they foresaw that a conflict of arms was approaching, they were extremely anxious that when war should come, we could say with truth that the colonists were not the aggressors. Captain Parker, in his intercourse with Parson Clarke, had learned that patriotism was consistent with prudence; and that his duty to his country and to his God required him to act only on the defensive. To have been the assailant under such circumstances would have been unworthy of him as a military commander and as a patriotic citizen, and would justly have exposed him to the censure of a court-martial and the displeasure of every intelligent friend of the popular cause. Knowing his duty as a soldier and feeling the full weight of his responsibility as a citizen, Captain Parker ordered his men "not to fire unless they were fired upon."²

who states that Parker gave the command, "Every one of you who is equipped, follow me; and those of you who are not equipped, go into the meeting-house and furnish yourselves from the magazines and immediately join the company." Thereupon Wood counted the single line gathered at the northerly end of the Common, but as others came running in, Sergeant Munroe attempted to form a second line, and by his testimony and that of John Munroe, Ebeneser Munroe, William Tidd, and Lieutenant Gould, of the British forces, about sixty or seventy faced the British when the latter wheeled into line. See details of the battle as given in F. W. Coburn's *The Battle of April 19, 1775*, pp. 62-68. *Ed.*

¹ Resolution of the Continental Congress, October 11, 1774.

² That Captain Parker gave this command rests upon the testimony of his grand-

At a short distance from the parade ground, the British officers, hearing the beat of the American drum and regarding it as a challenge, ordered the column to halt, prime, and load, when they moved forward in double-quick time directly upon the Americans as they were forming. Some of Captain Parker's men, unused to such trying scenes, and knowing their inability to resist successfully, for a moment faltered; Parker commanded every man to stand his ground till he should order him to leave it, and added that he would cause the first man to be shot down who should attempt to leave his post.¹ At this moment the British rushed forward with a shout, led on by Major Pitcairn,² who exclaimed, "Disperse, ye rebels; lay down your arms and disperse!" The Americans did not obey; whereupon he repeated the exclamation with an oath, rushed forward, discharged his pistol, and commanded his men to fire. A few guns were discharged; but as no execution was done, the Americans, supposing that they were loaded only with powder, stood their ground, but did not return the fire. The command to fire was repeated, and a general discharge from the front rank followed with fatal effect. The Americans, seeing some of their numbers killed and wounded, hesitated no longer as to their right to resist, and several of them immediately returned the fire of the British. Jonas Parker, John Munroe, and Ebenezer Munroe, Jr., and some others, fired before leaving the line. Captain Parker, seeing several of his men fall, and the British rushing upon his little band from both sides of the meeting-house, as if to surround them, ordered his men to disperse. They did so; but as the British continued firing, several of the Americans returned the fire after leaving the field.³

The firing on the part of the Americans, and also on the part of the British, after the first two rounds, was scattering and irregular. As Major Pitcairn led the van, the responsibility of the first firing rests solely upon him. From the best in-

son, Theodore Parker, and of Colonel William Munroe and others present at the battle. For a description of the sham battle 'in 1822, at which Colonel William Munroe, impersonating Captain Parker, used this command, and then said, "Them is the very words Captain Parker spoke," see *Proc. Lex. Hist. Soc.*, Vol. I, p. 30. Revere's version of this command, as given in his *Narrative*, is, "Let the troops pass by and don't molest them without they begin first." *Ed.*

¹ Depositions of Underwood, Douglass, and John Munroe. *Ed.*

² Parson Stiles's *Diary*; Frothingham, *Siege of Boston*, p. 62. *Ed.*

³ Depositions of 1775; Gordon's Letter; Clarke's Narrative; Phinney's History; and Everett's Address.

formation that can be obtained, it is not probable that Colonel Smith was upon the ground until after or at the moment of the fatal volley. Most of the accounts, and especially the British, which are the best authority on the question as to who was then in command, ascribe it to Pitcairn.¹ As the light infantry, who were under the Major, were sent forward in advance of the grenadiers, and as the grenadiers under Smith did not join the column of infantry until the delay of the latter near the Common, the sole direction of the firing must have devolved upon Pitcairn in the first instance. It is probable that Smith, who was not far from the Common, hearing the first discharge, rode forward and arrived about the time the fatal volley was fired by the command of the Major. Smith may have been upon the Common before the scattering fire ceased, but was not at the commencement of the firing.²

The depositions taken in 1775, and subsequently during the lifetime of those who were actors in the scenes of that day, have preserved many interesting facts relative to the firmness, heroism, and noble daring of individuals on that occasion. Jedediah Munroe was wounded in the morning; but nothing daunted by the dangers he had encountered and the wound he had received, instead of quitting the field, he marched with his company towards Concord to meet the enemy, and fell in the afternoon a victim to his patriotism and bravery.³ On the first fire of the British in the morning, John Munroe, seeing no one fall, said coolly to his relative, Ebenezer Munroe, Jr., that they had fired nothing but powder. On the second discharge, Ebenezer replied, "They have fired something besides powder now, for I am wounded in the arm." He then discharged his gun at the British, receiving two balls from them in return — one of which grazed his cheek, the other passing between his arm and his body, leaving its mark in his gar-

¹ See *The Character of Major John Pitcairn*, by Charles Hudson, *Proc. Mass Hist. Soc.*, Vol. LXVII, January, 1880. *Ed.*

² Several of the depositions taken in 1824, ascribe the command to fire to Colonel Smith. But though the deponents were on the field at the time and saw the officers who first rode forward, not knowing either of the officers, they could not tell one from the other. Pitcairn himself admitted that he was the officer in command at the commencement of the firing, though he knew that admission subjected him to the censure of his own government.

³ Jedediah Munroe was armed that day not only with a musket, but with a long sword, or claymore, probably brought over by his ancestors from the Highlands of Scotland in the times of Oliver Cromwell. *MS. Papers of Edmund Munroe*, late of Boston.

ment. John Munroe, after firing in the line, retreated a few rods, when he turned about, loaded his gun with two balls, and discharged it at his pursuers, the strength of the charge carrying away about a foot of the muzzle. William Tidd, second in command, was pursued by an officer, supposed to be Pitcairn, on horseback, up the Bedford road some thirty or forty rods, with repeated cries of "Stop, or you are a dead man." Tidd turned from the road into the lot, where he made a stand and discharged his gun at his pursuer, who in turn sought safety in flight. John Tidd remained upon the field so long that as he was leaving the Common a British officer upon horseback rushed upon him and struck him down with his cutlass; while he remained senseless from the effects of the blow upon the head, he was despoiled of his gun, cartridge-box, and powder-horn. This furnishes pretty good proof that he did not run on the first approach of the enemy.¹

Joshua Simonds, with three others, had, on the approach of the British, gone into the church to obtain a supply of powder. They had succeeded in getting two quarter-casks from the upper loft into the gallery when the British reached the meeting-house. Two of them, Caleb Harrington and Joseph Comee, resolved at every hazard to escape from the house and join the company. Harrington was killed in the attempt, at the west end of the meeting-house. Comee, finding himself cut off from the company, ran under a shower of balls, one of which struck him in the arm, to the Munroe house (where Mr. John Hudson² now resides), and passing through the house made his escape at the back door. The third secreted himself in the opposite gallery; while Simonds loaded and cocked his gun, and lying down, placed the muzzle upon the open cask of powder, determined to blow up the British, should they enter the gallery, choosing to destroy his own life rather than fall into their hands.³

"History, Roman history," says Everett, "does not furnish an example of bravery that outshines that of Jonas Parker. A truer heart did not bleed at Thermopylæ. He was the next-door neighbor of Mr. Clarke, and had evidently imbibed a double portion of his lofty spirit. Parker was often heard to say that be the consequences what they might, and let others do what they pleased, he

¹ Depositions of John Munroe, Ebenezer Munroe, and William Tidd; Everett's Address; Petition of John Tidd to the Legislature, January, 1776.

² 526 Massachusetts Avenue. *Ed.*

³ A. E. Brown, *Beneath Old Roof Trees*, pp. 33-34. *Ed.*

AMOS MUZZEY
JONATHAN HARRINGTON

COL. WILLIAM MUNROE
CAPT. SAMUEL BOWMAN



would never run from the enemy. He was as good as his word; — better. Having loaded his musket, he placed his hat, containing his ammunition, on the ground between his feet, in readiness for a second charge. At the second fire he was wounded and sunk upon his knees; and in this condition discharged his gun. While loading it again upon his knees, and striving in the agonies of death to redeem his pledge, he was transfixed by a bayonet; — and thus died on the spot where he first stood and fell.”¹

In addition to Jonas Parker, whose death was thus remarkable, Isaac Muzzy, Robert Munroe, and Jonathan Harrington were killed on or near the Common, where the company was paraded. Robert Munroe, who thus fell a sacrifice to the lawless oppression of Great Britain, had, on a former occasion, perilled his life in her defence — having served in the French war and been standard-bearer at the capture of Louisburg in 1758.

“Harrington’s was a cruel fate. He fell in front of his own house, on the north of the Common. His wife at the window saw him fall and then start up, the blood gushing from his breast. He stretched out his hands towards her, as if for assistance, and fell again. Rising once more on his hands and knees, he crawled across the road towards his dwelling. She ran to meet him at the door, but it was too late to see him expire at her feet.”²

Samuel Hadley and John Brown were killed after they left the Common, and Caleb Harrington in attempting to escape from the meeting-house. Asahel Porter, of Woburn, was not under arms. He had been captured on the road by the British that morning on their approach to Lexington; and in attempting to make his escape, about the time the firing commenced, was shot down a few rods from the Common.³

In addition to the killed, nine, namely, Ebenezer Munroe, Jr., John Tidd, John Robbins, Solomon Pierce, Joseph Comee, Thomas Winship, Nathaniel Farmer, Jedediah Munroe, and a colored man called Prince, were wounded in the morning, and Francis Brown in the afternoon. Jedediah

¹ Everett’s Address.

² *Ibid.*

³ Phinney’s History and Deposition appended, and manuscript statement of Levi Harrington. The number killed that morning was eight, namely, Jonas Parker, Robert Munroe, Isaac Muzzy, Jonathan Harrington, Caleb Harrington, Samuel Hadley, and John Brown, of Lexington, and Asahel Porter, of Woburn. Three other Lexington men, Jedediah Munroe, John Raymond, and Nathaniel Wyman, were killed and one, Francis Brown, was wounded in the afternoon.

Munroe, who was wounded in the morning, was killed in the afternoon. Several of the above received severe wounds.¹

Of Captain Parker's gallant company, seven were killed and nine wounded on or near the Common, being a quarter part of the whole number assembled. This furnishes the most striking proof of their bravery and the firmness with which they withstood the British fire. The history of the most sanguinary battles, though continued for hours, rarely furnishes a percentage of loss equal to this. At the celebrated battle of Austerlitz, where the combined forces of Russia and Austria were so signally defeated and cut to pieces by Napoleon, the loss of the allies was only fifteen per cent; while here it was twenty-five. Brave and patriotic band! How shall we do justice to your names and your memories! When a dark cloud overshadowed our country, and many a stout heart shrank back in dismay, you boldly stood forth in defence of our rights and offered yourselves a living sacrifice on the altar of freedom. Your firmness inspired the patriots throughout the Colonies — your blood cemented the union of the States. To you we are indebted, in no small degree, for the manifold blessings we now enjoy. A grateful country remembers your deeds of noble daring, and will transmit your names to the latest posterity.

The British suffered but little from the fire of the Americans. One man of the Tenth Regiment was wounded in the leg, and another in the hand. Major Pitcairn's horse was struck in two places.² When Munroe and others fired from the line, the British were so enveloped in smoke by the volley they had just fired as to make them invisible to the Americans. This is undoubtedly one cause why more of their shots did not take effect. Some of the militia retreated up the Bedford

¹ Farmer received a ball in his right arm, which fractured the bone, and disabled him for a long time: several pieces of bone were taken from his arm months afterwards. The Legislature made him a grant of £15 15s. for loss of labor and for surgical attendance. Comee was wounded in the left arm, and received a grant of £12 7s. Tidd, of whose wound in the head we have already spoken, was rewarded for his bravery and suffering by a grant of £4 10s. Ebeneser Munroe, Jr., was wounded in the arm, and remembered by a grant of £4. Francis Brown, who was wounded in the afternoon, received a ball in his cheek, which went nearly through his neck, where it lodged, and was extracted on the back of his neck, the year following. He received £12 2s. from the Legislature. Notwithstanding this severe wound, he lived fifteen or twenty years, and in 1776 commanded the Lexington Company. Nor must we forget the black man, Prince; he entered the Continental service, and served under Captain Edmund Munroe, in Colonel Bigelow's regiment.

² Gage's Report; Depositions of Ebeneser Munroe and Abijah Harrington.

road, but most of them across the swamp to the rising ground northwest of the Common. As soon as the Lexington company had dispersed and the firing had ceased, the British troops¹ drew up on the Common, fired a volley, and gave three cheers in token of their victory! They then took up their line of march for Concord, the next village, about six miles distant, where they arrived without further opposition. The tarry of the British at Lexington was short, the whole period occupying not more than twenty or twenty-five minutes.² Most of Captain Parker's company, who had withdrawn to no considerable distance, returned to the Common immediately after the British had left for Concord, and made prisoners of six of the regulars who were in the rear of the detachment. It was supposed that they had wandered from the main body for the purposes of plunder, or had gone into some of the houses on the road to obtain some refreshment, and were thus left behind. These prisoners were disarmed, put under guard, and conducted to Woburn Precinct, now Burlington, and from thence were sent to Chelmsford.³ There was another prisoner taken shortly after, on the road near the old Viles Tavern, not far from the Lincoln line. These were the first prisoners made in the Revolution.

The report of the bloody transaction at Lexington spread as on the wings of the wind, and the fact that the regulars had fired upon and killed several citizens was known not only in the neighboring towns, but to the distance of forty or fifty miles, in the course of the forenoon.⁴ The people immediately

¹ "We formed with some difficulty; the men were so wild they could hear no orders." Lieutenant Barker, *Atlantic Monthly*, 1877. *Ed.*

² They drank from Daniel Harrington's well. Drake, *Old Landmarks and Historic Fields of Middlesex*, pp. 361-62. Edition, 1876. *Ed.*

³ Phinney's History; Gage's Letter, *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, 4th Series; Ebenezer Munroe's, Sanderson's, Reed's, and Harrington's depositions; Ripley, *A History of the Fight at Concord*. *Ed.*

⁴ As a specimen of the speed with which the information of the events of that morning was circulated and the effect it produced upon the public mind, we will give an extract from Lincoln's History of Worcester:—

"Before noon, on the 19th of April, an express came to the town, shouting as he passed through the streets at full speed, 'To arms! the war has begun!' His white horse, bloody with spurring and dripping with sweat, fell exhausted by the church. Another was instantly produced, and the tidings went on. The bell rung out the alarm, the cannon were fired, and messengers sent to every part of the town to collect the soldiery. As the news spread, the implements of husbandry were thrown by in the field, and the citizens left their homes with no longer delay than to seize their arms. In a short time the minute-men were paraded on the Green, under Captain Timothy Bigelow; after fervent prayer by the Rev. Mr. Macarty, they took up their line of march. They were soon followed by as many of the train-bands as could be gathered under Captain Benjamin Flagg."

This shows the spirit of the times; and as Worcester, at least thirty miles distant

flew to arms, and half-formed companies and single individuals were seen moving rapidly to the scene of action. The intelligence that the British were on their way to Concord had reached that place between one and two o'clock in the morning. Dr. Prescott, whose escape from the British officers has already been related, had given the alarm. The village bell and the alarm-guns woke the people from their slumbers. The Committee of Safety, the military officers, and the prominent citizens held a hasty consultation. Rev. Mr. Emerson, their patriotic priest, was with them. The militia and minute-men were assembled, and expresses were sent towards Lexington to ascertain the approach of the King's troops. In the mean time the patriotic Colonel Barrett, to whose care had been committed the military stores in that place, was actively employed in removing them to places of safety. Some were secreted in the woods and some under rubbish about the buildings, as opportunity would permit or ingenuity suggest.

Concord is about eighteen miles from Boston. The village is situated on low, level ground, and is completely commanded by the hills on either side. Between these hills, on the northwesterly and westerly side of the village, flows the Concord River in a serpentine channel with a sluggish current, approaching in some places within fifty rods of the houses, though generally at a greater distance. Across this stream in 1775, there were two bridges, known as the North and South Bridges. The North Bridge was some two hundred rods from the meeting-house. The west bank of the river at that place consists of low, wet ground, which is generally overflowed in the spring freshets. From the bridge the road was a causeway leading westerly over the low ground towards Acton. The road from the hill where the Americans assembled after leaving the village ran southerly till it met this causeway leading to the bridge at an acute angle. This bridge across the river was discontinued in 1793; the abutments and causeway, however, are still to be seen. The North Bridge led to Colonel Barrett's, which was about two miles from the centre of the town. The road from Lexington enters Concord from the southeast, and runs along nearly a mile upon level land close to the foot of a hill which rises abruptly from thirty to fifty from Lexington, received the tidings of the attack before noon, it shows the rapidity with which the alarm on that day was given.

feet above the road, and terminates at the northeasterly part of the square. The top forms a plain which overlooks and commands the village. The liberty-pole stood upon the northerly part of this ridge of high land. "The town," says D'Bernicre, the spy sent out by General Gage, "is large, and contains a church, jail, and court-house; but the houses are not close together, but in little groups."

Reuben Brown, one of the messengers sent from Concord to obtain information, returned with the intelligence that the British had fired upon the Americans at Lexington and were on their way to Concord. This was soon after confirmed, with the additional intelligence that some half-dozen of the Americans had been killed.¹ The militia and minute-men of Concord assembled on the Green near the meeting-house. They

¹ John Hoar, and seven others of Lincoln, on the 23d of April, 1775, testify that on the 19th of April they "were assembled at Concord in the morning of that day in consequence of information received that a brigade of regular troops were on their march to Concord, *who had killed six men at Lexington*; about an hour afterwards we saw them approaching," etc. Captain Nathan Barrett, Lieutenants Jonathan Farrar, Joseph Butler, and Francis Wheeler, and Ensign John Barrett, and eleven others, all of Concord, testify on the same day as follows: "On Wednesday, the 19th instant, about an hour after sunrise, we assembled on the hill near the meeting-house in Concord, in consequence of information that a number of regular troops *had killed six of our countrymen at Lexington*, and were on their march to Concord; and about an hour after we saw them approaching to the number, as we imagined, of about twelve hundred." As these troops assembled at Concord "about an hour before the British arrived," and had at that time received information that the regulars *had fired upon and killed six of their countrymen at Lexington*, it is manifest that this information had been forwarded with the utmost dispatch, and hence must have been known to all the militia and minute-men before the firing at the North Bridge.

There is strong internal evidence in the depositions, that the intelligence of the slaughter of Captain Parker's men was early communicated to the citizens and to the military at Concord. The deponents had information that *six* of their countrymen were slain, which shows that the tidings must have been forwarded immediately, before the whole number had been ascertained. Timothy Minot, Jr., of Concord, testified that, after he heard of the regulars firing upon the Lexington men, he thought it his duty to secure his family; and after securing them, to use his own language, "sometime after that, returning towards his dwelling, and finding that the bridge was guarded by the regular troops," stood as a spectator and "saw the Americans march down to the bridge where the firing commenced." The only authority we can find that even implies that the Americans at the North Bridge did not know of the slaughter at Lexington is that of Mr. Emerson, and his language may naturally be interpreted to imply nothing more than that they had not learned all the particulars, though they had heard of the main fact. Such an interpretation of his language will make it harmonize with that of Captain Barrett and sixteen other citizens of Concord. None can take an impartial view of the evidence without being satisfied that the Lexington slaughter was known to the Americans before a gun was fired at Concord. "That such a fact, so perfectly known to hundreds at Lexington about sunrise, on a day when so many were literally running from town to town, should not have travelled *six miles* in about five hours, cannot be believed." Adams's Address.

were soon joined by a portion of the military from Lincoln, which had turned out on the alarming intelligence from Lexington of the slaughter of their countrymen. The gallant Captain William Smith had brought on his minute-men, and Captain Samuel Farrar, with equal promptness, was there with his militia company. It was determined at first to go out and meet the enemy, and some companies marched down the Lexington road till they saw the British approaching within about two miles of the village. Captain Minot remained in the village, and took a position on the hill near the liberty-pole. The companies which had marched down the road soon returned, and reported that the British were three or four times their number. The whole party then wisely fell back to an eminence about eighty rods from the meeting-house, where they formed in two battalions.¹ Here they were joined by Colonel Barrett, the senior officer on the occasion, who had previously been engaged in removing and secreting the military stores. In the mean time the British appeared in full view at the distance of a quarter of a mile, marching at a rapid rate. There was but little time for deliberation. Some were in favor of standing their ground and resisting the British troops, in case they should attack them. But more prudent counsels prevailed, and Colonel Barrett ordered the militia under his command to retire over the North Bridge to a commanding eminence about three-fourths of a mile from the meeting-house, there to watch the movements of the enemy and wait for reinforcements.²

The British troops marched into Concord in two columns; one in the main road, and the other north of the road on the hill from which the Americans had just retired. Colonel Smith, with the grenadiers, marines, and a portion of the light infantry, remained in the centre of the town, while Captain Parsons, with six ³ light companies, consisting, however, of only about two hundred men, was detailed to secure the North Bridge, and destroy the stores supposed to be deposited in that part of the town. Pursuant to orders, Captain Parsons posted Captain Laurie with about one hundred men at the bridge, while he proceeded with the remainder, under the guidance of Ensign D'Berniere, who had visited Concord

¹ Emerson, Ripley, and Clark.

² Depositions of 1775; Ripley and Emerson.

³ Five. See Hurd, *History of Middlesex County*, Vol. II, p. 585. *Ed.*

about a month before, to the house of Colonel Barrett, in pursuit of military stores. Captain Pole, with a small detachment, was sent to the South Bridge for a similar purpose.¹ These bridges were important in a military point of view, as they furnished the only approach to the town from the west and northwest, at this season of the year, when the water is usually high.

In the mean time the Americans, assembled on the hill near the North Bridge, were receiving accessions to their numbers from Carlisle, from Chelmsford, from Westford, from Littleton and Acton, and from other towns in that neighborhood. As the militia and minute-men repaired to the scene of action with the utmost haste on the first receipt of the intelligence of the approach of the British, the companies generally were not full at this early hour. About four hundred and fifty, however, had arrived.² They were formed in line by Joseph Hosmer, of Concord, who acted as adjutant on the occasion. As the men arrived they took their places in their respective companies. The gallant Captain Davis, with his Acton minute-men, came upon the field after the line was partly formed, and took his appropriate place — the one which he had occupied a short time before at a muster — on the left of the Concord minute companies, commanded by Captains Brown and Miles, both of whom were his seniors.³ From their position on the hill the Americans had a full view, not only of the British troops at the bridge, but also of those near the meeting-house, who were seeking for and destroying military stores. Seeing several fires set by the troops under Colonel Smith, they became alarmed for the fate of the village. A consultation of the officers present and of prominent citizens was held, which resulted in a resolution to pass the bridge and march to the centre of the town.⁴

The Americans were at this time about four times as numerous as the British at the bridge; but the latter were vastly superior in discipline and in the quality of their arms. Besides, the British had a veteran force of at least five hundred men in the village, on which they could fall back in case of necessity; and being posted at the bridge which the Americans could approach only by a narrow causeway, they had greatly the advantage of position. Knowing that the British

¹ Gage's Letter to Trumbull.

² Adams's Address, and Depositions appended.

³ Depositions of 1775.

⁴ Ripley and Shattuck.

had fired upon the militia at Lexington and killed several men, the Americans had every reason to believe that they would dispute the passage of the bridge; and knowing that the front of the column upon the causeway leading directly to the bridge would be greatly exposed to their fire in case of resistance, it required no ordinary firmness to occupy that position. Who, then, should head the column? What company should occupy that post of honor and of danger? It of right belonged to the Concord companies; their position on the right of the line would, under ordinary circumstances, give them that post. A consultation of the officers and others was had, at which the subject was considered. We have no full report of what took place there. William Parkman, of Concord, who was present acting as one of the vigilance committee, said that Major Buttrick requested one of the Concord companies to meet the British at the bridge, but the captain replied that he would rather not. Captain Davis, of Acton, promptly accepted the honor, dangerous as was the position.¹ Captain William Smith, of Lincoln, also offered his services to lead the column to the bridge.² That there was some feeling exhibited on this occasion, and that some of the officers had declined the post of danger, is manifest from the course pursued by the gallant Davis, who, in returning to his company from this consultation, said with emotion and firmness, "I have n't a man in my company that's afraid to go"; and ordering his men to follow him, wheeled them out of the line, and placed them at the head of the column under the guidance of Major Buttrick.³ Colonel Barrett gave orders to pass the bridge, but not to fire unless fired upon by the King's troops. He designated Major John Buttrick to execute this order. Lieutenant-Colonel Robinson, of Westford, volun-

¹ Deposition of Bradley Stone, appended to Adams's Letter to Lemuel Shattuck, Esq.

² Massachusetts Archives, —

"Lincoln, November, 1776.

"This may certify that Captain William Smith of Lincoln, in the county of Middlesex, appeared on Concord parade early in the morning of the 19th of April, 1775, with his company of minute-men; was ordered to leave his horse by a field-officer, and take his post on an adjacent hill — the British troops possessing the North bridge. He voluntarily offered with his company, to endeavor to dislodge them, leaving his horse at the tavern; by which means, on their retreat, the horse, &c., were carried off with one of their wounded men.

"JOHN BUTTRICK, Major."

This important fact was brought before the public for the first time, we believe, by Frothingham in his *Siege of Boston*.

³ Smith's Deposition, appended to Adams's Address. Pierpont, in a poem delivered at Acton, October 29, 1851, on the celebration of the completion of the monu-

teered to accompany him. On their march Major Buttrick requested him to act as his superior, but he generously declined.¹

It was nearly ten o'clock when the Americans, about three hundred strong,² commenced their march for the river, the Acton company in front, led by the gallant Davis.³ Captains Brown, Miles, Smith, and others fell into line with their companies. Their positions, however, are not exactly known.⁴ They marched in double ranks. The British guard of about one hundred in number, under Captain Laurie, were then on the west side of the river. On seeing the Americans approach, they recrossed the bridge, formed in order of battle, and began to take up the planks. Major Buttrick in a loud voice remonstrated against this, and ordered his men to hasten their march. When they arrived within a few rods of the bridge, they were fired upon by the British. The first guns, only two or three in number, did no execution, the balls, probably by design, striking the water. These were followed by a few other shots, one of which wounded Luther Blanchard, a fifer in the Acton company. These were succeeded by a volley, by which Captain Davis and Abner Hosmer, of the same company, were killed. On seeing this, Major Buttrick exclaimed: "Fire, fellow soldiers; for God's sake, fire!" This order was instantly obeyed, killing one and wounding several of the enemy. The British immediately retreated in great

ment erected to the honor of Davis, Hosmer, and Hayward, thus describes this consultation:—

"But who shall head the column? Who shall dare
Beard first the lion, leaping from his lair?
The chiefs in consultation ask, 'Which corps
Of these, who never faced a foe before,
Will stand those veterans' fire? Which will not quail
At yonder bayonets, and the leaden hail
That lies behind them? Davis, are there ten
Of your command — of Acton's minute men —
Who will not waver — will not quit their place,
When meeting yonder bull-dogs face to face?'
'Ten, do you ask me, Buttrick, Robinson,
Ten of my minute men that will not run?
Say but the word — march with me down this hill,
And you shall see, there is not one that will.'
Nor was there one that did."

¹ Ripley.

² Deposition of 1775.

³ Deposition of Thomas Thorpe, of Acton. "Our company, however, marched in front, and Major Buttrick and Col. Robinson were with Capt. Davis." Solomon Smith's deposition. "Major Buttrick and Col. Robinson marched with Capt. Davis." Amos Baker's deposition. "Because they were the only men that had bayonets." (Appended to Letter of Josiah Adams to Lemuel Shattuck.) *Ed.*

⁴ Ripley.

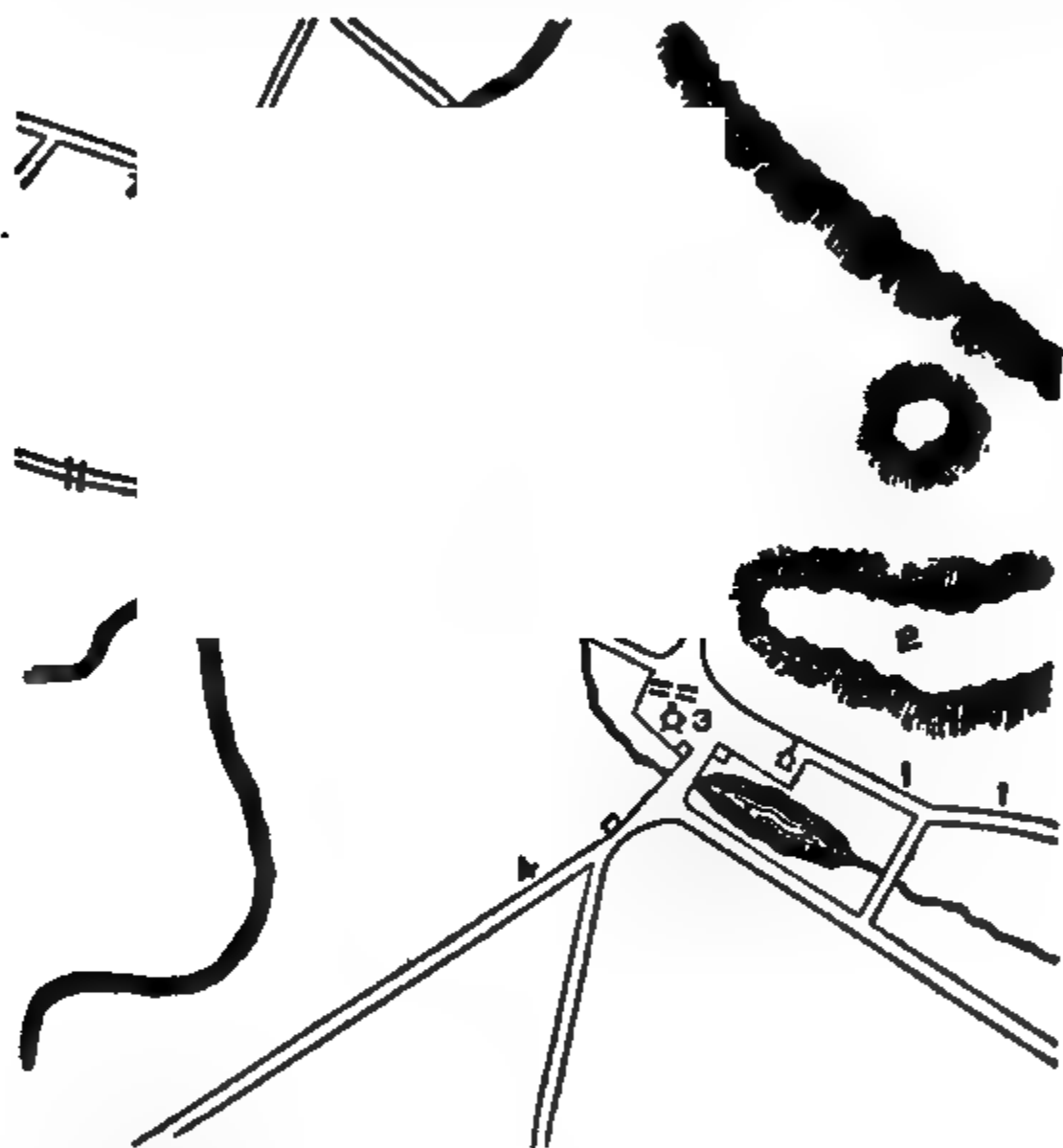
haste and confusion towards the village, and were soon met by a reinforcement; when the whole fell back upon the main body, near the meeting-house. The Americans pursued them over the bridge, where one of the wounded British soldiers was cruelly killed by a hatchet, as he was struggling to rise from the ground.¹ Part of the Americans turned off to the left and ascended a hill east of the main road, while another portion returned to the high grounds, carrying with them the remains of Davis and Hosmer. Military order was now broken up, and the Americans improved the time in taking refreshments. In the mean time, the detachment which had been sent to Colonel Barrett's to destroy the munitions of war, returning, repassed the bridge where the skirmish had taken place, and joined the main body under Colonel Smith, without molestation. The localities here referred to, and the movement of the troops, will be better understood by reference to the accompanying diagram.

The Americans, whose numbers were now considerably increased, ought, it has been said, to have intercepted this detachment at the bridge; but as no declaration of war had taken place, there must have been some hesitancy on the part of the officers as to the wisdom or propriety of such an attempt. Such a step might have exposed the women and children to the grossest outrages, and the village itself to destruction. The conduct of the British in the afternoon shows that such apprehensions, if they were entertained, were well founded. Besides, the Provincial troops were unused to strict discipline, and it would have been difficult to rally them, and bring them into the field to act with such efficiency at a single point as to intercept a hundred veteran soldiers; and every military man knows that it would have been next to impossible for three hundred militia, without discipline and poorly armed, to capture such a force before they could have been relieved by Colonel Smith, who had six or seven hundred men at his command, and who must have been on the alert for the safety of Captain Parsons's detachment. On the whole, it was undoubtedly wise that no such attempt was made by Colonel Barrett; though it must have been a great mistake to permit

¹ This barbarous deed gave rise to the charge made by the British that the Americans scalped the wounded and cut off their ears. The act was committed by a rash young man, acting from the impulse of the moment, who regretted it to his dying day. It was condemned by all parties at the time, and has never been justified by any one. It was an act of an individual, without orders from any in authority.

the militia and minute-men to disperse at that critical moment, as they were allowed to do, on the poor plea that they wanted their breakfast.

The British met with but partial success in their destruction of military stores. The delay produced by the affair at Lexington, and the consequent caution which Colonel Smith afterwards observed, gave the people at Concord a better



1. Lexington Road.
2. Hill and high lands where the liberty-pole stood.
3. Centre of the town, and main body of the British.
4. Road to the South Bridge.
5. Road to the North Bridge and to Colonel Barrett's house, two miles from the centre of the town.
6. High grounds nearly a mile north of the meeting-house where the militia assembled.
7. Road along which they marched to dislodge the British at North Bridge.
8. Spot where Davis and Hoxner fell.
9. Rev. Mr. Emerson's house. (The "Old Manse." Ed.)
10. Bridges and roads made in 1798, when the old roads with dotted lines were discontinued.

opportunity than they would otherwise have had to secure them; which they so wisely improved, by scattering and secreting them, that most of them escaped destruction. Little or no success crowned the efforts of the detachment sent to the South Bridge. The party sent to Colonel Barrett's were a little more successful. They burned a number of gun-carriages and other implements of war. In the centre of the town they knocked off the trunnions of three iron twenty-four pounders, burned a number of gun-carriages, threw a quantity of balls into the mill-pond, broke open some sixty barrels of flour, and destroyed a small quantity of wooden bowls and spoons. They also cut down the liberty-pole and set the court-house on fire, which, however, was extinguished by the exertion and address of the patriotic Mrs. Moulton. Gordon sums up the total destruction as follows: "They disabled three twenty-four-pounders, destroying their carriages, wheels, and limbers; sixteen wheels for brass three-pounders; two carriages with wheels for two four-pounders; about one hundredweight of balls, which they threw into the river and wells, and about sixty barrels of flour, one-half of which was afterwards saved." ¹ After the firing at the North Bridge, the British fell back to the village, where they were soon joined by the detachments under Captain Parsons and Captain Pole, who had been sent out to destroy the military stores. Here the whole body of the King's troops remained nearly two hours unmolested; a delay not easily accounted for, unless Colonel Smith was in expectation of a reinforcement — a delay which nearly cost him the loss of his whole detachment. In the mean time the country was alarmed, and the militia and minute-men were pressing to the scene of action. The farmer left his plough in the furrow, the mechanic threw down his tools, and neither returned to his house, save to

¹ "The shrewd and successful address of Captain Timothy Wheeler on this occasion deserves notice. He had charge of a large quantity of Provincial flour, which, together with a few casks of his own, was stored in his barn. A British officer demanding entrance, he readily took his key and gave him admission. The officer expressed his pleasure at the discovery; but Captain Wheeler, with much affected simplicity, said to him, putting his hand upon a barrel — 'This is my flour. I am a miller, sir. Yonder stands my mill. I get my living by it. In the winter I grind a great deal of grain, and get it ready for market in the spring. This,' pointing to one barrel, 'is the flour of wheat; this,' pointing to another, 'is the flour of corn; this is the flour of rye; this,' putting his hand upon his own cask, 'is my wheat; this is my rye; this is mine.' 'Well,' said the officer, 'we do not injure private property,' and withdrew, leaving this important depository untouched." *Holmes's Annals.*

seize his musket and his powder-horn, that he might be prepared to defend his own and his country's rights. The intelligence which went forth from Lexington in the morning had like an electric fire spread rapidly in every direction, and produced a shock of righteous indignation which brought men from every quarter and prepared them for vigorous action; and the scenes which had occurred at the North Bridge at Concord strengthened their hands and their hearts and rendered them desperate.

About noon the British commenced their retreat. They left the village in the same order in which they entered it — the main body in the road and a strong flanking party upon the hill to protect their left. For the first mile they were unmolested; but when they arrived at Merriam's Corner, they encountered a party of minute-men from Reading, under Major Brooks, afterwards Governor of the Commonwealth; Colonel William Thompson with a body of militia from Billerica and the vicinity coming up about the same time. The Provincials on the high grounds near the North Bridge, seeing the British leaving the village, went across the "great field," so called, to the Bedford road, and arrived in time to support the troops brought up by Brooks and Thompson. Here may be said to have commenced the *battle* of the 19th of April. At Lexington Common and at Concord North Bridge but few guns had been fired by the Americans; and though ten Americans had fallen, only one of the King's troops had been killed by the return fire. But now all restraint seems to have been removed, and every true patriot felt at full liberty to fire without the bidding of any superior. Rev. Edmund Foster, then a young man and a private in the Reading company, gives a graphic account of what occurred at this point:

"A little before we came to Merriam's Hill, we discovered the enemy's flank guard of about eighty or a hundred men who, on the retreat from Concord, kept the height of land, the main body being in the road. The British troops and the Americans, at that time, were equally distant from Merriam's Corner. About twenty rods short of that place the Americans made a halt. The British marched down the hill with very slow but steady step, without music or a word being spoken that could be heard. Silence reigned on both sides. As soon as the British had gained the main road and passed a small bridge near the corner, they faced about suddenly and fired a volley of musketry upon us. They overshot; and no one to my

knowledge was injured by the fire. The fire was immediately returned by the Americans, and two British soldiers fell dead at a little distance from each other in the road near the brook. The battle now began and was carried on with little or no military discipline or order on the part of the Americans, during the remainder of the day. Each sought his own place and opportunity to attack and annoy the enemy from behind trees, rocks, fences, and buildings as seemed most convenient."¹

A little above, near Hardy's Hill, the Sudbury company, led by Captain Cudworth, came up and attacked them with vigor. There was also a severe skirmish below Brooks's Tavern on the old road north of the school-house.

"We saw a wood at a distance," says Mr. Foster, "which appeared to lie on or near the road where the enemy must pass. Many leaped over the walls and made for that wood. We arrived just in time to meet the enemy. There was on the opposite side of the road a young growth of wood, filled with Americans. The enemy were now completely between two fires, renewed and briskly kept up. They ordered out a flank guard on the left to dislodge the Americans from their posts behind the trees; but they only became better marks to be shot at."

A short but sharp contest ensued in which the enemy received more deadly injury than at any other place from Concord to Charlestown.

From the bridge below Brooks's, the woody defiles extended a considerable distance, in passing which the British suffered severely. The character of the country obstructed their flanking parties; and as the retreat was now approaching a rout, and their flanks were outflanked by the Americans, they were called in, — thus exposing their main body to the direct fire of those who lined the woody borders of the road. Here they were met by a large body of men from Woburn, who, fired by patriotism, had rallied in defence of the common cause. Loammi Baldwin, afterwards Colonel Baldwin, was one of that body. In Lincoln also, Captain Parker, who had collected most of his men, came up with his company, and taking a position in the fields, poured into the retreating enemy a galling and destructive fire as they passed.² Nor ceased the efforts of this gallant band with a single discharge.

¹ See Ripley's History.

² Jedediah Munroe killed and Francis Brown wounded. E. Chase, *Beginnings of the American Revolution*, Vol. III, p. 78. *Ed.*

They joined in the pursuit, determined to avenge the outrage of the morning; and their loss in the afternoon in killed and wounded is conclusive evidence that they did not shun the post of danger. In no part of the retreat were the British more sorely pressed than in passing through Lincoln. Their loss was severe. Eight of their slain were buried in Lincoln Graveyard. The loss of the Americans was comparatively light; though Captain Jonathan Wilson, of Bedford, Nathaniel Wyman, of Billerica, and Daniel Thompson, of Woburn, fell in this part of the field.

The retreat here became a rout, the British making little resistance other than what could be made in their rapid flight. As they entered the town of Lexington, however, they made one more desperate effort to check the pursuers, and restore order in their broken ranks. Near the old Viles Tavern, on the border of the town, they threw a detachment upon a high bluff on the north side of the road, to hold the Americans in check till they could form their fugitives on Fiske Hill, about a hundred rods below. But the Americans by this time had acquired so much confidence in their own prowess that they vigorously attacked the detachment on the bluff and drove them from their commanding position.

In the mean time Colonel Smith was attempting to rally his men on Fiske Hill, or at least to restore something like order among his fugitives. D'Bernicre, who was with the detachment acting as their guide, informs us that after other efforts had failed the officers placed themselves in front and threatened every man with instant death who should leave the line. This desperate expedient partly succeeded, and many of the troops formed under a galling fire. An officer¹ mounted on a fine, spirited horse, with a drawn sword in his hand, was seen actively engaged in rallying the fugitives, directing their movements, and attempting to restore order. A party of the Provincials, having passed through the woods, concealed themselves behind a pile of rails near where the British were attempting to form and poured into their half-formed ranks a deadly volley. The officer was unhorsed, and his affrighted animal, leaping the wall, ran directly to those who had relieved him of his rider and was taken by them. Colonel Smith was here severely wounded in the leg. This unexpected attack

¹ Major Pitcairn. E. M. Bacon, *Historic Pilgrimages in New England*, p. 385. Ed.

upon their flank, the flight of the detachment driven from the bluff, and the hot pursuit of the Provincials destroyed the last hope of the King's troops, who fled in the utmost confusion.¹

At the foot of Fiske Hill on the easterly side, near the present residence of Mr. Dudley,² a personal contest took place between Mr. James Hayward, of Acton, and a British soldier. The latter had stopped at the well to obtain a draught of water, and as the ardent Hayward, who was in front in the pursuit, approached, the Briton drew up his gun, and exclaimed, "You are a dead man!" "And so are you," returned the youthful Hayward. They both fired, and both fell — the former dead, the latter mortally wounded. He died the next day.³

The British were again attacked with great vigor and fatal effect in a wood near the old poor-house in Lexington. Their ammunition began to fail, and the troops were so oppressed with thirst and fatigue as to be almost unfit for service. Their flight was so rapid that their killed were left where they fell. Their wounded, whom they attempted to take with them, created great embarrassment, and many were left behind. The troops broke, and, disregarding all order, each one looked out for himself. This was the condition of the British when they passed Lexington Common, on which they had shown such a haughty demeanor and so much martial pride some eight or nine hours before. They were fatigued, dispirited, and almost exhausted; and nothing but the timely arrival of Lord Percy with a reinforcement saved the detachment from utter ruin.⁴

¹ Ripley, Shattuck, and Frothingham. The horse captured at Fiske Hill was with his trappings taken to Concord and sold at public auction. Captain Nathan Barrett bought the pistols, and afterwards offered them to General Washington, but he not accepting them they were given to General Putnam. They are now at the Hancock-Clarke House at Lexington. *Ed.*

² On Massachusetts Avenue, nearly opposite Wood Street. *Ed.*

³ The powder-horn worn by Hayward, and through which the fatal British ball passed, has been carefully preserved by the family.

⁴ The following letters from Letters of Hugh, Earl Percy, from Boston and New York, 1774-1776, edited by C. K. Bolton (Boston, C. E. Goodspeed, 1902, pp. 49-53), are of interest:—

TO GOVERNOR GAGE OF MASSACHUSETTS
(*Official Account of the Retreat from Lexington*)

Boston, 20 April, 1775.

Sr, —

In obedience to your Excell^{ty}'s orders I marched yesterday morning at 9 o'clock, with the first Brigade and 2 Field-pieces, in order to cover the retreat of the Grenadiers & Light Infy, on their return from The Expedition to Concord.

The British accounts admit that the condition of Colonel Smith was perilous in the extreme when Percy joined him. Mahon, an English historian, says of Smith's detachment, "Their utter destruction would have ensued had not General Gage sent forward that morning another detachment under Lord Percy to support them."¹ All accounts agree that the day was unusually warm for that season of the year, and so hotly were the British troops pressed on their retreat that

As all the houses were shut up, & there was not the appearance of a single inhabitant, I could get no intelligence concerning them till I had passed Menotomy, when I was informed that the Rebels had attacked His Majesty's Troops, who were retreating, overpowered by numbers, greatly exhausted & fatigued, & having expended almost all their ammunition. And about 2 o'clock I met them retreating through the Town of Lexington.

I immediately ordered the 2 field-pieces to fire at the Rebels, and drew up the Brigade on a height. The shot from the cannon had the desired effect, & stopped the Rebels for a little time, who immediately dispersed, & endeavoured to surround us, being very numerous. As it began now to grow pretty late, & we had 15 miles to retire, & only our 26 rounds, I ordered the Grenadiers and Lt Infy to move off first, & covered them with my Brigade, sending out very strong flanking parties, wh were absolutely necessary, as there was not a stone-wall, or house, though before in appearance evacuated, from whence the Rebels did not fire upon us.

As soon as they saw us begin to retire, they pressed very much upon our rear-guard, which for that reason I relieved every now & then. In this manner we retired for 15 miles under an incessant fire all round us, till we arrived at Charlestown, between 7 & 8 in the even, very much fatigued with a march of above 30 miles, & having expended almost all our ammunition.

We had the misfortune of losing a good many men in the retreat, tho' nothing like the number wh. from many circumstances, I have reason to believe were killed of the Rebels.

His Majesty's Troops during the whole of the affair behaved with their usual intrepidity & spirit. Nor were they a little exasperated at the cruelty and barbarity of the Rebels, who scalped & cut off the ears of some of the wounded men who fell into their hands.

I am, etc.

Signed

PERCY

Acting Brig Gen.

To the Hon^{ble} Gov^r Gage

TO GENERAL HARVEY

(Part of an unofficial account of the retreat from Lexington)

Ap^l 20, 1775. Boston.

. . . I therefore pressed on to (the) relief (of the British troops) as fast as good order & not leaving the men would allow. . . The rebels were in great no^t, the whole country having collected for 20 m around . . . I ordered the Gren(adier)s & L(ight) I(nfantry) to move off, covering them with my Brig(ade), & detaching strong flanking parties wh was absolutely nec'y, as the whole country we had to retire thro' was cov^d with stone walls, & was besides a very hilly, stony country. In this manner, we retired for 15 m under an incessant fire, wh like a moving circle surrounded & fol^d us wherever we went, till we arrived at Charlestown at 8 in the ev'g. . . & having expended almost every cartridge. You will easily conceive that in such a retreat, harassed as we were on all sides, it was impossible not to lose a good many men.

The following is an acct of them: 65 k(illed), 187 w(ounded), & 21 m(issing), besides 1 off^r k(illed), 15 w(ounded), & 2 w(ounded) & taken prisoners. . . During the whole affair the Rebels attacked us in a very scattered, irregular manner, but with perseverance & resolution, nor did they ever dare to form into any regular body. Indeed, they knew too well what was proper, to do so.

Whoever looks upon them as an irregular mob, will find himself much mistaken. They have men amongst them who know very well what they are about, having been employed as Rangers agst the Indians & Canadians, & this country being much cov^d w. wood, and hilly, is very advantageous for their method of fighting.

Nor are several of their men void of a spirit of enthusiasm, as we experienced yesterday, for many of them concealed themselves in houses, & advanced within 10 yds. to fire at me & other officers, tho' they were morally certain of being put to death themselves in an instant.

You may depend upon it, that as the Rebels have now had time to prepare, they are determined to go thro' with it, nor will the insurrection here turn out so despicable as it is perhaps imagined at home. For my part, I never believed, I confess, that they wd have attacked the King's troops, or have had the perseverance I found in them yesterday.

I have myself fortunately escaped very well, having only had a horse shot. Poor Lt.-Cols Smith & Bernard, are both wounded, but not badly. . . [Ed.]

¹ History of England, Vol. vi, p. 55.

they were well-nigh exhausted. Stedman, the British historian who attended Percy in this expedition, not only admits that "the British were driven before the Americans like sheep," but he says that, when they arrived within the hollow square formed by Percy's brigade to receive them, "They were obliged to lie down upon the ground, their tongues hanging out of their mouths, like those of dogs after a chase."¹

It has already been stated that Colonel Smith, on his way to Lexington from Boston, became alarmed and sent a messenger to General Gage for a reinforcement. His message was received early in the morning, and about nine o'clock Gage dispatched three regiments of infantry² and two divisions of marines with two field-pieces, under Lord Percy, to support him. Percy marched out through Roxbury³ to the tune of Yankee Doodle.⁴ To prevent or impede his march, the select-

¹ American War, Vol. 1, p. 118.

² Forty-seventh Regiment, Fourth Battalion, Royal Artillery, Twenty-third Royal Welsh Fusiliers. *Ed.*

³ In the Letters of Hugh, Earl Percy, from Boston and New York, 1774-1776, edited by C. K. Bolton (Boston, C. E. Goodspeed, 1902), a footnote states (*Ed.*): "Percy marched through Brookline, and it is the tradition that he was taunted with verses from Chevy Chase. Curiously enough, Horace Walpole, on hearing of the encounter, wrote to Sir Horace Mann, from Strawberry Hill, June 5: 'So here is this fatal war commenced!'"

"The child that is unborn shall rue
The hunting of that day!"

⁴ As the tune of Yankee Doodle was employed by the British in derision, at the commencement of the Revolution, it may be desirable to learn something of its origin and character. Strictly speaking, it is not to be classed with our national airs; yet it is played so often, is so associated with our national life, and so entwined with our free institutions that no liberty-loving American is willing to discard it. Though its faults may be obvious, they are all pardonable. Cynics may snarl, and wits may satirize it, but the people take it to their bosoms. The lovers of scientific music may denounce it as low and vulgar, and unworthy of a refined and delicate taste; but the truly democratic reply is "the sovereign people do not so understand it." They love the gay old tune, and will not give it up. They hail it as one of our free institutions, and are ready to stand by it. And the singular fact that it has no acknowledged words only gives it a versatility which adapts it to every subject and fits it for all occasions. The poetry in which it naturally flows can be composed by almost every rhymester, and the tune luxuriates as freely in a low doggerel as in the sublime stanzas of our greatest poets. It is equally at home in

"Jove on high Olympus sat,
And awed the world with thunder";

or in

"Yankee Doodle came to town,
Riding on a pony";

and it is never embarrassed in whatever dress it appears. It is also adapted to all

men of Cambridge caused the planks of the old bridge, over which he was obliged to pass, to be taken up; but instead of removing them to any distance, they unwisely left them upon the causeway on the Cambridge side of the river. Hence Percy found no difficulty in replacing them so as to enable his troops to cross. But a convoy of provisions under a sergeant's guard was detained until it was out of the protection of the main body, and measures were taken to cut it off, which was effectually done in Menotomy. Gordon the historian, who visited the scene of action immediately after the events occurred, ascribes the leadership in this movement to Rev. Dr. Payson, of Chelsea, while others ascribe it to one David Lamson, a half-breed Indian. Probably both statements are founded in fact. It is admitted that a courier came from Old Cambridge, informing the people of West Cambridge that these supplies were on the way and urging their interception;

occasions, and can with equal grace and propriety cheer on the brave or lampoon the laggard. In fact,—

"Yankee Doodle's all the run,
With every theme uniting;
'T is fit for marching, frolic, fun,
And just the thing for fighting."

Rev. Elias Nason, a distinguished antiquary, in a Lecture on National Music, fraught with instruction and humor, says of Yankee Doodle:—

"The tune, you know, is a 'Daughter of the Regiment,' coming to us by adoption. Its parentage is involved in obscurity; many cities, as in the case of Homer, claiming it. Some consider it an old vintage song of France; the Spaniards think their voices have echoed to its notes in early days; the Magyars with Louis Kosuth recognise in it one of their old national dances. England entertains some shadowy tradition of it, both before and during the times of Cromwell; and the Dutchman claims it, as a Low Country song of tithes and Bonnyelabber, giving the original words—

'Yanko didel, doodal, down,
Didel, dudal, lanter;
Yanke viver, vover, vown,
Buttermilk and tanther (tithes).'

"But whatever may have been the origin, this 'Daughter of the Regiment,' so far as I can learn, first appeared in America, on the banks of the Hudson in June, 1755, and was introduced into the American camp by one regular Dr. Richard Shuckburg, of the British Army, in this amusing way. Our Colonial companies, under Governor Shirley, encamped on the left of the British, meanly disciplined and poorly clad, and marching after music quits two centuries old, increased of course the ridicule of their well-equipped and fashionable transatlantic brethren. To keep the sport along, this mischievous Dr. Shuckburg, wit, surgeon, and fiddler as he was, tells the Americans that the music is too ancient, and that he will get up a tune in the modern style—and so he gave them Yankee Doodle. The American soldiers called it 'mighty fine.' It struck a strong chord in the American heart, and was heard immediately, and nothing else was heard, throughout the camp and throughout the Colonies.

"This tune became our battle-march, through the Revolution; and though the British gave it to us in June, 1755, we gave it back to them with compound interest in June, 1775, at Bunker Hill; and we baptized the bantling, which they gave us in derision, in the blood of heroes, placed upon it the name of FANFANON, reeked it in Faneuil Hall, and took it home to dwell with us forever! 'Independence now and forever' rings through every note of it, and one never feels half so much like '76 itself as when he hears it rolling. Hence the leaders of the Rebellion, after the pitiful policy of European kings, descend to the mean expedient of ostracising our national songs, in order to keep their wicked cause in countenance with the people. Yankee Doodle must be silenced before our brave old flag can be cut down; so long as its old rollicksome notes roll out, the Stars and Stripes must and will float over us."

and that the people rallied and made Lamson their leader at that place. Payson may well have been the instigator and an active leader at some other point. A few of the citizens of West Cambridge¹ assembled, and under the leadership of Lamson took a position behind a bank wall of earth and stone. When the convoy made its appearance near the meeting-house in that parish, they demanded a surrender, which being refused, they discharged a volley killing several of the horses. The affrighted drivers and guard made their escape as best they could. The wagons were taken possession of by the citizens, and removed to a place of safety. It is said that six of the men attached to the teams were afterwards taken prisoners.²

Percy met the fugitives some half a mile below Lexington Common about two o'clock. One of his field-pieces was placed on a bluff or mound near the present site of the Town Hall,³ which has since been levelled for the erection of the building and the repairs of the highways; and the other upon the high ground⁴ above the Munroe Tavern and back of the residence of the late Deacon Nathaniel Mulliken. By this

¹ E. Chase, *Beginnings of the American Revolution*, Vol. III, pp. 107-10. *Ed.*

² Smith's West Cambridge Address. After stating that six of these grenadiers surrendered to "an old woman digging dandelions," Mr. Smith says, "So to West Cambridge belongs the honor of making the first capture of provisions and stores, and also of prisoners, in the American Revolution." Granting the marvellous achievement of the old lady, which some may be disposed to question, the truth of history compels us to say that he must have been misled in supposing that these were the first prisoners taken that day. Percy did not leave Boston till about nine o'clock that morning, and coming out over the Neck, through Roxbury and Brighton, could not have reached West Cambridge before about the middle of the day, as he did not reach the Munroe Tavern in Lexington till nearly two o'clock. His baggage was in his rear and was detained so long at the bridge or by other misfortunes as to be separated from the troops. It must have been twelve or one o'clock before they could have reached the centre of West Cambridge. Now, it is a well-authenticated fact that several British soldiers who fell in the rear of their main body were captured at Lexington soon after the British left for Concord, which must have been as early as seven or eight o'clock that morning. See *Depositions of William Munroe, John Munroe, Ebenezer Munroe, and James Reed of Burlington*, to whose house the prisoners were sent. These deponents were all actors in the scene of that morning and knew what they related.

Gordon, who wrote a *History of the Revolution*, and whose means of information were good, gives the following account of what happened at West Cambridge: "Before Percy's baggage reached the place, a few Americans, headed by Rev. Mr. Payson, of Chelsea, who till then had been extremely moderate, attacked a party of twelve soldiers carrying stores to the retreating troops, killed one and wounded several, made the whole prisoners, and gained possession of their arms and stores without any loss to themselves." Vol. I, p. 313.

³ Now occupied by the High School building. *Ed.*

⁴ Corner of Washington and Warren Streets. *Ed.*

accession to the British force and by the presence of the artillery, the Americans were, for a short period, kept in check. Shots were fired from the field-pieces in every direction where any Provincials could be discovered. Several shots were thrown into the village — one of which passed through the meeting-house and out at the pulpit window. The ball lodged in the back part of the Common; it was preserved for some time, when it was passed over to Harvard College. By some neglect it was taken away, and as far as we know is lost. Another ball was ploughed up some years after on the farm owned and occupied by the late Benjamin Fiske, Esq., on Lowell Street.

There must have been many cases of extreme bravery, of wise caution, of great exertion, and of cruel suffering that day. Nor is glory due to the men alone. The women and children performed and endured their full share of labor and of suffering.¹ We would joyfully give some instances of rare courage or personal foresight; but the moment you go beyond the record you have such floods of traditionary lore, some probable and some improbable, that you cannot distinguish fact from fiction; and we would rather omit some incidents tolerably well authenticated than to falsify history by inserting the extravagant accounts of some credulous persons, who, to magnify the worth of a family or the honor of the town, would swell mole-hills into mountains.

We will state, however, what is true in general, that after the British had passed on to Concord there was great apprehension for the safety of families; and many who resided on the line of the great road left their houses in dismay and fled to distant neighbors, or in some cases to the woods, taking with them some valuables from their houses,² — and what is still more trying, in some cases mothers with their babes but a few days old, and the sick and infirm who had been confined to their beds, were hurried away to places of safety.

¹ See paper by Miss E. W. Harrington, Proc. Lex. Hist. Soc., Vol. I, p. 48; and by George O. Smith, *ibid.*, p. 59. *Ed.*

² See letter of Miss Betty Clarke, Proc. Lex. Hist. Soc., Vol. IV, p. 91: —

"How many Descendants can I count from the venerable Hancock down to this day, which is sixty six years since the war began on the Common, which I now can see from this window as here I sit writing, and can see, in my mind, just as plain, all the British Troops marching off the Common to Concord, and the whole scene, how Aunt Hancock and Miss Dolly Quinsy, with their cloaks and bonnets on, Aunt Crying and ringing her hands and helping Mother Dress the children, Dolly going round with Father, to hide the Money, watches and anything down in the potatoes and up Garrett, and then Grandfather Clarke sent down men with carts, took your Mother and all the children but Jonas and me and Sally a Babe six months old." *Ed.*

During this respite the harassed troops were enabled to rest themselves, and, by entering the houses in the immediate neighborhood and seizing whatever they could lay their hands upon, to obtain some refreshment. But after pillaging the houses, not only of what their hunger and thirst required, but of such articles of clothing, etc., as they could comfortably carry away, they wantonly destroyed the furniture and other property in and about the buildings; and to complete their works of vandalism, they set fire to several buildings, which were entirely consumed. Joseph Loring, who resided on the place ¹ directly opposite the present Town House,² had his house and barn, valued at £350, laid in ashes, and other property to the amount of £370 was wantonly destroyed. Lydia Mulliken had her house and shop, valued at £128, and other property to the amount of £303, destroyed. Joshua Bond lost his dwelling-house and shop, and other property valued at £189 16s. 7d. William Munroe lost in household furniture, goods in retail shop, etc., destroyed, £203 11s. 9d.³ The whole amount of property in Lexington thus ruthlessly destroyed was valued at the time at £1761 2s. 3d.⁴

The conduct of the King's troops, after they were met by Percy, was marked by a vandalism totally unworthy the character of a soldier.⁵ In addition to a wanton destruction

¹ 346 Massachusetts Avenue. *Ed.*

² Now the High School site. *Ed.*

³ In the list transcribed from the Journals of Each Provincial Congress, by E. Chase (*Beginnings of the American Revolution*, Vol. III, p. 89) this loss is apportioned to Marrett Munroe, and William is given a loss of only £9; but in view of the known damage to the Munroe Tavern, it is clear that Mr. Hudson's record must be correct. *Ed.*

⁴ See original accounts as reported by a committee. The sufferers in Lexington were: Joseph Loring, £720; Jonathan Harrington, £103 7s.; Lydia Winship, £66 13s. 4d.; John Mason, £14 13s. 4d.; Mathew Mead, £101; Benjamin Merriam, £223 4s.; Nathaniel Farmer, £46 10s.; Thomas Fessenden, £164; Benjamin Flake, £9 7s.; Jeremiah Harrington, £11 13s. 11d.; Robert Harrington, £12; Joshua Bond, £189 16s. 7d.; Benjamin Brown, £42; Hepzebah Davis, £5 1s. 6d.; Benjamin Estabrooke, £12; Samuel Bemis, £4 8s. 8d.; Nathan Blodgett, £18; Elizabeth Samson, £10; Jonathan Smith, £13 12s. 8d.; John Williams, £36 15s.; John Winship, £12; Margaret Winship, £22 10s.; Marrett Munroe, £5; William Munroe, £203 11s. 9d.; Amos Muzay, £18 4s.; Lydia Mulliken, £431; Heirs of William Munroe, £9; Benjamin Lock, £4 4s. 6d.; Nathan Fessenden, £66 10s.

⁵ A short Recital & an Imperfect one of the wanton Cruelty and Barbarity of the British Troops in the Town of Lexington on the 19 of April 1775 as Follows (via) The Second Brigade under the Command of Lord Percy meeting the first Brigade upon their return from Concord about half a mile Below the Meeting house in Said Town near the mansion house Dae: Joseph Loring where they made a halt and firing their field peices in order to Clear of the Inhabitants of ye Several Towns Collected to Together to prevent their Destroying all before them Even when none of the Melitia was near them they Began to Burn first the house & Barn & other out Buildings of Dae: Joseph Loring also the house & Barn & shop of Mrs. Lidia Mulliken & the house & Shopp of Mr. Joshua Bond The proceeding of the British Troops in Said Town on Said day Appeared to the Distressed Inhabitants to be Attended with wanton Cruelty & Barbarity

of property, they practised a system of personal insult, treachery, and murder, which reflects disgrace and infamy upon the commanders and the men. A party entered the Munroe Tavern, and helping themselves, or rather compelling the inmates of the house to help them to whatever they wanted, they treacherously and with ruthlessness shot down John Raymond, an infirm man residing in the family, only because he, becoming alarmed at their roughness and brutal conduct, was about leaving the house to seek a place of greater safety. The brutality here commenced was continued throughout the remainder of their retreat.¹

As the events crowded into the memorable 19th of April were numerous as well as important,² and are naturally di-

after burning the Several Buildings above mentioned as Said Troops Marched Through the remaining Part of Said Town they Continued plundering the houses of many of their valuable Effect, Breaking of windows, & Doors and all kinds of Mischief they had time Accomplish till they passed the Town.

JOHN CHANDLER	} <i>Selectmen of Lexington.</i>
BENJA ESTABROOK	
FRANCIS BROWN	
WILLIAM MUNRO	

LEXINGTON Jany 24th 1783

The above was appended to An Account of the Loss & Damage sustained by the Inhabitants of the Town of Lexington by the British Troops on the 19 of April, 1775, in State Archives, Vol. 138, p. 377, etc. *Ed.*

¹ On the other hand, Earl Percy states (Percy Letters): "His Majesty's Troops during the whole affair behaved with their usual intrepidity & spirit. Nor were they a little exasperated at the cruelty and barbarity of the Rebels, who scalped & cut off the ears of some of the wounded men who fell into their hands." Shattuck, *History of Concord*, p. 308. Zaccheus Brown and Thomas Davis, Jr., testified that "the man was not scalped, neither had his ears been cut off." *Ed.*

² See Paul Revere's own written narrative. (Colonel Revere's Letter, *Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.* for 1798), as follows:—

"The Saturday night preceding the 19th of April, about twelve o'clock at night, the boats belonging to the transports were all launched, and carried under the sterns of the men-of-war. (They had been previously hauled up and repaired.) We likewise found that the grenadiers and light infantry were all taken off duty.

"From these movements we expected something serious was to be transacted. On Tuesday evening, the 18th, it was observed that a number of soldiers were marching towards the bottom of the Common. About ten o'clock, Dr. Warren sent in great haste for me, and begged that I would immediately set off for Lexington, where Messrs. Hancock and Adams were, and acquaint them of the movement, and that it was thought they were the objects. When I got to Dr. Warren's house, I found he had sent an express by land to Lexington, — a Mr. William Dawes. The Sunday before, by desire of Dr. Warren, I had been to Lexington, to Messrs. Hancock and Adams, who were at the Rev. Mr. Clark's. I returned at night through Charlestown; there I agreed with a Colonel Conant and some other gentlemen, that if the British went out by water, we would show two lanterns in the North Church steeple; and if by land, one as a signal; for we were apprehensive it would be difficult to cross the Charles River, or get over Boston Neck. I left Dr. Warren, called upon a friend, and desired him to make the signals. I then went home, took my boots and surlout, went to the north part of the town, where I kept a boat; two friends rowed me across Charles River a little to the eastward where the Somerset man-of-war lay. It was then young flood, the ship was winding, and the moon was rising.

"They landed me on the Charlestown side. When I got into town, I met Colonel Conant and several others; they said they had seen our signals. I told them what was acting, and went to get me a horse; I got a horse of Deacon Larkin. While the horse was preparing, Richard Devens, Esq., who was one of the Committee of Safety, came to me, and told me that he came down the road from Lexington, after sundown, that evening; that he met ten British officers, all well mounted and armed, going up the road.

"I set off upon a very good horse; it was then about eleven o'clock, and very pleasant. After I

vided by the change of commanders which took place in Lexington, we will, like the fugitives of Smith's command, rest for a short time, and commence our next chapter with the flight of Lord Percy.

had passed Charlestown Neck, and got nearly opposite where Mark was hung in chains, I saw two men on horseback under a tree. When I got near them, I discovered they were British officers. One tried to get ahead of me, and the other to take me. I turned my horse very quick and galloped towards Charlestown Neck, and then pushed for the Medford road. The one who chased me, endeavoring to cut me off, got into a clay pond, near where the new tavern is now built. I got clear of him, and went through Medford, over the bridge, and up to Menotomy. In Medford, I awakened the Captain of the Minute Men; and after that, I alarmed almost every house, till I got to Lexington.

"I found Messrs. Hancock and Adams at the Rev. Mr. Clark's; I told them my errand, and enquired for Mr. Dawes; they said he had not been there; I related the story of the two officers, and supposed that he must have been stopped, as he ought to have been there before me. After I had been there about half an hour, Mr. Dawes came; we refreshed ourselves, and set off for Concord, to secure the stores, etc., there. We were overtaken by a young Dr. Prescott, whom we found to be a high Son of Liberty. I told them of the ten officers that Mr. Devens met, and that it was probable we might be stopped before we got to Concord; for I supposed that after night they divided themselves, and that two of them had fixed themselves in such passages as were most likely to stop any intelligence going to Concord. I likewise mentioned that we had better alarm all the inhabitants till we got to Concord; the young Doctor much approved of it, and said he would stop with either of us, for the people between that and Concord knew him, and would give the more credit to what we said. We had got nearly half way; Mr. Dawes and the Doctor stopped to alarm the people of a house; I was about one hundred rods ahead, when I saw two men, in nearly the same situations as those officers were, near Charlestown. I called for the Doctor and Mr. Dawes to come up; in an instant I was surrounded by four; — they had placed themselves in a straight road, that inclined each way; they had taken down a pair of bars on the north side of the road, and two of them were under a tree in the pasture. The Doctor being foremost, he came up; and we tried to get past them; but they being armed with pistols and swords, they forced us into the pasture; the Doctor jumped his horse over a low stone wall, and got to Concord. I observed a wood at a small distance, and made for that. When I got there, out started six officers, on horseback, and ordered me to dismount; — one of them, who appeared to have the command, examined me, where I came from, and what my name was? I told him. He asked me if I was an express? I answered in the affirmative. He demanded what time I left Boston? I told him; and added, that their troops had caught aground in passing the river, and that there would be five hundred Americans there in a short time, for I had alarmed the country all the way up. He immediately rode towards those who stopped us, when all five of them came down upon a full gallop; one of them, whom I afterwards found to be a Major Mitchell of the 5th Regiment, clapped his pistol to my head, called me by name, and said he was going to ask me some questions, and if I did not give him true answers he would blow my brains out. He then asked me similar questions to those above. He then ordered me to mount my horse after searching me for arms. He then ordered them to advance and to lead me in front. When we got to the road, they turned down toward Lexington, and when we had got about one mile, the Major rode up to the officer that was leading me and told him to give me to the Sergeant. As soon as he told me, the Major ordered him, if I attempted to run, or anybody insulted them, to blow my brains out. We rode till we got near Lexington meeting-house, when the militia fired a volley of guns, which appeared to alarm them very much. The Major inquired of me how far it was to Cambridge, and if there were any other road. After some consultation, the Major rode up to the Sergeant, and asked if his horse was tired. He answered him he was — he was a Sergeant of Grenadiers, and had a small horse — then take that man's horse. I dismounted and the Sergeant mounted my horse, when they all rode toward Lexington meeting-house. I went across the burying-ground and some pastures, and came to the Rev. Mr. Clark's house, where I found Messrs. Hancock and Adams. I told them of my treatment, and they concluded to go from that house towards Woburn. I went with them, and a Mr. Lowell, who was a clerk to Mr. Hancock. When we got to the house where they intended to stop, Mr. Lowell and myself returned to Mr. Clark's to find what was going on. When we got there an elderly man came in; he said he had just come from the tavern, that a man had come from Boston, who said there were no British troops coming. Mr. Lowell and myself went towards the tavern, when we met a man on a full gallop, who told us the troops were coming up the rocks. We afterwards met another, who said they were close by. Mr. Lowell asked me to go to the tavern with him, to get a trunk of papers belonging to Mr. Hancock. We went up chamber, and while we were getting the trunk, we saw the British very near, upon a full march. We hurried towards Mr. Clark's house. In our way, we passed through the militia. There were about fifty. When we had got about one hundred yards from the meeting-house, the British troops appeared on both sides of the meeting-house. In their front was an officer on horseback. They made a halt; when I saw and heard a gun fired, which appeared to be a pistol. Then I could distinguish two guns, and then a continual roar of musketry: when we made off with the trunk." *Ed.*

MAJOR FITCAIRN

EARL PECKY



CHAPTER VII

THE BATTLE OF LEXINGTON (*continued*)

Percy commences his Retreat — Heath and Warren join the Provincials — The Militia gather at West Cambridge — The Danvers Company — The Zeal and Bravery of Warren — The Barbarities of the British — Aspinwall's Account — Retreat becomes a Rout — British take Shelter in Charlestown — The Fatigue and Exhaustion of their Troops — The British Loss — The Provincial Loss — The Effect of this Day's Events upon the Public Mind — The Nineteenth of April celebrated — Lexington Monument — The Relative Claims of Lexington, Concord, and Other Towns to the Honors of the Nineteenth of April, 1775.

PERCY, as senior officer, assumed the command. He had now under him a force of about eighteen hundred well-disciplined troops and two pieces of artillery — a force four times as large as that of the Americans.¹ But still he manifested no disposition to attack the rebels, as he denominated them, or to drive back the undisciplined citizens who hung upon his rear and flanked him at every convenient point. Though he left Boston in the morning with as stout a heart as that of his namesake of Northumberland, immortalized in the ballad of Chevy-Chase, and though his force was superior to that of his prototype, he had no disposition to "spend his dearest blood" in a contest with the rebels; but took warning by the fate of his predecessor, and, giving over his hunt in the woods of old Middlesex, made the best of his way to his headquarters at Boston.

After the weary fugitives of Smith's command were rested and refreshed, Percy commenced his retreat. His field-pieces, which at first kept the Provincials at a distance, soon lost their terror; and the same undisciplined force which had proved such a scourge to Smith and Pitcairn, hung upon his rear, and assailed him on his right and left from the trees, rocks, and fences, and rendered his movement rather a flight than a retreat. Some of the Americans who had pursued the British from Concord, gave over the chase from time to time

¹ In view of the fact that men from all over eastern Massachusetts were pouring in to join the fight, and that each took such part as he might choose, regardless of leaders or commands, it is difficult to form any estimate whatever of the actual number of Provincials who were engaged in the day's fighting. *Ed.*

on the route; and at Lexington, after seeing that Smith was supported by a thousand fresh troops and two pieces of artillery, and deeming a further pursuit unavailing, others returned to their homes. The larger portion, however, remained, and being joined by others united in the pursuit.

It was nearly three o'clock when Percy commenced his retreat. Up to this time there had been no general officer who assumed command of the Americans. General Heath, who had been appointed by the Provincial Congress one of the general officers, to command the militia and the minute-men in case they were called out, had an interview with the Committee of Safety that morning: after which he repaired to Watertown, where he collected a small body of the militia, which he ordered to move to Cambridge, to take up the planks and make a barricade of them at the Great Bridge, so as to intercept the British if they attempted to return to Boston by way of Roxbury and the Neck. Having given this order, Heath, accompanied by Dr. Warren, passed by a cross-road to the scene of action, and arrived at Lexington just before Percy took up his line of march, or rather commenced his flight. Heath collected the scattered Provincials, and putting them in as good order as the nature of the case would permit, pressed closely upon Percy's rear. For the first two miles nothing of special moment occurred; but on descending from the high lands, at the "foot of the rocks" upon the plain in West Cambridge,¹ the fire became brisk. The topography of the country, the locality of the population in other towns, and the direction of the roads would naturally bring together a considerable accession to the Provincial force at this point. Not only from Cambridge, but from Roxbury, Dorchester, Brookline, Needham, Watertown, and Dedham, on the one hand, did the militia and minute-men rally and move to West Cambridge; but they came in freely from Medford, Charlestown, and Lynn, on the other. Thus strengthened, the Americans made a more formidable resistance here than at any point below Lexington. Here, too, the youthful Foster brought up his gallant company of minute-men from Danvers, which marched in advance of the Essex regiment, and arrived, after a rapid march of *sixteen miles in four hours*, in time to

¹ Now Arlington. "Foot of the Rocks" is a very ancient term and designates a break in the rim of that Boston Basin which, in comparatively recent geological times, was completely submerged. *Ed.*

meet the common enemy. The company consisted of one hundred men, and had about ten days before elected Gideon Foster, a brave and ardent young man of twenty-six years of age, their captain.¹ Arriving at West Cambridge, and being, as he says, "unused to the artifices of war," he posted a part of his men near the road to intercept the main body of the British. They took post in a walled enclosure, and made a breastwork of bundles of shingles; others placed themselves behind trees on the side of the hill west of the meeting-house, where they awaited the arrival of the King's troops. But while the main body of the British came down the road, they had thrown forward a large guard, which had flanked and come up in rear of the Danvers men, who found themselves between two fires. In this critical situation they suffered severely — having seven killed and several wounded.

This accumulation of fresh troops in front of the retreating regulars, together with the force which hung upon their rear, made their position uncomfortable, and induced them to assume a more warlike attitude than they had done before. They drew up their men temporarily in order of battle, and in a few instances had recourse to their field-pieces. But this more formal array on their part was met by a more perfect organization on the part of the Provincials. General Heath assumed control, and as far as practicable reduced the discordant elements to order; and the ardent and intrepid Warren, by word and deed, and by active effort in places of the greatest danger, rallied and inspired the men. As at Bunker Hill in June following, so here, he seemed to rise with the occasion, and take new courage as obstacles presented and as dangers pressed. He was seen everywhere, animating the men and directing their movement.² But the British

¹ Foster's Address at the laying of the corner-stone of the Danvers Monument, in memory of the members of his company who fell at West Cambridge. He says: "On that morning [April 19, 1775] more than one hundred of my townsmen hastened to the field of battle, unused to the artifices of war; but their hearts were glowing with zeal in their country's cause, and they were ready to offer their lives on the altar of their liberties." — "I was then twenty-six years of age. About ten days before, I had been chosen to command a company of minute-men, who were at all times to be in readiness at a moment's warning. They were so ready. They all went, and in about four hours from the time of meeting, they travelled on foot, half of the way upon the rum, sixteen miles and saluted the enemy." King's Address, and Frothingham's Siege of Boston.

² The conduct of Warren on this occasion was a subject of general commendation and probably secured to him the appointment of major-general, which he soon after-

were too anxious to gain the cover of their ships and the Provincials were too ardent in their pursuit to admit of anything like a formal battle.

But there was brisk skirmishing; and bold attacks of small bands and instances of individual courage occurred at different points. Here General Warren had his temple grazed by a musket ball, which carried away a pin from his earlock.¹ Here Samuel Whittemore² was shot, bayoneted, and left for dead. Here Dr. Eliphalet Downer, in a single combat with a British soldier, killed him with his bayonet.³

Up to the time of the arrival of Percy with his reinforcement, the British troops had, in the main, abstained from pillage, and had confined themselves mostly to the destruction of military stores. But we have already seen that before leaving Lexington they commenced a system, not merely of plunder but of barbarity — wantonly destroying private property and butchering the aged and defenceless. If this was not actually ordered, it was permitted by Percy. And this policy, commenced at Lexington, was continued through the remainder of the day. At West Cambridge their course was marked by pillage and by a wanton destruction of private property. Nor was their barbarity confined to the destruction of property. They attacked and ruthlessly butchered the old and infirm, the weak and defenceless. Even women and children were the subjects of their brutal rage. Furniture was destroyed, houses were set on fire, women and children driven from their homes, and peaceable citizens murdered and mangled in cold blood. Jason Russell, an invalid and non-combatant, was cruelly murdered in his own house. Jabez Wyman and Jason Winship, two aged citizens, unarmed, who came to Cooper's Tavern simply to inquire the

wards received. In a poem, published in Boston, 1781, Warren's conduct at West Cambridge is thus described: —

"From rank to rank the daring warrior flies,
And bids the thunder of the battle rise;
Sudden arrangements of his troops are made,
And sudden movements round the plain displayed.
Columbia's Genius in her polished shield
Gleams bright and dreadful o'er the hostile field;
Her ardent troops, enraptured with the sight,
With shock resistless force the dubious fight.
Britons, astonished, tremble at the sight,
And, all confused, precipitate their flight."

¹ Heath's Memoirs, pp. 12-14.

² A tablet marks the spot. He lived to be 98. *Ed.*

³ Siege of Boston, p. 79.

news, "were most barbarously and inhumanly murdered by the British, being stabbed through in many places, their heads mauled, skulls broken, and their brains dashed out on the floors and walls of the house."¹ The house of Deacon Joseph Adams was rudely entered, his sick wife driven from her bed, and her young children exposed to the flames of their burning dwelling. We give these facts in the language of Mrs. Adams:—

"Divers of the King's troops entered our house by bursting open the door, and three of the soldiers broke into the room in which I was confined to my bed, being scarcely able to walk from the bed to the fire, not having been to my chamber door from being delivered in child-bed to that time. One of the soldiers immediately opened my curtain with his bayonet fixed, pointing the same at my breast. I immediately cried out, 'For the Lord's sake, do not kill me'; he replied, 'Damn you.' One that stood near said, 'We will not hurt the woman, if she will go out of the house, but we will surely burn it.' I immediately arose, threw a blanket over me, and crawled into a corn-house near the door, with my infant in my arms, where I remained until they were gone. They immediately set the house on fire, in which I had left five children; but the fire was happily extinguished, when the house was in the utmost danger of being utterly consumed."²

Before setting fire to the house, they robbed it of all the valuables which they could carry away—not sparing the communion service of the church, which was kept by Deacon Adams. Various houses were entered and similar outrages committed.³ These enormities tended to exasperate the Americans and make them more zealous in the pursuit. "Indignation and outraged humanity struggled on the one hand; veteran discipline and desperation on the other."⁴

The loss to the Americans and to the British within the limits of West Cambridge was considerable. One British officer was left wounded at a house near the present railroad station. Approaching night and the constant accessions to the Provincials admonished Percy to hasten his retreat.

The British took the road which winds round Prospect

¹ Deposition of Benjamin and Rachel Cooper, taken May 10, 1775, while the facts were fully known.

² Hannah Adams's Deposition, May 16, 1775.

³ The amount of property stolen and destroyed in West Cambridge was estimated at £1202 8s. 7d.

⁴ Everett's Address.

Hill.¹ When they entered this part of Charlestown their situation became nearly as critical as was Smith's when he arrived at Lexington and took shelter under the protection of Percy's brigade.

"The large number of wounded," says Frothingham, "proved a distressing obstruction to their progress, while they had but a few rounds of ammunition left. Their field-pieces had lost their terror. The main body of the Provincials hung closely on their rear; a strong force was advancing upon them from Roxbury, Dorchester, and Milton; while Colonel Pickering with the Essex militia, seven hundred strong, threatened to cut off their retreat to Charlestown.² Near Prospect Hill the fire again became sharp, and the British again had recourse to their field-pieces. James Miller, of Charlestown, was killed here. Along its base Lord Percy, it is stated, received the hottest fire he had during his retreat. General Gage, about sunset, might have beheld his harassed troops almost on the run, coming down the old Cambridge road to Charlestown Neck, anxious to get under the protection of the guns of the ships-of-war.

¹ Colonel Aspinwall, of Brookline, has kindly furnished the following incidents which he has heard from those who were actors in the scene:—

"On the 19th of April, 1775, the militia of Brookline marched towards Lexington across the fields as a crow flies. My father, Dr. William Aspinwall, and my maternal grandfather, Isaac Gardner, one of His Majesty's Justices of the Peace, went with the rest. Red was in those days a common color for coats, and appearing at the rendezvous, Dr. Aspinwall had on a coat of that color, but being told that he might be shot for an enemy by his own friends, he thought it best to put on another of a different hue. When the Brookline men reached West Cambridge, the British troops were resting at Lexington, and they endeavored to get within musket range of the British pickets, at least to see them when they came. An irregular fire took place; but when the British began to move towards Boston, the militia scattered, some to a distance, and others to various covers to harass the retreating enemy.

"Mr. Gardner with a few others posted themselves behind some casks near Watson's Corner. While they were intently watching the approaching column, the British flank guard came upon their rear, and shot and bayoneted the whole party. Mr. Gardner was pierced by balls and bayonets in twelve places.

"Dr. Aspinwall, in the mean time, had regained the college road, where he found a detachment of six or seven score of men under Captain Gridly, drawn up in line across the road. He suggested to the captain that the enemy would not take the college road, but go directly towards Charlestown as the shortest course; and if they did come down the road, his company could not stop them. Finding, however, that his remonstrances were unheeded, the doctor mounted the wall just as the head of the British column crossed the northern extremity of the road, and crying out, 'There they go! Now, boys, whoever wants to do any good, follow me,' pushed on with about half the detachment and a number of his Brookline neighbors, and getting within musket shot, he continued to fire with deliberate aim as fast as he could load. In reloading, however, he found it best to shelter himself behind a tree or whatever protection he could find, against the fire of his own party in the rear. On one of the momentary halts, his neighbor, Ebeneser Davis, passing him, pointing out the body of a British soldier, cried out, 'Doctor, that man's arms are yours, for you brought him down.' But the doctor thought himself better employed in endeavoring to get another shot as quick as possible.

"After the pursuit was ended, he learned the fate of Mr. Gardner, sought out the body, and had it conveyed home to his bereaved widow and her eight young children."

² "For had they not arrived in Charlestown, under cover of their ships, half an hour before a powerful body of men from Marblehead and Salem was at their heels, and must, if they had happened to be up one hour sooner, inevitably have intercepted their retreat to Charlestown.' That was the conclusion at which Washington arrived; and his view, then or since, has never been disputed." Trevelyan, *The American Revolution*, Part I, 1766-1776. Ed.

The minute-men closely followed, but when they reached the Charlestown Common, General Heath ordered them to stop the pursuit."¹

On arriving at Charlestown the British troops offered no indignities to the inhabitants. The town had been the scene of great excitement through the day, and on the approach of the retreating army at sunset, the inhabitants were naturally filled with apprehension and many had left the place. But the officers assured them that, if they returned to their houses, they would not be molested. The main body of Percy's troops occupied Bunker Hill and some additional troops were sent over from Boston. Sentinels were placed about the town and the night passed off quietly.

Thus ended a day of great anxiety and peril to His Majesty's troops. They had left Boston with high hopes and expectations — regarding the expedition as a sort of pleasure excursion. But the day had proved one of fatigue, toil, and danger. Twice during their adventure they had been in a perilous situation. Colonel Smith's command had barely escaped destruction in their march from Concord by taking refuge under the guns of Percy's brigade, whose timely arrival alone saved them. Nearly the same was true of Percy's command on arriving at Charlestown. If he had been but a trifle later,² he would inevitably have been cut off by the Essex regiment, and the troops from Dorchester, Milton, and other places. The protection of the guns of the ships-of-war was as grateful to Percy as was the protection of his own guns to the fugitives of Smith and Pitcairn.

The sufferings of the King's troops, especially those under Smith which left Boston on the evening of the 18th, must have been very severe. To march forty miles in half that number of hours is of itself no ordinary trial of human en-

¹ Siege of Boston. In this excellent work, Mr. Frothingham has well-nigh exhausted all the material which relates to the Battle of Lexington; so that we have, in most cases, after much research, been compelled to rest mainly upon the facts and authorities he has already presented.

² " . . . We retired for 15 miles under an incessant fire all around us, till we arrived at Charlestown, between 7 & 8 in the even, very much fatigued with a march of above 30 miles, & having expended almost all our ammunition." Percy Letters. According to Mr. F. W. Coburn (*The Battle of April 19, 1775*, p. 161), the total distance covered by Percy's reinforcement from Boston back to the Charles River in Charlestown was about twenty-six miles. According to the same authority the three companies of the main body who went to the home of Colonel Barrett made a total march during the day of nearly forty miles. *Ed.*

duration for soldiers laden with their arms and such other appendages as are necessary for troops, even when reduced to light marching order. But this severe march was performed under the most embarrassing circumstances, — a portion of it in the night, across lots and marshes, and other portions of it under a galling fire in flank and rear, — now pressing through a narrow gorge, and now thrown out as a flank guard to clear the woods and drive the Provincials from their hiding-places behind trees, rocks, and fences. Nor were the ordinary trappings of war their only encumbrance. To bear off their wounded comrades must have greatly increased their burden and impeded their march. The heat of the day, the haste which attended some portion of the movement, the loss of sleep and rest, the great difficulty of satisfying their hunger or slaking their thirst — these, and embarrassments such as these, must have rendered their march exhausting and made their sufferings extreme.

But to the officers in command, and to all filled with that lordly pride which characterized the haughty Britons at that period, the flight of their troops must have been peculiarly humiliating. They had boasted of their ability to put whole regiments of Yankees to flight with a handful of British troops; and of marching in triumph through the country with a single regiment. To such men the shameless flight of British regulars, well disciplined and completely armed, before one-half their number of the Provincials, without discipline or organization and poorly armed, must have been mortifying — especially to Lord Percy and the officers in immediate command; and to General Gage and his advisers the result of this expedition must have cast “ominous conjectures o’er the whole success” of subduing the rebellious Province. Had not the British Ministry been fated to be blind, they would have seen in this day’s adventure the result of a contest with such a people, determined to be free.

The actual loss to the British in this expedition was seventy-three killed, one hundred and seventy-four wounded, and twenty-six missing — the greater part of whom were taken prisoners. Of the whole loss, eighteen were commissioned officers, and two hundred and fifty non-commissioned officers and men. Lieutenant Hall, wounded at the North Bridge, was taken prisoner on the retreat, and died the next day. His remains were delivered to General Gage. Lieutenant

Gould, also wounded at the bridge, was subsequently taken prisoner, and was exchanged, May 28, for Josiah Breed, of Lynn. "He had a fortune of £1900 a year, and is said to have offered £2000 for his ransom."¹ The prisoners taken by us were treated with great humanity, and General Gage was notified that his own surgeons, if he desired it, might attend the wounded.

The loss of the Americans was forty-nine killed, thirty-nine wounded, and five missing. Several lists of the killed and wounded have been published — the fullest of which, found in the Siege of Boston, we here insert:—

Lexington. — Killed, A.M., Jonas Parker, Robert Munroe, Samuel Hadley, Jonathan Harrington, Jr., Isaac Muzzy, Caleb Harrington, John Brown, P.M., Jedediah Munroe,² John Raymond, Nathaniel Wyman,³ 10. Wounded, A.M., John Robbins, Solomon Pierce, John Tidd, Joseph Comee, Ebenezer Munroe, Jr., Thomas Winship, Nathaniel Farmer, Prince Estabrook, P.M., Francis Brown, 9. Making a total loss to Lexington of 19.

Concord. — Killed, none. Wounded, Charles Miles, Nathan Barrett, Abel Prescott, Jr., Jonas Brown, George Minot, 5.

Acton. — Killed, Isaac Davis, Abner Hosmer, James Hayward, 3. Wounded, Luther Blanchard, 1.⁴

Cambridge, including West Cambridge. — Killed, William Marcy, Moses Richardson, John Hicks, Jason Russell, Jabez Wyman, Jason Winship, 6. Wounded, Samuel Whittemore,⁵ 1. Missing, Samuel Frost, Seth Russell, Jr., 2.

Needham. — Killed, John Bacon, Elisha Mills, Amos Mills, Nathaniel Chamberlain, Jonathan Parker, 5. Wounded, Eleazer Kingsbury, John Tolman, 2.

Sudbury. — Killed, Josiah Haynes, Asahel Reed, 2. Wounded, Joshua Haynes, Jr.,⁶ 1.

Bedford. — Killed, Jonathan Wilson, 1. Wounded, Job Lane,⁷ 1.

Woburn. — Killed, Asahel Porter, 1. Wounded, George Reed, Jacob Bacon, — Johnson, Daniel Thompson, 4.

¹ Siege of Boston, p. 82.

² Jedediah Munroe was wounded on the Common in the morning, and killed while in pursuit of the British, in the afternoon.

³ Belonged in Billerica. *Ed.*

⁴ Also, Ezekiel Davis, head grazed. Thomas Thorp's deposition, p. 44. Acton Celebration, 1835. *Ed.*

⁵ Also Josiah Temple, in the shoulder. Temple, History of Framingham, p. 277. *Ed.*

⁶ Also, Thomas Bent, non-combatant. E. Chase, Beginnings of American Revolution, Vol. III, p. 221. *Ed.*

⁷ Also, Solomon Stearns and Reuben Bacon, said to have died as a result of the day's exertions, *Ibid.*, p. 218. *Ed.*

Medford. — Killed, Henry¹ Putnam, William Polly,¹ 2.
Charlestown. — Killed, James Miller, Edward Barber,² 2.
Watertown. — Killed, Joseph Coolidge,³ 1.
Framingham. — Wounded, Daniel Hemenway, 1.
Dedham. — Killed, Elias Haven, 1. Wounded, Israel Everett, 1.
Stow. — Wounded, Daniel Conant, 1.
Roxbury. — Missing, Elijah Seaver, 1.
Brookline. — Killed, Isaac Gardner, 1.
*Billerica.*⁴ — Wounded, John Nichols, Timothy Blanchard, 2.
Chelmsford. — Wounded, Aaron Chamberlain, Oliver Barron, 2.
Salem. — Killed, Benjamin Pierce, 1.
*Newton.*⁵ — Wounded, Noah Wiswell, 1.
Danvers. — Killed, Henry Jacobs, Samuel Cook, Ebenezer Goldthwait, George Southwick, Benjamin Deland, Jr., Jotham Webb, Perley Putnam, 7. Wounded, Nathan Putnam, Dennis Wallace, 2. Missing, Joseph Bell, 1.
Beverly. — Killed, Reuben Kennison, 1. Wounded, Nathaniel Cleves, Samuel Woodbury, William Dodge, 3d, 3.
Lynn. — Killed, Abednego Ramsdell, Daniel Townsend, William Flint, Thomas Hadley, 4. Wounded, Joshua Felt, Timothy Monroe, 2. Missing, Josiah Breed, 1.
 Total ⁶ (as revised by additions made in footnotes). — Killed, 45; wounded, 48; missing, 5, — 107.

It will be seen by the above list that Lexington suffered more severely than any other town. Though her population was much less than that of Concord or Cambridge, her loss in killed and wounded was more than one-third greater than both of those towns together. In Concord, no one was killed, and in Cambridge, of the six killed, three of them at least were non-combatants of West Cambridge. Next to Lexington,

¹ Medford Historical Register, January, 1899. Also killed, — Smith, — Francis. Usher, History of Medford, p. 162. *Ed.*

² Also, a Negro wounded. Massachusetts Hist. Soc. Proc., March, 1890. Lieutenant Mackenzie. *Ed.*

³ Also wounded, David Smith. E. Chase, Beginnings of American Revolution, Vol. III, p. 222. *Ed.*

⁴ Also killed, Nathaniel Wyman. *Ed.*

⁵ Also killed, John Barber (family tradition), E. Chase, Beginnings of American Revolution, Vol. III, p. 221. *Ed.*

⁶ Also Lincoln. — Wounded, Joshua Brooks. Amos Baker's Deposition, 21. Acton Celebration.

New Salem. — Amos Putnam died of exhaustion. Putnam, Danvers Soldiers' Record, p. 157.

Westford. — Captain Oliver Bates died in July from effects of wound. Hodgman, History of Westford, p. 110.

Natick. — Captain David Bacon, killed by some accounts. Hurd, History of Middlesex County, Vol. I, pp. 293, 523. *Ed.*

Danvers suffered the most severely, having seven killed and two wounded. The number of killed and wounded is no sure evidence of the bravery of these companies; but it does afford strong presumptive evidence of the position of the troops relative to the posts of danger. And as the men on that day acted on their own responsibility, or under their local commanders, the number of casualties furnishes some proof of the zeal and bravery of the men and the efforts of the different towns on the occasion.

Some regrets were expressed at the time that the Provincials did not pursue Percy farther, and attempt to prevent his entering Charlestown. Bitter complaints were made against Colonel Pickering for his delay in bringing up the Essex regiment. It is not our province to pass sentence upon Colonel Pickering, or to intimate that he was at fault in that case. If he could have been earlier upon the ground and could have joined the militia some miles above Charlestown, it would have been well, and might have been the means of cutting off Percy's retreat. But it is perhaps a mercy that the Essex troops did not arrive in season to attack him at the Neck. This would in all probability have brought on a general engagement, for which the Provincials were not prepared; and as Gage could easily have reinforced Percy, and the ships in Charles River could participate in such a battle, the fortune of the day would doubtless have turned against us. Besides, there were fears that if we pursued the British into Charlestown, they might lay the town in ashes and so subject our friends to the calamity of being turned houseless into the street. The wanton barbarity they had practised in Lexington and West Cambridge that day would naturally create an apprehension for the safety of Charlestown if we should attempt to follow the British within the Peninsula. Such considerations probably occurred to General Heath and he prudently gave over the pursuit.

The events of the 19th of April produced a profound sensation throughout the country. They aroused the people to arms, and gave a new impulse to the cause of freedom. This opening scene of the American Revolution foreshadowed the character and result of the great drama and the moral it would teach mankind. It showed that the Americans were alive to a sense of their rights and ready to rally at their country's call; that though they were at that time without

organization or discipline, and but poorly armed, they possessed every requisite for soldiers; and that with a little drill and discipline they would be equal to any emergency. In fact, that day established their reputation for energy and fortitude, for sagacity and courage, and should have taught their British brethren that the subjugation of such a people was impossible. Up to this period the people acted under a species of embarrassment, but now the restraint was removed. England had been the aggressor; she had shed the blood of her subjects in America; she had wantonly commenced a war for the subjugation of her colonists; and they now felt themselves absolved from all allegiance. England had appealed to the arbitrament of war, and the colonists were ready to try the case in that stern tribunal. And the experience of the 19th of April had given them confidence in themselves. They had seen the disciplined veterans of Great Britain put to an ignominious rout by half their number of bold and determined citizens; and relying upon the justice of their cause and trusting in the great Disposer of events, to whom the appeal had been made, they were ready to abide the issue.

But while that day's sun in its setting cast a halo of glory around the American cause and there was a general rejoicing wherever the result was known, there were those who blended tears with their rejoicings and sighed over the hapless victims of oppression — the willing sacrifices offered on freedom's altar. In Lexington alone, ten of her sturdy citizens, whose bosoms swelled with patriotic ardor in the early dawn of that memorable day, were lying cold in the embrace of death before the evening shades had lulled the world to silence and repose. They slept in peace. But who can describe the anguish which wrung the heart of the lone widow or the orphan child at the sudden bereavement of a husband or a father! or tell the grief of the sad mother who is weeping the loss of a beloved son! Truly there was lamentation and mourning. The tenderest ties of nature had been broken, and hearts that were made to feel, were bleeding in anguish. But in the bitterness of their anguish they had one consolation — the deceased fell at the post of duty — fell a sacrifice, a willing sacrifice, to the cause of liberty. Such reflections cheered and gladdened many a heart, which had otherwise been desponding. Such reflections are the support and comfort of many a patriotic

mother and wife, whose grief would otherwise be almost insupportable. Nor is this a vain consolation. Patriotism is a Christian virtue; and he who from a sense of duty lays down his life for his country, acts in humble imitation of Him "who died that we might live."

The anniversary of the 19th of April was appropriately noticed in Lexington for several years. In 1776, Rev. Jonas Clarke delivered a patriotic sermon in commemoration of the day; to which was appended a narrative of the Battle of Lexington. The discourse was published, with the appendix, which furnishes us with one of the most valuable and reliable sketches of the events of that day.¹ The next anniversary, Rev. Samuel Cook, of Cambridge, preached the sermon. In 1778, the discourse was delivered by Rev. Jacob Cushing, of Waltham; in 1779, by Rev. Samuel Woodward, of Weston; in 1780, by Rev. Isaac Morrell, of Wilmington; in 1781, by Rev. Henry Cummings, of Billerica; in 1782, by Rev. Phillips Payson, of Chelsea; in 1783, by Rev. Zabdiel Adams, of Lunenburg. These discourses were all published. They furnish a good specimen of the spirit of the times, and show the independent and patriotic spirit of the clergy of that day.

The events of the 19th of April, 1775, produced a deep personal feeling in Lexington. The loss of ten of her citizens carried mourning into many families. But the feeling of gratitude and veneration for the heroic dead had a tendency to assuage their grief and produce a conviction that something should be done to perpetuate the fame of these martyrs of liberty and to hand their names down to after generations. Such feelings led to the erection of a monument to their memories, which was completed in 1799.

But the people of Lexington, knowing that the event to be commemorated was national in its character, and that those who fell offered themselves on the altar of their country, very properly asked the State to assume paternity of the Monument. On the petition of Joseph Simonds, the General Court February 28, 1797, passed the following Resolve:—

"That there be allowed & paid out of the public treasury, to the Selectmen of the Town of Lexington the sum of two hundred dollars for the purpose of erecting in said town a monument of stone on which shall be engraved the names of the eight citizens, inhabitants

¹ See also the letter of his daughter, Miss Betty Clarke, in *Proc. Lex. Hist. Soc.*, Vol. iv, p. 91. *Ed.*

of Lexington, who were slain in the morning of the 19th Day of april 1775 by a party of British troops, together with such other inscription, as in the judgment of said Select men, & the approbation of the Governor & Council, shall be calculated to preserve to posterity a record of the first efforts made by the people of America for the establishment of their freedom & independence. The said Monument to be erected on the ground where the said Citizens were slain, and the monument so erected shall be deemed & taken to be a public monument, & entitled to the protection of the law in such cases made & provided."

The sum thus appropriated having been found insufficient, the fact was made known to the Legislature; and in 1798, —

"On the petition of the town of Lexington, praying for an additional grant to enable them to erect a Monument, commemorative of the battle of Lexington on the 19th of April, 1775: —

"Resolved, That there be allowed and paid out of the Public Treasury, the sum of Two hundred dollars, to the Selectmen of the town of Lexington, to enable them to erect and complete the Monument aforesaid, and His Excellency, the Governor, is requested to issue his warrant for the same."

The inscription upon the Monument was furnished by the patriot priest, and breathes that devotion to the cause of America, that love of freedom and the rights of mankind, for which he was distinguished. Nor does he, in his devotion to the cause, overlook the brave men who so nobly offered themselves on the altar of their country; nor the ruling hand of the great Disposer of events, who makes the wrath of men praise him, and the folly and madness of tyrants subserve the cause of human freedom.

OLD BELFREY

LEXINGTON DRUM

REVOLUTIONARY MONUMENT

The following is the inscription upon the Monument: —

Sacred to Liberty & the Rights of mankind!!!
The Freedom & Independence of America,
Sealed & defended with the blood of her sons.

This Monument is erected
By the inhabitants of Lexington,
Under the patronage & at the expence, of
The Commonwealth of Massachusetts,
To the memory of their Fellow Citizens,
Ensign *Robert Munroe*, & Messrs. *Jonas Parker*,
Samuel Hadley, *Jonathan Harrington Junr.*,
Isaac Muzzy, *Caleb Harrington* and *John Brown*,
Of Lexington, & *Asahel Porter* of Woburn,
Who fell on this field, the first Victims to the
Sword of British Tyranny & Oppression,
On the morning of the ever memorable
Nineteenth of April, An. Dom. 1775.

The Die was cast!!!

The Blood of these Martyrs,
In the cause of God & their Country,
Was the Cement of the Union of these States, then
Colonies; & gave the spring to the spirit, Firmness
And resolution of their Fellow Citizens.

They rose as one man, to revenge their brethren's
Blood, and at the point of the sword, to assert &
Defend their native Rights.

They nobly dar'd to be free!!

The contest was long, bloody & affecting.
Righteous Heaven approved the solemn appeal;
Victory crowned their arms; and
The Peace, Liberty & Independence of the United
States of America, was their Glorious Reward.

Built in the year 1799.

Though this Monument was respectable in its day, and reflected honor upon the State and the town, every one must allow that it falls beneath the taste of the present age, and is not at all commensurate with the event it was designed to commemorate.¹ The opening scene of the American Revolu-

¹ Although this was the feeling at the time when Mr. Hudson wrote, a later judgment has confirmed that of the fathers in erecting a modest shaft. For this reason the ambitious project undertaken in the 50's was abandoned and the money collected was used toward the purchase of the statues now in Memorial Hall. Because of this change of sentiment, a good deal of material which at this point appeared in Mr. Hudson's History has been omitted. *Ed.*

tion is one of the most important events in the history of the world. The patriotic rising of the people, the cool and undaunted spirit of the citizens, the momentous questions involved in the issue, and the lasting consequences resulting from the Revolution inaugurated on the 19th of April, 1775, give to the day and the place an importance which can hardly be overrated.

There is a remarkable coincidence between the 19th of April, 1775, and the 19th of April, 1861. On the former day the patriotic citizens of Middlesex met the ruthless bands of freedom's foes, and sanctified the day and the cause of liberty by becoming the first victims in the struggle which made us an independent nation; and on the latter day the citizens of Middlesex, true to the spirit of their fathers, met a lawless horde of slavery's minions, and fell the first martyrs in that desperate struggle which has placed our independence on the most enduring basis. In 1775, the brave sons of Middlesex were the first in the field when they saw their liberty in danger, and in 1861, though far from the scene of action, they were the first in the field when they saw the Capital of the nation in danger. The blood shed at Lexington in 1775, and the blood shed in Baltimore in 1861, were alike offerings in freedom's cause. The victims in both cases should be held in lasting remembrance by the friends of freedom throughout the world, and their names should be handed down from generation to generation; that thousands yet unborn may be taught to lisp the names of LADD and WHITNEY, together with the names of MUNROE and others who fell on the first-named day, and whose noble daring has long adorned our country's history.

Well may Middlesex be proud of her gallant and self-sacrificing sons! They have marched at the first call, and nobly have shown "that they were worth their breeding." And well has the city of Lowell erected a Monument in honor of LUTHER CRAWFORD LADD and A. O. WHITNEY.

As there has been an attempt to magnify the importance of the events which occurred at Concord, and thereby to rob Lexington of its due share of the honors of that day, by asserting that the first resistance to the King's troops was made at the North Bridge in Concord, and that no shots were returned by Captain Parker's men at Lexington in the

morning of that day, we deem it an act of simple justice to Lexington and to the truth of history to present the facts as they exist. This we shall do without that spirit of crimination and recrimination which has heretofore marked this controversy.

No facts connected with the events of the 19th of April are better sustained by evidence than those of the firmness and bravery of Captain Parker's company, and of their return of the fire on the morning of that day. In his History of the Fight at Concord, Ripley, an authority not at all partial to the claims of Lexington, says: "The military company under Captain Parker were prompt, patriotic, and courageous to admiration. That a single company should parade in an opposing attitude, directly in the face of nearly a thousand of the picked troops of Great Britain, places their courage and firmness beyond all controversy. Some may think they were not so wise in council as fearless in danger — not so prudent in action as zealous in patriotism." Shattuck, in his History of Concord, says: "The inhabitants of Lexington deserve great credit for the stand they took in the morning, and the part they acted during the day. That her militia were slain with arms in their hands, is an important fact, and highly honorable to their patriotism and valor." These admissions, from the chief advocates of the claims of Concord, ill accord with the insinuation implied in conceding that "*some very few* of the militia, being in a state of high excitement and confusion, *after the British had gone on their way*, did fire off their guns," etc.¹

The fact that there were twenty killed and wounded, on that day, belonging to a company of about one hundred, is conclusive evidence that they did not shun posts of danger. Not only on and near the Common in the morning, but during the day, the promptness and valor of this company were seen and acknowledged. They met the enemy in Lincoln on their return from Concord, and fearlessly joined in the hot pursuit, having three killed and one wounded in the afternoon — a greater loss than was sustained by most of the towns during the whole day. Including those killed and wounded in the morning, Lexington suffered more severely than any other town, losing more than one-sixth of her entire company, a proportion greater than that experienced on most

¹ Ripley's History of the Fight at Concord, p. 37.

of the sanguinary battle-fields. All contemporaneous and other authority shows the firmness and self-devotion of this gallant company, and establishes the fact that the fire was returned on the morning of that eventful day.¹

John Munroe, who was a member of the company and on the field at the time, testifies that, on parading the company in the very face of the British troops which were marching rapidly upon them, "Captain Parker gave orders for every man to stand his ground until he should order them to leave." Joseph Underwood, then of Woburn, who was present at the time, testifies "that he stood near Captain Parker when the regulars came up, and is confident that he did not order his men to disperse till the British troops had fired upon them the second time." He also testifies that on the rapid approach of the British, some proposed to quit the field; but Captain Parker gave orders for every man to stand his ground, and said he "would order the first man shot that offered to leave his post." Robert Douglas, then of Woburn, testifies to the same fact. John Munroe testifies that he fired once before he left the field, and once after he had retreated about ten rods; that Ebenezer Munroe fired before leaving the field, and is confident that Jonas Parker and some others did the same. Ebenezer Munroe says in his deposition, "After the first fire I received a wound in my arm, and then as I turned to run, I discharged my gun into the main body of the enemy. As I fired, my face being turned towards them, one ball cut off a part of one of my earlocks, which was then pinned up. Another ball passed between my arm and my body, and just marked my clothes. As we retreated, one of our company, Benjamin Sampson, I believe, who was running with me, turned his piece and fired. When I fired, I perfectly well recollect of taking aim at the regulars." William Munroe says that he is confident that some of the company fired before they left the field, and that he saw a man firing from Buckman's house. William Tidd and Nathan Munroe testify that they fired at the British after they left the Common. Amos Locke testifies that Ebenezer Locke took aim and fired at the

¹ Any question as to whether or not the Lexington Minute-Men returned the fire of the British seems to be conclusively settled by the official report of Lieutenant-Colonel Smith to General Gage, made April 22, 1775. The report states "that they found on a green, close to the road, a body of the country people drawn up in military order, with arms and accoutrements, and, as appeared after, loaded." *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, May, 1876. *Ed.*

Britons. Solomon Brown and another were seen to fire at the British, one from the rear of the house and one from the front door of Buckman's; and the ball holes near the door, which are still to be seen, show that the fire was recognized and returned by the British. The Rev. Mr. Gordon, who was upon the ground a few days after the affair took place, for the express purpose of learning the facts in the case, that he might write a history of the transaction to send to England, says that James Brown told him that he fired and that several others did the same. The British account, published at the time, declared that one man of the Tenth Regiment was wounded,¹ and that Major Pitcairn's horse was struck in two places.² The testimony of Elijah Sanderson³ and Abijah Harrington, that they saw blood in the road where the British column was standing at the time of the firing, goes far to confirm the statement that the Americans returned the fire and that their shots took effect.

Nor are any of these facts contradicted by the depositions taken a few days after the events occurred. The British account, published at the time, represented that the Americans were the aggressors, and that the King's troops acted only on the defensive. The Provincial Congress ordered these depositions to be taken for the purpose of refuting this statement, by showing that the British troops were the aggressors, and thereby acquitting Captain Parker of the charge of rashness, and of having commenced a civil war in disregard of the urgent advice of the Continental and Provincial Congresses. They would naturally, therefore, select the best evidence they could for that purpose. "Besides," as Major Phinney justly remarks, "the principle of law that a person is not bound to state any facts in evidence which might tend to criminate himself was as well known at that day as at the present. The struggle had just commenced and the issue was quite doubtful. It could not have been expected of those who had taken an active part in the affair at Lexington that they would voluntarily disclose facts which might, in all probability, as they then considered, expose them to the British halter."

Still these depositions, taken under such peculiar circumstances, not only do not contradict but go directly to confirm

¹ Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., Vol. iv, 2d series; D'Bernicre. *Ed.*

² Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., Vol. ii, 2d series, p. 225. *Ed.*

³ Elias Phinney, *History of the Battle of Lexington*, pp. 33, 40. *Ed.*

the fact that the fire was returned by the Americans. Elijah Sanderson, of Lexington, in his deposition, given on the 25th of April, 1775, says, "The Lexington company did not fire a gun *before the regulars discharged on them.*" John Robbins, of Lexington, says, "We received a very heavy and close fire from them. Captain Parker's men, I believe, had not *then* fired a gun." Benjamin Tidd, of Lexington, and Joseph Abbott, of Lincoln, say, "The regulars fired a few guns, which we took to be pistols, and then they fired a volley or two, *before any guns were fired by the Lexington company.*" Nathaniel Mulliken and thirty-three others, of Lexington, say, "Not a gun was fired by any person in our company on the regulars, to our knowledge, *before they fired on us.*" Nathaniel Parkhurst and thirteen others, of Lexington, say, "The regulars fired on the company, *before a gun was fired by any of our company on them.*" Timothy Smith, of Lexington, says, "I saw the regular troops fire on the Lexington company, *before the latter fired a gun.*" William Draper, of Colerain, who happened to be present at the time, says, "The regular troops fired *before any of Captain Parker's company fired.*"

These depositions, which were taken a few days after the event occurred, and which are very carefully worded, plainly imply that the Americans did return the fire. By saying that Captain Parker's men did not fire *before* they were fired upon, the impression is distinctly given that they did fire *after*. The British official account, and the account given by General Gage in his letter to Governor Trumbull, both state that the Americans fired first, and the British periodicals of that day repeat the statement; but the evidence is conclusive that this was not the case. The evidence is also conclusive that the Americans did return the fire. Not only the depositions we have cited, but the accounts of that day which are entitled to the highest consideration confirm the position that, though the Americans did not fire *first*, they did return the fire of the King's troops. On the 12th of June, 1775, General Gage issued a Proclamation offering a pardon to all the rebels, as he called them, who had taken up arms against His Majesty's authority, except Samuel Adams and John Hancock, in which he recounted the events at Lexington. This Proclamation was taken up in the Provincial Congress, then in session, and referred to a committee of which Dr. Warren was chair-

man, and John Hancock, Colonel Palmer, Mr. Seaver, and Dr. Taylor were members. This committee submitted a counter-statement or Proclamation, which was adopted by the Congress on the 16th day of June. In that document we have the following clear and explicit statement: "When the British troops arrived at Lexington meeting-house, they fired upon a small number of the inhabitants, and cruelly murdered eight men. *The fire was returned by some of the survivors*, but their number was too inconsiderable to annoy the regular troops." ¹

As this statement was drawn up by Dr. Warren some six weeks after the event had taken place, when there had been full and ample time to have the first impulse of feeling subside, so that all the facts could be ascertained and all the evidence weighed coolly and dispassionately; and as the Provincial Congress, composed of delegates from all the towns in the Province, including those in the vicinity of the scene of action, adopted and endorsed this statement, we have every reason to give it the fullest credit and to regard it as *absolutely conclusive* in the case. We might with safety rest the whole matter here; but as efforts have been made to show that the first resistance to the British troops was made at Concord, we will subjoin a few other authorities.

Rev. Mr. Clarke, in a Narrative of the Events of the 19th of April, appended to his anniversary sermon, delivered April 19, 1776, says: "So far from firing first upon the King's troops, upon the most careful enquiry, it appears, that but very few of our people fired at all; and even they did not fire till after being fired upon by the troops, they were wounded themselves, or saw others killed, or wounded by them; and looking upon it as next to impossible for them to escape," etc. This statement of Mr. Clarke, who was near the scene of action, shows that the fire was returned, and at the same time that Captain Parker's men acted with prudence and did not wantonly commence the attack. D'Bernicre, a British officer who was in the detachment, says in his narrative: "Pitcairn came up immediately, and cried out to the rebels to throw down their arms and disperse, which they did not do; he called out the second time, but to no purpose." This is a clear refutation of a statement which has sometimes been made, that Captain Parker's men dispersed as soon as they saw the

¹ Lincoln's Journals of the Provincial Congress, p. 345.

British troops approach. That Captain Parker did, with great prudence and propriety, order his men to disperse is readily admitted; but Joseph Underwood says in his deposition: "I stood very near Captain Parker, when the regulars came up, and am confident he did not order his men to disperse, till the British troops had fired upon us the second time." Dr. John Warren in his manuscript Diary, as cited by Frothingham, says under date of April 19, 1775: "Some dispersed, but a few remained in a military position." Gordon also says, "A few continued in a military position. Individuals finding they were fired upon, though dispersing, had spirit enough to stop and return the fire."

Foreign historians, who could have no motive to misrepresent the facts in the case, have all given their testimony to the firmness of the Americans and to the fact that the fire was returned. Botta, in his *History of the War of Independence*, says: "The English appeared, and Major Pitcairn cried in a loud voice, 'Disperse, rebels, lay down arms, and disperse.' The Provincials did not obey, upon which he sprung from the ranks, discharged a pistol, and, brandishing his sword, ordered his soldiers to fire. The Provincials retreated; the English continuing their fire, the former faced about to return it."¹ Graham, an English historian, in his valuable *History of North America*, says of Pitcairn's command to disperse: "This order, which they refused to obey, was followed by a discharge from the British troops, whose fire, huzza, and rapid advance compelled their handful of adversaries to an instant flight. The fire continued after the dispersion, and the fugitives stopped, rallied, and returned the fire."² In Winterbotham's *View of the United States*, we find the following: "Individuals finding they were fired upon, though dispersing, returned the fire."³ Lardner's *Cabinet Cyclopædia* gives this account of the transaction: "Pitcairn rode towards them, calling out, 'Disperse, ye rebels; throw down your arms, and disperse.' The order was not immediately obeyed. Major Pitcairn advanced a little farther, fired his pistol and flourished his sword, while his men began to fire with a shout. Several Americans fell; the rest dispersed, but the firing on them was continued, and on observing this, some of the retreating Colonists returned the fire."⁴ Taylor says of the Americans:

¹ Vol. I, p. 264.

² Vol. I, p. 473.

³ Vol. IV, p. 373.

⁴ Vol. CIII, p. 125.

"This company, not instantly obeying the order to throw down their arms and disperse, were fired upon, and eight of their number killed." ¹ It is useless to multiply English authorities. They all admit that the Provincials fired upon the King's troops. Those writers who rely upon Gage's official account declare that the Americans fired first, and those who examine the subject more thoroughly admit that the British fired first and that the fire was returned by the Americans.

Bancroft, our own historian, says: "Pitcairn cried out, 'Disperse, ye villains, ye rebels, disperse; lay down your arms; why don't you lay down your arms and disperse!' The main body of the countrymen stood motionless in the ranks, witnesses against aggression; too few to resist, too brave to fly. The order to fire was instantly followed, first by a few guns, which did no execution, and then by a heavy, close, and deadly discharge. Parker ordered his men to disperse. Then, and not till then, did a few of them, on their own impulse, return the British fire." Speaking of Jonas Parker, he says: "A wound brought him on his knees. Having discharged his gun, he was preparing to load it again, when as sound a heart as ever throbbed for freedom was stilled by a bayonet."

Lendrum, in his *History of the American Revolution*, gives this truthful account of the transaction at Lexington on the morning of the 19th: "Major Pitcairn, who led the advanced corps, rode up to them, and called out, 'Disperse, you rebels; throw down your arms and disperse.' The Americans still continued in a body, on which he advanced nearer, discharged his pistol, and ordered his soldiers to fire. This was done with a huzza. A dispersion of the militia was the consequence, but the firing of the regulars was nevertheless continued. Individuals finding they were fired upon, though dispersing, returned the fire." ²

Ramsay, ³ the justly distinguished American historian, tells us that after Pitcairn ordered the Americans to disperse, "they continued in a body, on which he advanced nearer, discharged his pistol, and ordered his soldiers to fire. Individuals finding they were fired upon, though dispersing, returned the fire." Hannah Adams, in her *History of New England*, gives the same account. Holmes, in his *American Annals*, gives us a similar account. "The firing," says he, "continued after

¹ *Manual of History*, p. 760.

² *Revised Edition*, Vol. I, p. 91.

³ *History of the United States*, Vol. II, p. 14.

the dispersion, and the fugitives stopped and returned the fire." In the *Encyclopædia Americana*, we have this testimony: "The English commander, having commanded the Americans to disperse, ordered his men to fire. Several Americans were killed and wounded, and the company dispersed, several of the militia discharging their muskets as they retreated." Lossing¹ says: "As the patriots did not instantly obey the command to lay down their arms, Pitcairn wheeled his horse, and waving his sword, gave orders to press forward and surround the militia. Pitcairn then drew his pistol and discharged it, at the same moment giving the word *Fire*. A general discharge of musketry ensued. Four of the patriots were killed and the remainder dispersed. Finding themselves fired upon, while retreating, several of them halted and returned the shots, and then secured themselves behind stone walls and buildings. Three British soldiers and Pitcairn's horse were wounded."

But it has frequently been said that there was no "organized opposition" at Lexington. I am rather at a loss to understand what is meant by *organized* opposition. That Captain Parker's company was an organized company, as much as any in the field that day, admits of no doubt. His men were called together by his command, paraded under his order, and were expressly forbidden to leave the field without his order. It is abundantly proved that he ordered them to load their guns with powder and ball, and to form in warlike array in the very face of the British troops. Moreover, they refused to throw down their arms and disperse, when commanded so to do by the rash leader of the King's detachment. This of itself was organized opposition to the King's authority, and such opposition as would have been regarded as treason by the British Government at that day. The very writers who deny that there was any organized resistance at Lexington in the morning furnish evidence that Parker's company came upon parade, armed and prepared for resistance, if it should become necessary. Sylvanus Wood testifies that, as he was about to form his men on the field, "Parker says to them, 'Every man of you who is equipped follow me, and those of you who are not equipped, go into the meeting-house, and furnish yourselves from the magazine, and immediately join the company.'" Robert Douglas testifies that he formed with

¹ Pictorial Field Book of the Revolution, p. 524.

Captain Parker's company on the Common, near the road that leads to Bedford; "There we were commanded to load our guns. Some of the company observed, 'There were so few of us it would be folly to stand here.' Captain Parker replied, 'The first man who offers to run shall be shot down.'" ¹ This certainly looks like organization and strict discipline.

It is readily admitted that Captain Parker when he ordered his men to load their guns, gave order "not to fire, unless they were first fired upon," ² and this was the same order which Colonel Barrett gave at the North Bridge at Concord, several hours after, though it was known at that time that the British had commenced the attack at Lexington and had killed several men.³ This command in both cases was prudent and wise under the circumstances; and especially so in the morning, before any blood had been shed. But in both cases the command not to "fire unless they were first fired upon" implied a permission, if not a command, to fire in case they were attacked. Another thing going to show that there was organized resistance at Lexington in the morning is the fact that several prisoners were taken in Lexington before the British had reached Concord. There might have been no express command to return the fire at Lexington. But as the members of this company were citizens as well as soldiers, and as the whole subject had long been discussed in every circle, they all felt at perfect liberty to act on the defensive: so that the firing of the King's troops removed all restraint, and was a sort of command to every man to defend himself as best he might. It was on this principle that the Americans acted during the retreat from Concord to Charlestown; but no one will assert that there was no military resistance in the afternoon because the Provincials fired in most cases without any express orders and performed many deeds of noble daring on their own responsibility, without being led to the attack by a commanding officer.

Nor is it true that the first British blood was shed at Concord. The evidence is conclusive that one if not two British soldiers were wounded at Lexington in the morning. It is true that no one was killed; and even at the North Bridge at Concord, which has been claimed as the first battle-field of the

¹ Ripley's History.

² Nathan Munroe's Deposition.

³ Depositions of Colonel Barrett, and Captain Barrett, and others.

Revolution, *only one man was killed by the return fire*, the other being killed with a hatchet after he was wounded and left on the field by the British in their hasty retreat. It would be unsafe to infer that there could have been no resistance at Lexington in the morning because no one was killed. Many a man goes through a succession of desperate battles unhurt. The number of killed in any encounter of arms depends in a great degree upon the doctrine of chances; and none has greater need of pleading this doctrine of chances than those who maintain that Concord was the place where the first resistance was made to the King's troops. All accounts agree that no one belonging to Concord was killed on that day, though their population and militia were double those of Lexington; and according to their own statements not more than four or five were wounded.¹ It would be rather ungenerous to infer that no citizen of Concord occupied a post of danger during that day because no one happened to be slain.

I will not revive the controversy which has unhappily existed between citizens of the different towns along the line traversed by the British troops on that memorable day. There was something peculiar in each case, and as the people were called upon to act at once and without premeditation, it is remarkable that they acted as wisely as they did. If war had actually existed, it would have been imprudent in Captain Parker to draw up his men in open field in front of a force ten times his own. But at that time war had not been declared, and General Gage had assured the people at sundry times that they should not be molested by his troops so long as they refrained from acts of violence. Captain Parker therefore could not have anticipated the attack made upon his company. The state of the times fully justified him in calling his men together; and as a precautionary measure, he ordered them to load their pieces, so as to be prepared to defend themselves in case they were attacked. Being upon the field and being fired on as they were, common prudence and even true courage required that he should immediately retire from before such a superior force. If he had led them off in order, they would have been much more exposed to the enemy's fire

¹ Ripley states the number at *three*, and Shattuck at *four*. E. Chase, *Beginnings of the American Revolution*, Vol. III, p. 218, adds a fifth, — Captain George Minot in the afternoon. *Ed.*

than they were by fleeing in every direction. The order to disperse was, under the circumstances, the wisest and the best that could have been given. The firing of his men was spontaneous; and just what would naturally occur among men of true courage and patriotism, unused to strict discipline and exasperated by the unprovoked slaughter of their brethren. No citizen of Lexington — no intelligent patriot could, under the circumstances, have desired a different course of action on the part of Captain Parker and the brave men under his command.

But when the British arrived at Concord, the Americans were much better prepared to receive them. They had heard of the slaughter of their countrymen in the morning, and hence the embarrassment arising from commencing the attack was in some degree removed. Their force was also much greater; hence they were better qualified to defend themselves. The stay of the British was much longer; hence the people could act with more deliberation. But on the other hand, there was a new source of embarrassment. Detachments of troops had been sent to different sections of the town, were in the act of entering houses in search of military stores, and were demanding refreshments of the families. To attack the British troops under these circumstances might expose their homes and families to destruction. If, therefore, we find the Concord minute-men and militia less ready for an attack upon the King's troops, less zealous in the field, and more disposed to leave the ranks than the men from the other towns who had come to Concord that morning, we can easily account for it without distrusting their courage or impugning their patriotism. The deposition of Dr. Timothy Minott, Jr., reveals a state of feeling which must have existed at Concord to a considerable extent. He says, "After I had heard of the regular troops firing upon the Lexington men, and fearing that hostilities might be commenced at Concord, I thought it my incumbent duty to secure my family." This duty occupied him so long that he arrived at the North Bridge only in season to be a spectator of the firing there. Nothing is more natural, under the circumstances, than for the father and husband to override the soldier and to make the wife and children the first object of his care. This, undoubtedly, was the case in some degree at Concord on the morning of the 19th of April; and if some may think that it detracts from the

merits of the soldier, others, with reasons satisfactory to themselves, may think that it adds to the worth of the man.

The bravery and self-devotion of Captain Davis and his gallant Acton company warmly commend themselves to every true and noble heart. But at the same time it is but just to say that his command was better situated than were the companies of Concord for bold and efficient action in the field. The wives and children of the former were remote from the scene of action, and could be best defended by meeting and repulsing the enemy there and then. But an attack and even a repulse of the enemy at the North Bridge might, to the citizens of Concord, be but the prelude to the firing of their dwellings and the destruction of their families. The honors of the 19th of April are too great to be engrossed by any one individual or to be monopolized by a single town. As the cause was one, so are the honors to be distributed among all who acted together that day. When Concord talks of her old North Bridge, she should remember that the spot is consecrated by the blood of Davis and Hosmer shed under the guidance of Barrett and Buttrick; and when Arlington points to the field where patriots struggled and where heroes fell, she must remember that the victims of Danvers were offered upon her altar. And if Lexington in the twilight of the morning was doomed to "tread the wine-press alone," it was only because the attack was so sudden that others could not arrive to share the glories with her. Concord, Lincoln, Lexington, Cambridge, and Charlestown — towns through which the British passed that day — must be content to divide their honors with Acton, Stow, Sudbury, Framingham, Billerica, Chelmsford, Bedford, Reading, Woburn, Medford, Watertown, Dedham, Roxbury, Needham, Brookline, Newton, Beverly, Salem, Danvers, Lynn, and even with other towns, whose gallant minute-men promptly rushed toward the scene of action, and were prevented only by distance from sharing in the dangers of the day.

The events of the 19th of April are far too momentous to be confined to a township, limited to a colony, or circumscribed by a continent. They are an important link in a vast chain of causes whose effects have been and are still being felt in the remotest part of the civilized world. They grew out of a system of oppression, and were but the natural upheaving of the

human breast in its sighs for freedom. They were the beginning of a revolution founded in human nature; and the work they commenced must go on. Kings may denounce and courts may condemn it; but the cause itself must prosper. Liberty will rise and reign when thrones shall have crumbled to dust.

CHAPTER VIII

EFFECTS OF THE BATTLE OF LEXINGTON

The Idea of Independence of Slow Growth — Was entertained by the Leading Statesmen in 1774 — The Movement at Lexington and Concord in Obedience to the Policy of the Committee of Safety — Its Effect upon the Colonies — Intelligence sent to Great Britain — Its Effects there.

WE have seen the gradual developments of the oppressive policy of Great Britain which led to the American Revolution, and the measures adopted by the Colonies to resist those usurpations. We recur to this subject only for the purpose of inquiring into the intent of the Colonies in their opposition, and whether they actually aimed at independence. Every one proficient in the philosophy of the human mind and every attentive reader of history will readily admit that a fixed and permanent public opinion is of slow growth; and when this sentiment is directly repugnant to the sentiment which has before prevailed, it frequently has its origin in some startling event or crying evil. And however great the evil may be, the first effort generally is not to eradicate but to reform it, regarding it only as an abuse of something intrinsically valuable. But to oppose the evil with success, to awaken the public to its enormity, the strongest ground is taken in opposition; and principles are laid down, which, when fully carried out, will not only reform the abuse, but eradicate the thing abused.

This principle may be seen in the controversy between the Colonies and the mother country. Our patriot fathers had in the first instance no idea of a separation from the British Empire. They had established governments here which were comparatively free, and while the royal governors and officers appointed by the Crown conformed substantially to their wishes, the colonists were perfectly content to remain subject to Great Britain. Absolute independence was not at first aspired to or hardly dreamed of. But when Great Britain boldly asserted the right of Parliament to legislate for the Colonies "in all cases whatsoever," and this right was firmly denied by the colonists, an issue was made which, if carried to a final decision, must end in the utter subjugation or the abso-

lute independence of the Colonies. This must have been seen by the intelligent men on both sides; but mutually hoping and believing that the other would yield something, they both flattered themselves that the controversy would be settled without being carried to extremes.

The absolute independence of the Colonies was undoubtedly an idea of slow growth, especially in some minds. The proverbial loyalty of Britons, their attachment to British institutions, contributed to drive from their minds the thought of an entire separation from the parent country, and led them to appeal to the justice and humanity of Great Britain. But when their repeated petitions were answered only by repeated injuries, they began to balance in their minds the painful and uncertain struggle of a revolution and the disgraceful submission to unconstitutional and arbitrary exactions. That men of different temperaments should come to different conclusions was to be expected; and that those who saw that resistance must come should differ as to the time and manner of making the demonstration is much more natural.

But in this they were all agreed — that persuasion and supplication should first be tried, and that resistance to the laws should not be resorted to till all milder means had failed. Before the breaking-out of hostilities, the intelligent men of the country must have seen whither things were tending, that a collision of arms was inevitable, and that a war once begun must end in our independence or subjugation.

The master minds in Massachusetts, from their intimate acquaintance with public affairs, must have perceived, after the action of Parliament, in May, 1774, that a reconciliation was out of the question. The Regulating Act, as it was generally denominated, and the "Act for the more impartial administration of justice in the Province," virtually repealed the Charter of Massachusetts, and established a despotism. Connected as they were with the shutting-up of the Port of Boston and the military possession of the town, they presented the alternative of submitting to unlawful and oppressive measures or defending their rights at the point of the bayonet. The stern principles of the Puritans, developed, tried, and purified as they had been by ten years' controversy with the British Ministry in defence of what they held most dear, led them at once to decide this question. Uncondi-

tional submission was not to be tolerated and resistance became a mere question of manner and of time.

Samuel Adams and Joseph Hawley, the controlling minds in eastern and western Massachusetts, foresaw the result, and employed all their powers to prepare the people for the crisis. Their zeal, however, was strictly according to knowledge. Being sensible that Massachusetts could not contend single-handed and alone with the gigantic power of Great Britain, their great object was to enlist the other Colonies in the cause. Knowing that any hasty or premature step on the part of this Colony might repel their distant brethren who felt less keenly the iron heel of oppression, they counselled moderation and forbearance; but at the same time they labored to the utmost to put the Colony in the best state of defence, that it might be prepared for the crisis which they foresaw was approaching.

Some persons appear to have regarded the events of April 19, 1775, as merely accidental, producing an open rupture which a little prudence might have avoided; and to have supposed that up to that time the controversy might have been settled, as our fathers had not aspired to independence. Our own distinguished historian seems to be of this opinion. Speaking of the people as late as May, 1774, he says, "They were rushing towards revolution, *and they knew it not.*"¹ Again, speaking of the Suffolk Convention of that day, he says, "Thus far, they had not discovered that independence was really the desire of their own hearts."² Such ignorance of the real state of affairs at that period might perhaps be ascribed to some men in the community; but could not with any propriety be attributed to Samuel Adams and Dr. Warren — the very men who got up and guided that convention. As evidence that the people of the Colonies did not aspire to independence as late as October, 1774, our historian reverts to the fact that the Continental Congress, in their Address to the King, say, "We ask but for peace, liberty, and safety. Your royal authority over us, and our connection with Great Britain, we shall always support and maintain." He then

¹ Bancroft's History of the United States, Vol. VII, p. 22.

² *Ibid.*, p. 36. Mr. Bancroft seems to delight in surprising his readers by the sudden transition from one extreme to the other; and while in this way he is able to produce a striking *stage effect*, we are satisfied that the writer who follows nature and events just as they are developed, is a safer guide, though his page may be less dramatic. Lightning from a clear sky is a rare phenomenon.

adds, "But the best evidence of their sincerity is found in the measure (non-importation) which they recommended. Had independence been their object, they would have strained every nerve to increase their exports, and fill the country in return with manufactures and munitions which they required."¹

We admit that the Congress, in true diplomatic style, speak of their attachment to the person of the King and devotion to the parent country; but this was in an address in which they recount all their grievances, which they declare to be "too severe to be any longer tolerable," and which they entreat the Crown to remove. Nor can we see any evidence that they did not desire independence in their recommendation of non-intercourse, because a free importation, such as is suggested, would subject them to those very impost duties which were the primary cause of their dissatisfaction. Nor was this address to the King adopted until after they had resolved "That this Congress approve of the opposition of the inhabitants of Massachusetts-Bay to the execution of the late Acts of Parliament; and if the same shall be attempted to be carried into execution by force, in such a case, *all America ought to support them in their opposition.*"

The same Congress, in their Declaration of Rights, laid down principles which, if adhered to, must of necessity bring them into collision with Great Britain, unless she retraced her steps by repealing her obnoxious Acts and withdrawing her troops from the Colonies. Resolutions unanimously passed declared in substance that taxes could not be imposed upon them or troops quartered among them without their consent; that they held their rights by the English Constitution and their Charters, and that *America cannot submit* to an invasion of her rights.

The leading men, especially in Massachusetts, where the development of tyranny was the most perfect, were fully sensible, during the year 1774, that an open rupture would ensue; though, from prudential considerations, they did not make this public avowal. They knew that the first collision in arms would be the signal for a war which must eventuate in the absolute independence or the utter subjugation of the Colonies. Knowing that Massachusetts was marked as the first victim, and that this Colony, unaided and alone, could not

¹ Bancroft's History of the United States, Vol. vii, p. 150.

hope for success in a contest with one of the mightiest powers of the earth, their first effort was to enlist the other Colonies in the cause. Consequently they bore and forbore, knowing that the other Colonies which had in a less degree felt the weight of British oppression were not equally prepared with themselves to make an appeal to the God of battles. Their great object was to impress their brethren in the other Colonies with the important fact that Massachusetts was suffering in the cause of American freedom, and that the blow aimed at the patriotic town of Boston was, in truth, aimed at Massachusetts, and through her at the other Colonies. They assured their brethren elsewhere that this Colony would act with prudence and moderation, so that the other Colonies, which had the same interest at stake with themselves, should not be involved in any new difficulties through their rashness.

This policy is manifest from the correspondence of that day. When the inhabitants of Boston were reduced to the greatest distress by the operation of the Boston Port Bill, and the people at a distance with a liberal hand contributed to their necessities, the voice which went out from Boston in grateful acknowledgments breathed this wise, cautious, and patriotic spirit: "We are greatly distressed; but we rejoice that we are suffering in a *common cause*; and while we are thus sustained by your sympathy and munificence, we are resolved to stand firm in defence of those rights which are the common inheritance of all the American Colonies." But in the midst of these assurances the idea is frequently presented that war must ultimately ensue, unless their grievances are redressed.

Writing to the Committee of Preston, Connecticut, under date of August 24, 1774, Dr. Warren says, "If non-intercourse with Great Britain should fail, and we should be obliged to seek redress in the way you hint (by arms), we flatter ourselves that we shall act like men, and merit the approbation of all America." On the 27th, to the Committee of Norwich, he says, "If this should fail, we must have recourse to the *last resort*."

Samuel Adams, whose foresight enabled him to perceive the inevitable issue of the contest, with characteristic caution says, in writing to the Committee of Westmoreland, Virginia, in March, 1775: "The people of Boston bear repeated insults of the grossest kind, not from want of the feelings of just

resentment, or spirit enough to make ample returns, but from principles of sound policy and reason. Put your enemy in the wrong, and keep him so, is a wise maxim in politics as well as in war. They had rather forego the gratification of revenging affronts and indignities than prejudice that all-important cause which they have so much at heart, by precipitating a crisis. When they are pushed by clear necessity for the defence of their liberties to the trial of arms, I trust in God, they will convince their friends and their enemies of their military skill and valor. . . . *They are daily preparing for it.*"

Such intimations, cautiously expressed, show in the clearest manner the expectations of those patriots; and when they were writing more privately to particular friends, they expressed their convictions more fully. Dr. Warren, in a letter to Josiah Quincy, Jr., Esq., then in London, dated November 21, 1774, employs this language: "It is the united voice of America to preserve their freedom or lose their lives in defence of it. Their resolutions are not the effects of inconsiderate rashness, but the sound result of sober inquiry and deliberation. I am convinced that the true spirit of liberty was never so universally diffused through all ranks and orders of people in any country on the face of the earth, as it now is through all North America." In a letter to Arthur Lee, then in London, dated February 20, 1775, he says: "It is truly astonishing that the administration should have a doubt of the resolution of the Americans to make the *last appeal*, rather than submit to wear the yoke prepared for their necks." Again, under date of April 3, 1775, he says: "America must and will be free. The contest may be severe, the end will be glorious. But we mean not to make that appeal, until we can be justified in doing it in the sight of God and man."

Nor was Warren alone in entertaining these views. Samuel Adams had long seen the result of this misunderstanding, and in writing to Arthur Lee, our agent at London, on the 14th of February, 1775, he says: "Our safety depends upon our being in readiness for the extreme event. Of this the people here are thoroughly sensible; and from the preparations they are making, I trust in God that they will defend their liberties with dignity." This ardent patriot was so devoted to liberty, that he said in the fulness of his heart: "I would advise persisting in our struggle for liberty, though it were revealed from heaven that nine hundred and ninety-nine were to per-

ish, and only one of a thousand survive and retain his liberty. One such freeman must possess more virtue and enjoy more happiness than a thousand slaves; and let him propagate his like and transmit to them what he had so nobly preserved." With such views and feelings, it is no wonder that Samuel Adams could exclaim on the morning of the 19th of April, 1775, on hearing the discharge of British muskets, "What a glorious morning for America is this!"

Joseph Hawley, of Northampton, the leading patriot in the western part of the State, in the summer of 1774 wrote: "*We must fight*; we must fight, if we cannot otherwise rid ourselves of British taxation. Fight we must finally, unless Britain retreats." When Patrick Henry read the prophetic words of Hawley, "**WE MUST FIGHT**," calling God to witness, he exclaimed, "I am of that man's mind."

Public bodies of men as well as individuals gave unmistakable evidence that they foresaw the result. The Middlesex Convention, as we have already seen, as early as August, 1774, declared in sentiment that God and the world would justify resistance, and he could not die too soon who laid down his life for his country. The first Provincial Congress of Massachusetts did more than express an opinion that public resistance should be made to the King's troops. They took the most decisive measures in their power to be prepared for that event. They provided arms and military stores, recommended the organizing and training of the militia — measures which looked directly to a resistance of the Acts of Parliament and a conflict with the King's troops. And to give force and efficiency to these measures, they created a Committee of Safety, clothed them with full executive power, giving them express authority to call out the militia and minute-men for the defence of life, liberty, and property, whenever the case should require it, and elected general officers to command the troops that might be called out.

Such were the opinions expressed, the resolutions adopted, and the measures taken by the people of this Province, long before the 19th of April, 1775. It was not the Battle of Lexington that gave rise to the Revolution. The real causes were deeper and more remote than the marching of the King's troops from Boston. Nor was the breaking-out of the Revolution in any proper sense adventitious. It was accidental that it occurred on that particular day, and at that particular

place, and under those particular circumstances. But the oppressive Acts of Parliament and the firm and determined spirit of resistance on the part of the colonists were sure to lead to a collision. If it had not occurred at that time and place, it would at some other. The same spirit which actuated the people of Lexington filled the whole community; and all who took arms that day only obeyed the public voice, and carried into effect what had been resolved upon by the Provincial Congress and by almost every town in the Province. When Captain Parker at Lexington and Major Buttrick at Concord ordered their men "to load their pieces, but not to fire unless they were fired upon," they obeyed the orders of the Committee of Safety, just as truly as though that Committee had been upon the field and given the command in person. Though the men who appeared in arms on that day acted in one sense on their own responsibility, they nevertheless acted in obedience to a firmly fixed public sentiment, which surrounded every man like the atmosphere, and which exerted a controlling influence in every part of the Province. But those who were the first actors in the opening scene of that eventful drama, in all probability had influences more direct and orders more immediate than the controlling sentiment above alluded to. Hancock, the Chairman of the Committee of Safety, had been stopping some days in Lexington. The Provincial Congress of which he was President, and which had been sitting at Concord, adjourned on the 15th; the Committee of Safety were in session at Concord on the 17th; and he returned to Lexington, as was his custom, the same evening, where he was in consultation with that ardent patriot Rev. Jonas Clarke, and with Samuel Adams, who was also stopping at Mr. Clarke's house. They were there during the 18th; and in consequence of the fact that several British officers had passed up the road towards Concord late in the afternoon, apprehension was felt for the safety of Hancock and Adams, whose arrest had been publicly rumored. Fearing that these officers intended to return late at night and seize Hancock and Adams, Captain Parker detailed a portion of his company to guard Mr. Clarke's house, where they were lodging. The movement of the British troops from Boston was communicated to Hancock and Adams by messengers sent by Dr. Warren, who arrived at Lexington at twelve o'clock at night; whereupon Captain Parker called his com-

pany together. About two o'clock they met and the roll was called on the Common, within hailing distance of Hancock's lodgings.

Under these circumstances it is morally certain that Captain Parker came into direct contact with Hancock, and unquestionably took his advice, or *orders*, as to the course he should pursue. This is the more obvious from the well-established fact that at first Hancock resolved to join the company, and it was not until after much persuasion from Mr. Adams that he desisted. In matters of detail the gallant Parker acted on his own responsibility, but on the subject of general policy, he must have known the wishes, designs, and as it were the orders of the Committee of Safety, which was the only commander-in-chief then recognized by the military.

The same is undoubtedly true of the operations at Concord. Colonel Barrett was a member of the Provincial Congress which had been in session at Concord as late as the 15th, and must have known perfectly the policy of that body: and the Committee of Safety, on the 17th, voted that Colonel Barrett be desired to raise a company of artillery. The communication of this vote and the precautions taken to secure the military stores entrusted to Colonel Barrett would bring him into close connection with the Committee of Safety; hence his course would be guided by the policy they had adopted. The acts of that day, which have often been regarded as the result of mere accident, were in fact the carrying-out of a policy dictated and enjoined by the only commander-in-chief known and recognized by the people.

The history of the world does not present a more grand and imposing spectacle than that of the rising of the people on the 19th of April, 1775. It was not a restless population, gathered by blind impulse, without definite motive or design; not a hired soldiery, organized by some bold and daring leader, to avenge some personal wrong, or to embark upon some mad scheme of conquest, in which the perils they bore would be repaid by plunder; nor was it a people goaded to desperation, or reduced to the last stages of despair by the iron heel of despotism, making their last mighty effort to throw off the yoke they could no longer endure; but it was a cool, voluntary rising of a sedate and orderly, an intelligent and conscientious people who knew their rights and "knowing, dared maintain them" — a people bred to the right of private judgment and

the equality of men; and who, seeing in their religious creed the great principles of civil as well as religious liberty, were determined to defend them whenever invaded or whoever might be the aggressor. It was the spontaneous rising of a people who felt that they were set for the defence of American liberty, and were ready to offer their bodies a living sacrifice in the cause. They realized that they were acting, not for themselves alone, but for those who should come after them, and that they would be false to their great mission should they tamely surrender rights which God in his Providence held out to them and their posterity. They knew that the promptings of their own hearts were in perfect accordance with the sentiments of the Provincial Congress, and that the only acknowledged Executive would approve their acts.

They had no thirst for military glory; nor did they rally under any invincible chieftain whose presence inspired courage and whose previous success gave assurance of victory. Neither could they rely on that perfection of discipline and those improvements in the implements of war which insure success on the ensanguined field. In all these respects, they knew that the advantage was greatly on the side of the oppressor. But their faith in the righteousness of their cause nerved their arms, and their trust in the Lord of hosts gave them confidence. They felt that they had a solemn duty to perform, and they must do it — a sacred trust to keep, and they must be faithful, whatever might be the immediate consequences.

The tidings of the Battle of Lexington spread with great rapidity and brought upon the ground troops from a distance of twenty miles. Others much more remote left their homes on the receipt of the news and marched towards the scene of action.¹ A considerable force was assembled at Cambridge, Charlestown, and other places in the immediate vicinity of Boston, on the evening of that day. General Heath, who joined the Americans at Lexington, took command of the troops, and continued the superior officer till the afternoon of the 20th, when he was superseded by General Ward. "At the first council of war on the 20th," says Frothingham, "there were present Generals Ward, Heath, and Thomas; Colonels Bridge, Frye, James Prescott, William Prescott, Bullard, and

¹ See E. Chase, *Beginnings of the American Revolution*, Vol. III, Chap. VII, for details of an interesting character. *Ed.*

Barrett; and Lieutenant-Colonels Spaulding, Nixon, Whitney, Mansfield, and Wheelock." They were soon joined by General Putnam and Colonel Stark.

Expresses were sent forth in every direction, and considering the state of the roads at that day, it is remarkable that intelligence could have reached distant places in so short a time; especially as there could have been no arrangement beforehand. The intelligence reached Newburyport at 12 M., on the 19th, and Portsmouth, New Hampshire, early on the morning of the 20th. The tidings of the Lexington Battle reached Worcester before noon on the 19th; Newport, Rhode Island, on the 20th; Fairfield, Connecticut, at 8 A.M., on the 22d; New York at 12 M., on the 23d; Philadelphia at 12 M., on the 26th;¹ Baltimore at 10 A.M., on the 27th; Frederick, Virginia, at 4 P.M., on the 30th; Beaufort, North Carolina, on the 6th of May; Wilmington on the 8th, and Savannah, Georgia, on the 10th.

The cautious and prudent policy pursued by the patriots of Massachusetts had in a good degree enlisted the sympathy of the other Colonies; so that on hearing of the outrage at Lexington, they were prepared at once to embark in her cause. New Hampshire, Connecticut, and Rhode Island, already trained in the school of Adams and Hancock, rushed to arms on hearing of the attack of the King's troops, and under their respective commanders appeared in the vicinity of Boston, ready to encounter the common enemy, if he should attempt another excursion into the country. Other and more distant Colonies, which had hesitated before, responded to the calls of patriotism. The blood spilt at Lexington and Concord, like that of the righteous Abel, cried from the ground for redress.

New York, which had been held back by her Assembly, which had, as late as February, 1775, refused to elect delegates to the General Congress, was roused by the slaughter of her countrymen; and the people, rising superior to the Royal Assembly, pledged themselves to the cause of freedom. New Jersey, whose position had been rather doubtful, was now willing to risk life and fortune in support of Massachusetts,

¹ This and the following dates refer to the official account sent by the Committees of Correspondence. News actually reached Philadelphia on the evening of April 23 (see Chase, *Beginnings of the American Revolution*, Vol. III, p. 300), and must have reached the cities later named at an earlier date than given by Mr. Hudson. *Ed.*

and to abide the decision of the Continental Congress. Pennsylvania, whose distracted councils had been a subject of great anxiety to the friends of liberty throughout the Colonies, caught the fire; and though a portion of her people clung to the delusive hope of a reconciliation with Great Britain, the voice of her patriots was distinct for resistance, and thousands agreed "to associate together for the purpose of defending with arms their lives, property, and liberty." Little Delaware was not behind the larger Colonies in her devotion to freedom. Maryland felt the impulse, but leaned a little in the first instance to the side of reconciliation.

The cry from Lexington met a hearty response from the Old Dominion. The patriotic ardor of Patrick Henry and the cool dispassion of James Madison regarded the blow struck in Massachusetts as a hostile attack upon every Colony and a sufficient cause for reprisals. To these sentiments the people of Virginia gave their cordial assent.

Nor did the Colonies more remote feel indifferent to the events which had occurred. On the very night after receiving the news, the patriots of Charleston, South Carolina, took possession of the royal arsenal and distributed twelve hundred stands of arms, that the citizens might be in a condition to defend their rights. The Provincial Congress of that gallant State adopted measures preparatory to the contest, and declared themselves "ready to sacrifice their lives and fortunes to secure their freedom and safety." Such was the zeal and enthusiasm of the people of that Colony that General Gage declared "that the people of Charleston were as mad as they are here in Boston."

The infant Colony of Georgia was not behind her sister Colonies. On the receipt of the intelligence of the attack of the King's troops, the gallant people of Savannah broke open the royal magazine and appropriated to their own use over five hundred pounds of powder. And though the people of that Colony were few in numbers, and were surrounded by powerful tribes of hostile savages, they sent supplies to Boston in token of their approbation of her gallantry and patriotism in standing firm in defence of the rights of the Colonies.

Thus did the Battle of Lexington awaken the sympathy of the colonists, and in a good degree unite them in one common cause. Thousands who had been fondly brooding over the delusive idea of a reconciliation, now saw that entreaty was

fruitless, and that they must submit unconditionally or vindicate their rights by the sword. And though the timid feared and the prudent hesitated, though the men in power clung to the places which gave them their living, and those who aspired at place were unwilling to impair their prospects of preferment, the leading patriots of the country and the great mass of the people were ready for the last appeal, and saw safety only in a triumph in the field.

Not only did the cities and large towns manifest their indignation at the barbarity of the British troops, but the people in the rural districts, where the love of liberty is always strong, vied with the more populous places in showing their readiness to peril all in freedom's sacred cause. Wherever the fact of open resistance was known, the people showed that they were ready to flock to the standard of freedom, and to prosper or perish in her cause. Not only in the log huts beyond the mountains, but farther in the wilderness, where no huts had been erected, did the echoes of freedom resound. The hardy hunters of Kentucky, wandering in the beautiful valley of the Elkhorn, on the reception of the news, celebrated the victory, and in honor of the birthplace of American liberty, gave to the place of their encampment the name of **LEXINGTON** — a name which it bears to the present day.

Nor did the thrilling appeal die on their shores. The sound crossed the Atlantic; and while the deluded Ministry were dreaming over the subjugation of the rebellious Province of Massachusetts Bay, they were startled from their slumbers by intelligence that His Majesty's veteran troops in America had been baffled, routed, and driven like sheep by the undisciplined rebels, whom they had been taught to regard as braggarts and to despise as cowards.¹

The patriots of Massachusetts deemed it important to obtain a reliable account of the events of the 19th of April; accordingly on the 22d of April, the Provincial Congress, being in session at Watertown, —

“Ordered that Mr. Gerry, Colonel Cushing, Colonel Barrett, Captain Stone, Dr. Taylor, Mr. Sullivan, Mr. Freeman, Mr. Watson, and Esquire Dix, be a Committee to take depositions *in perpetuam*, from which a full account of the transactions of the troops,

¹ See Force's Archives, Vol. ix, 4th Series; also Walpole's Letters, Vol. ix, pp. 208-09; and the London press comments, quoted in Chase, *Beginnings of the American Revolution*, Vol. iii, Chap. ix. *Ed.*

Livingston, N.Y. April 23, 1875.

John Parker of lawful age, and commander of
the militia in Livingston, do testify and declare
that on the 12th of April 1875



under General Gage, in their route to and from Concord, &c., on Wednesday last, may be collected, to be sent to England by the first ship from Salem."

On the day following, Dr. Church, Mr. Gerry, and Mr. Cushing were appointed a Committee "to draw up a narrative of the Massacre." The Committee on Depositions held session the 23d and 25th of April, at Concord and Lexington, and took a large number of affidavits. On the day following, the President, Dr. Taylor, Mr. Freeman, Mr. H. Gardner, and Colonel Stone were appointed to prepare a letter to our agent in London, Dr. Franklin. The Committee reported the same day the draught of a letter, urging our agent in England to cause the depositions and the Address to the inhabitants of Great Britain, giving an account of the events of the 19th of April, "to be immediately printed and dispersed through every town in England, and especially to be communicated to the Lord Mayor, Aldermen and Council of the City of London, that they may take such order thereon as they may think proper."

In the Address to the inhabitants of Great Britain, after giving a brief account of the march of the King's troops, they say: —

"To give a particular account of the ravages of the troops, as they retreated from Concord to Charlestown, would be very difficult, if not impracticable. Let it suffice to say, that a great number of houses on the road were plundered and rendered unfit for use; several were burnt; women, in childbed, were driven by the soldiery, naked into the streets; old men peaceably in their houses, were shot dead, and such scenes exhibited as would disgrace the annals of the uncivilized nations.

"These, brethren, are the marks of Ministerial vengeance against this Colony, for refusing, with her sister Colonies, submission to slavery; but they have not detached us from our royal sovereign. We profess to be his loyal and dutiful subjects, and so hardly dealt with as we have been, are still ready with our lives and fortunes to defend his person, family, crown and dignity.¹ Nevertheless to the persecution and tyranny of his cruel Ministry, we will not tamely

¹ It may appear singular that they should express such devotion to the Crown, while they express their abhorrence of slavery, and determination to be free. This is explained partly by the popular language of monarchy, and partly by the general views they had always maintained. The popular language of monarchy is that the King can do no wrong. If a wrong is done, it is charged upon the Ministry; and the King by changing his Ministers, removed the evil. Our fathers from courtesy and

submit. Appealing to Heaven for the justice of our cause, we determine to die or be free."

The Committee of Safety was directed to forward the papers to England at the earliest practicable moment. They agreed with the Hon. Richard Derby, of Salem, to fit out a vessel as a packet. The order to Captain Derby was as follows:—

"In the Committee of Safety, April 27, 1775. *Resolved*, That Captain Derby be directed, and he hereby is directed, to make for Dublin or any other good port in Ireland, and from thence to cross to Scotland or England, and hasten to London. This direction is given, that so he may escape all enemies that may be in the chops of the channel, to stop the communication of the Provincial intelligence to the agent. He will, forthwith, deliver his papers to the agent on reaching London.

"J. WARREN, *Chairman*.

"P. S. — You are to keep this order a profound secret from every person on earth."

Captain Derby with these documents, and with copies of the Salem Gazette, which contained an account of the battle, arrived in London on the 29th of May. On the day following, the Address was printed and circulated, giving the first intelligence of the Battle of Lexington to the people of Great Britain. The Ministry were astounded. They had fondly anticipated that the recent measures of Parliament and the increase of the King's troops in Boston would bring the rebels to submission; that the first display of the royal regiments in arms would frighten the "rude rabble" in Massachusetts and put to flight all the undisciplined stragglers they could bring into the field. What, then, must have been their astonishment, what their mortification, on hearing that the veteran from policy, in addressing the inhabitants of Great Britain, would adopt the respectful language of the empire.

They would also be inclined to employ this courtly language, from the views they had from the first maintained. Their theory had always been that they held their Charter by a grant from the Crown; and that to the Crown alone they owed allegiance. From the very first, they denied the power of Parliament. Their argument was that Parliament has power over, or rather can legislate for its constituents; but that the American Colonies, not being represented in Parliament, were never subject to its laws. So that in their Address to the people of England, they but carried out the previous doctrine, that they owed allegiance to the Crown, while they denied the power of Parliament and detested the oppression of the Ministry. This view of the subject casts light upon the Declaration of Independence, which is a renunciation of allegiance, not to Parliament, which they never admitted, but to the King whose authority they had allowed.

troops of England had been put to an inglorious flight by the sudden rising of the country people without leaders; and that the army in which they had reposed so much confidence, and which was to awe America into submission, had been driven to its entrenchments and was closely besieged in the limited peninsula of Boston! The effect produced by the intelligence is thus described in a letter from London, dated June 1, 1775:—

“This great city was agitated to its centre. The friends of America rejoiced at the noble victory of the Bostonians, and its enemies were abashed at their courage. The news flew rapidly, and soon caught the ear of the unwise and deluded King. The Administration were alarmed at the unexpected success of the Provincials, and were at a loss what lies to fabricate, which would destroy the force of the gratifications which accompanied the intelligence. Runners were sent to every part of the city, who were authorized to deny the authenticity of the facts; and so distressed was the Government that they officially requested a suspension of belief, until dispatches were received from General Gage.”

Having no intelligence from General Gage, the Ministry issued the following card:—

“SECRETARY OF STATE'S OFFICE, WHITEHALL, May 30, 1775.

“A report having been spread, and an account having been printed and published, of a skirmish between some of the people in the Province of Massachusetts Bay, and a detachment of His Majesty's troops, it is proper to inform the public, that no advices have as yet been received in the American Department of any such event.

“There is reason to believe that there are dispatches from Gen. Gage on board the *Sukey*, Captain Brown, which, though she sailed four days before the vessel that brought the printed account, is not yet arrived.”

On the appearance of this card Arthur Lee immediately issued the following note:—

“*To the Public.*

“As a doubt of the authenticity of the account from Salem, touching an engagement between the King's troops and the Provincials in Massachusetts Bay, may arise from a paragraph in the Gazette of this evening, I desire to inform all those who wish to see the original affidavits which confirm that account, that they are

deposited at the Mansion House with the right hon. the Lord Mayor, for their inspection.

"ARTHUR LEE,"

"Agent for the House of Representatives of Massachusetts Bay."

General Gage's dispatches arrived in London on the 10th of June, which, instead of allaying, rather increased the excitement. For though his account differed from the American account as to the commencement of hostilities, in all other respects the two accounts substantially agreed. He virtually admitted that the expedition was a failure, and that the flower of his army, consisting of nearly two thousand men, had been harassed and actually driven fifteen miles with a loss of nearly three hundred in killed, wounded, and missing.

The account of the Ministry covering General Gage's dispatch was severely criticized in Great Britain. One writer says: —

"When the news of the massacre first arrived, the pensioned writer of the Gazette entreated the public 'to suspend their judgment, as the Government had received no tidings of the matter.' The public have suspended their judgment, and the humane part of mankind have wished that the fatal tale related by Captain Derby, might prove altogether fictitious. To the great grief of every thinking man, this is not the case. We are now in possession of both accounts."

After comparing them and showing that they agree in all important particulars, the writer adds: —

"The public have but to ponder on the melancholy truths thus attested by the Government. The sword of civil war is drawn, and if there is truth in heaven, the King's troops unsheathed it. Will the English nation much longer suffer their fellow subjects to be slaughtered? It is a shameful fallacy to talk of the supremacy of Parliament. It is the despotism of the Crown, and the slavery of the people, which the Ministry aim at. For refusing these attempts, and for that only, the Americans have been inhumanly murdered by the King's troops. *Englishmen*, weigh these things with deliberation; make the case your own. If the massacre of brethren will not make you open your eyes, they deserve to be forever shut against your welfare."

Another writer, alluding to the British account of the affair after Percy had joined Smith, says: —

"The Gazette tells us dryly that 'the rebels were for a time dis-

persed.' They were so dispersed, however, that as soon as the troops resumed their march (not their flight), they began again to fire upon them, and continued it during the whole fifteen miles march, 'by which means several hundred were killed and wounded.' If this was not a flight, and if Percy's activity was not in running away, I should be glad to know where were the flanking parties of this army on its march, with all this light infantry? Would any commanding officer suffer such an enemy to continue killing and wounding his troops from stone walls and houses, if it was not a defeat and flight? I think that when the military lend themselves to fight against the freedom of their fellow subjects, they deserve to be both disgraced and defeated.

"Take then the whole of this account as it stands, and to what does it amount, but that General Gage's army, having marched out of Boston in the night, was attacked by the militia, hastily assembled without a leader, and was driven back with the loss of sixty-five killed and one hundred and eighty wounded, and twenty-eight taken prisoners — making in all two hundred and seventy-three. In fact, this superiority does not arise from any difference between the English and the Americans, but from the one contending in the cause of tyranny, and the other in that of liberty. It has never entered into the hearts of these wretched Ministers and their tools, to feel or conceive the enthusiasm and valor which so good and noble a cause inspires."

There was, at the opening of the Revolution, a large class in Great Britain whose sympathies were in favor of America. Even the King's own brother, the weak but amiable Duke of Gloucester, is said to have had strong feelings in favor of the Colonies. Soon after the news of the collision at Lexington reached England, he took a tour in France; and at a public dinner, given in honor of the Duke, there was present a young Frenchman, not then eighteen years of age; he listened with avidity to the story of the uprising of the people of New England. And from that time America had a true friend in the person of Lafayette.¹

Several officers in the British army declined serving against their American brethren and threw up their commissions.²

¹ Bancroft.

² "At a meeting of the Livery of London, in Common Hall assembled, on Saturday, the 24th of June, it was 'Resolved that the Thanks of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen and Livery, in Common Hall assembled, be given to the Right Hon. the Earl of Effingham, for having, consistent with the Principles of a true Englishman, refused to draw that sword against the lives and liberties of his Fellow Subjects in America, which has hitherto been employed to the honour of his Country.'" Quoted in Chase's *Beginnings of the American Revolution*, Vol. III, p. 353. *Ed.*

Lord North, who at that day was here regarded as the implacable foe of America, but who was in fact averse to many of the measures of Parliament, on the breaking-out of hostilities desired to retire from the Ministry; but the King would neither accept his resignation nor relent towards America. The French Minister at the Court of England, who looked with peculiar interest into the affairs of the Colonies, wrote to his own Court: —

“The Americans display in their conduct, and even in their errors, more thought than enthusiasm, for they have shown in succession that they know how to argue, to negotiate, and to fight. All England is in a position from which she never can extricate herself. Either all rules are false, or the Americans will never again consent to become her subjects.”

On the 24th of June, the citizens of London voted an Address to the King, desiring him to consider the situation of his subjects in England, “who had nothing to expect from America but gazettes of blood, and mutual lists of slaughtered fellow-subjects.” And they prayed for a dissolution of Parliament, and a dismissal forever of the present Ministry.

The Society for Constitutional Information raised one hundred pounds, “to be applied to the relief of the widows, orphans, and aged parents of our beloved American fellow-subjects, who faithful to the character of Englishmen, preferring death to slavery, were for that reason only, inhumanly murdered by the King’s troops at Lexington and Concord.”

Thus did the events of the 19th of April, 1775, excite thrilling interest on both sides of the Atlantic. In America they aroused the patriotism of every Colony and united them in the great cause of human freedom. And in Europe the effect was equally great. It brought matters to an issue in the British Parliament, and taught the stupid and obstinate King and his lordly flatterers, that neither Acts of Parliament nor Orders in Council nor Edicts from the Throne could compel the submission of the colonists to the arbitrary acts of the Ministry. They saw that their only hope of success lay in the sword, which they had already drawn; and while they had the madness to believe that they should be able to subdue their Colonies, their formidable and sagacious rival, France, plainly saw that independence was the ultimate portion of the oppressed Colonies in America.

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 one of the king's troops travel
 half a mile
 to D. King's one of king's troops
 at Mr. Buckman in. Lexington
 travel half a mile
 Lexington June 6th 1777. James G. G. G.
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CHAPTER IX

FROM THE COMMENCEMENT TO THE CLOSE OF THE REVOLUTION

Captain Parker's Company called to Cambridge, on the 6th of May and the 17th of June — Quota of Men furnished by Lexington — Prices of Labor and Other Articles — Confederation — Attempts to form a State Constitution — Objections to the First Constitution — Ratified the Second Constitution with Proposed Amendments — Depreciation of the Currency — Efforts to raise the Quota of Men for the Army — Instructions of Representative relative to the Return of the Tories — People devoted to Law and Order.

THE events of the 19th of April, 1775, had spread a gloom over the town of Lexington. The loss of ten of her citizens on that eventful day and the fact that ten more were wounded, some of them severely, brought the horrors of war to their own doors. But their patriotism did not falter. They were not only willing to bear their own grief, but to do what they could to relieve the poor of Boston and Charlestown, who were driven from their homes into the adjacent country. Consequently a committee was chosen to assist the Selectmen "in taking care of the poor or suffering people that may come from the towns of Charlestown and Boston to this place." Nor was the gallant company of Captain Parker, which had suffered so severely on the 19th of April, to be driven from the field by the losses they had experienced or by any new dangers which should arise.

On the 6th of May, in consequence of an alarm at Cambridge, Captain Parker, with a detachment of forty-five of his company, repaired to the headquarters of the army, where they remained several days, guarding the lines to prevent any further excursions of the King's troops into the country. And on the memorable 17th of June of that year, when a portion of our militia were engaged with the enemy on Bunker Hill, the gallant Parker, with sixty-one of his company, responded to freedom's call and repaired to Cambridge; but they were deprived of the honor of participating in that struggle by being kept at Cambridge from an apprehension that the British might cross the river in their boats and attack

the American camp while so many of our troops were engaged at Charlestown.

The fact that this company was so prompt at every call of duty may be accounted for in part by the strict rules and regulations they adopted as early as 1773. The following is a paper in the handwriting of Edmund Munroe, containing the Rules and Regulations of the Lexington company of minute-men, under which they acted in 1775, found among the papers of the late Edmund Munroe, of Boston: —

"We, whose names are hereto subscribed, having agreed to associate ourselves together to improve ourselves in the art of Military, do agree and bind ourselves to the following rules, viz: —

"1. To choose a Captain, Lieutenant and Ensign once a year.

"2. To choose Sergeants and a Clerk once a year.

"3. To meet in order for discipline four times a year.

"4. We agree that every one of us absent, when the Roll is called, being duly warned, shall pay a fine of eight pence, unless a good excuse can be given to the satisfaction of the Company for his absence.

"5. That any person of the Company that shall interrupt the Captain or Commanding Officer, while under arms, by talking, laughing or any indecent behavior, shall pay a fine of three shillings.

"6. That if any person of the Company shall interrupt the clerk, when calling the Roll, or not answering when they are called, shall pay a fine of two shillings.

"7. That none shall enlist into said Company, if under age, without the consent of their parents or master.

"8. That if any refuse to pay a fine, when properly demanded, they shall be dismissed from the Company, forthwith.

"9. That any person desiring to be admitted into said Company, or dismissed therefrom, shall have a vote of the Company for the same.

"10. That all fines recovered of delinquents shall be applied to the sole use of the Company — paying the Clerk a reasonable sum for collecting the same.

"11. That the Captain, failing of his duty in not calling the Company together four times a year, and disciplining them three hours at each meeting, shall pay a fine of four shillings, unless he can give a reasonable excuse for the same to the satisfaction of the Company."

Such sound and wholesome rules, voluntarily adopted in times of peace, would hardly fail to make prompt and efficient soldiers in time of war.

During the winter of 1775-76, the town of Lexington, in response to a call from the Provincial Congress, furnished a large supply of wood and a quantity of hay for the army stationed at Winter Hill.

At a meeting of the inhabitants of Lexington, held March 18, 1776, the following persons "were chosen a Committee of Correspondence Inspection and Safety, Agreeable to a Resolve of the General Court: — Deacon Jonas Stone, Captain John Bridge, Lieutenant Edmund Munroe, Lieutenant Joseph Simonds, and Lieutenant Francis Brown."

At a meeting, called for the purpose, May 23, 1776, it was voted "to refer the Important Matter contained in a Resolve of the General Court; relating to the independency of the Colonies, to the Wisdom and prudence of that August Assembly the Honorable Continental Congress & strictly adhere to their resolutions & declaration about that Momentous affair: and that if the said Congress should for the safety of these Colonies declare them Independent of the Kingdom of Great Britain we stand ready with our Lives & fortunes to Support them in the Measure." By pledges like these, coming from almost every town and Colony, Congress was emboldened to put forth that immortal Declaration which marks an era in our history.

Lexington, having pledged herself to devote life and fortune to the cause of Independence, met the numerous calls made upon her with fidelity. In the first campaign of eight-months' men in 1775, she furnished twenty men; in the second campaign of the twelve-months' men, she furnished nineteen men; in the campaign to Ticonderoga in 1776, she furnished twenty-eight men; to White Plains the same year, thirteen men, and to the Jerseys, twenty-one men. In the following year she sent twenty-two men; besides these she furnished her full quota to the Continental army in the first instance, and among those who enlisted in 1780, for three years or during the war, Lexington furnished about thirty. We have in this place passed over those who served from two to six months at Cambridge, Dorchester, and Providence, because these will be treated of more fully in another chapter.

In July, 1776, the town voted the sum of £1 6s. 8d. as an additional bounty to every non-commissioned officer and private who should enlist from the town in the expedition to Canada.

In the unsettled state of things at the commencement of

the Revolution, it was all-important that public sentiment should be known, and that those who were entrusted with the management of public affairs should have some assurance that the people would stand by and sustain them in the bold measures which the crisis seemed to demand. Being sensible that our public men, whose position would expose them to the vengeance of Great Britain in case of the failure of our cause, took upon themselves a vast responsibility, the people in every part of the Province were willing to encourage their rulers, and assured them in advance that they would share with them the labors and dangers involved in the contest. By putting their names to solemn instruments, by covenanting with each other in a public manner, that they would resist the measures and the military forces of the common enemy of the Colonies and share the common fate of their brethren, a few patriotic citizens could do much to encourage their rulers and to confirm the wavering in their own neighborhood. The sturdy inhabitants of Lexington were willing to put their names to such an instrument, though it might prove their death-warrant.

The following instrument, signed by some of the leading citizens, declaring "before God and the world" that they would be true to the cause of liberty and to each other, does honor to the character and patriotism of our fathers, and may be regarded as their Declaration of Independence. The instrument was found among the papers of Captain Edmund Munroe, who fell at Monmouth in 1778. The spirit of the document and the original signatures of so many of Lexington's patriotic sons, render it worthy of preservation; — we give, as a curiosity, a facsimile of their signatures.

"COLONY OF MASSACHUSETTS BAY, 1776.

"We, the subscribers, do each of us severally for ourselves, profess, testify and declare before God and the world, that we verily believe that the war, resistance and opposition in which the United American Colonies are now engaged against the fleets and armies of Great Britain, is, on the part of the said Colonies, just and necessary. And we do hereby severally promise, covenant, and engage to and with every person of this Colony, who has or shall subscribe this declaration, or another of the same tenor and words, that we will not, during the said war, directly or indirectly, in any ways, aid, abet, or assist any of the naval or land forces of the king of Great Britain, or any employed by him, or supply them with any kind of provisions, military or naval stores, or hold any correspondence

with, or communicate any intelligence to any of the officers, soldiers or marines belonging to the said army or navy, or enlist or procure any others to enlist into the land or sea service of Great Britain, or take up or bear arms against this or either of the United Colonies, or undertake to pilot any of the vessels belonging to the said navy, or in any other way aid or assist them. But, on the contrary, according to our best power and abilities, will defend by arms the United American Colonies, and every part thereof, against every hostile attempt of the fleets and armies in the service of Great Britain, or any of them, according to the requirements and directions of the laws of this Colony, that now are, or may hereafter be provided for the regulation of the militia thereof."

Josiah Smitty Nehemiah Westbrook
 Thomas Parker Lemuel Cedarus
 John Chandler Joseph Simonds
 Philip Russell Daniel Harrington
 William Fidd Francis Brown
 Jonathan Smith John Simonds
 Hammon Reed Joshua Bond
 Jeremiah Crosby Edm^d Munro
 Sam^l Fidd Thos Fyfe
 Robert Reed
 Henry Harrington Tw Jonas Stone
 Joseph Fisk Jun^r Levi Mead
 Isaac Blodgett John Bridge
 Henry Harrington

But while the Colony of Massachusetts Bay was actively engaged in the war of the Revolution, and was shedding her blood freely on almost every battle-field in the country, she felt, in a serious manner, the want of a more efficient government; and hence the General Court submitted to the towns the question, whether they should be empowered to form a constitution of government. When this subject was brought before the inhabitants of Lexington, they chose a committee, who, at an adjourned meeting, held October 21, 1776, submitted the following able and patriotic report, which was adopted unanimously: —

“That always desirous of being impressed with the just Sentiments of the Wisdom Integrity & Fidelity of so respectable a Body as the Honorable House of Representatives of the State in the high Department assigned them by their Constituents, it is with the most peculiar Anxiety, we find ourselves Obligated in Faithfulness to Ourselves and Posterity, to withhold a Cheerful Compliance with any Resolve or Proposal of theirs, as we are constrained to do upon the Question before us, by the following Considerations, which to us (at least) appear interesting and important.

“1. It appears to us that as all Government Originates from the People and the Great End of Government is their Peace, Safety & Happiness, so it is with the People at large, or where that is Impracticable, by their Representatives freely and equally elected and empowered for that Purpose, to form and agree on a Constitution of Government, which being considered and approved by the Body of the People, may be enacted, ratified & established.

“2. That the present House of Representatives were not elected for the Purpose of agreeing upon, & enacting a Constitution of Government for this State, neither had their Constituents the least Intimation of anything of this Kind in the Precepts upon which they were elected, and therefore, the proposing themselves to the People and asking their Consent as Candidates for this Service appears to us to be a Clog to that Freedom of Election, which Ought always to be exercised by a Free People in Matters of Importance more especially in an affair of Such lasting Concernment as this.

“3. That no Provision is made in the Resolve for those Towns which have not chosen so many Representatives as they have a Right to Send, to Chuse others to Compleat their Number upon this Important Occasion, by which it may happen, not through the Neglect of the People, but for want of Opportunity, the Representation may be Unequal.

“4. That in Case we do not see our way clear to Consent as proposed in the Question before us, it does not appear that any Provis-

ion is made in the Resolve for our having any Voice at all in the Matter, as Our Representative will not be Considered as Impowered by his Constituents for this Purpose.

"5. That it is greatly to be feared, if the Proposal in the Resolve is complied with by the People of this State, upon this most Interesting occasion, it will be pleaded as an established Precedent in all Future Time, for the Decency & Propriety of Persons Offering themselves Candidates for the Election of the people, to Offices of Trust and Importance, a Practice which hath always been held by the Judicious & Virtuous, dangerous to the Liberties of a People, and a Practice by which corrupt & designing Men in every Age, have too often Availed themselves of Places of Power & Authority to the great disadvantage of those that elected them, if not to the gross Violation of their most Sacred Rights.

"6. Lastly that though the Resolve give us to expect a Publication of the proposed Form of Government for the perusal of the Inhabitants before the Ratification of the same; Yet it does not Appear from thence, that there is any just Provision made for the Inhabitants as Towns or Societies to express their Approbation or the Contrary, in Order to such Ratification by the Assembly.

"For these Obvious Reasons therefore, we cannot see our Way clear to comply with the Proposal of the Honorable House of Representatives in the Question before Us.

"*Voted & resolved* that as our former Constitution (the Charter) is at an End, and a New Constitution of Government, as soon as may be is absolutely Necessary, if not to the Being, Yet to the well-being of this State, and as the present General Court are considered as the Eyes of the People, and the Guardians as well as Watchmen of the State it be most earnestly recommended to our Worthy Representative, and that He hereby is Instructed to Use his utmost Endeavors and Influence, that either by Precepts for a New Assembly, impowered for this Purpose, or by Special Notification for the Choice of Persons for the express Purpose of Forming a New Constitution; or in any other way which their Wisdom may direct, Consistent with the Liberties of the People, Measures may be taken to give the People an Opportunity to carry this Matter to Effect, and as soon as may be, consistent with the Exigency of the Public Affairs, freely to give their Votes for Such Persons as they judge will best serve the Public, themselves, and Posterity, in a Concernment of so great Importance to the Present & all succeeding Generations."

No one can read this document without seeing the patriotism and prudence of the writer and those who adopted this report. They were patriots, jealous of their rights, and determined to guard them, not only against the encroachments of

a foreign foe, but also against all ambitious and designing men that might spring up among themselves. The patriot priest was too well versed in the history of the past to suffer any dangerous practice to grow into precedent, and thereby jeopardize in any degree the rights and liberties of the people.

In March, 1777, when the duties imposed upon these officers were arduous and responsible, in consequence of the peculiar situation of affairs, Daniel Harrington, Josiah Smith, Thomas Parker, Joshua Reed, and Philip Russell were chosen Selectmen, and Deacon Benjamin Brown, John Parkhurst, Captain Francis Brown, Daniel Harrington, and Amos Muzzy were chosen a Committee of Correspondence, Inspection, and Safety.

At the same meeting a committee was chosen "to Compute the Cost of a Suitable & Decent Monument to Set over the Grave of Our Brethren in this Town, who fell the first Victims to British Tyranny, on the Morning of the 19th Day of April, 1775, and make a Report at May Meeting."

During the year 1777, the attention of the town was directed to the subject of raising its quotas of men for the different campaigns, and especially to the cost of the campaigns; also to what was more difficult than raising men, namely, providing means to pay them. They also chose Deacon Jonas Stone, Representative, and gave him full power to act in the formation of a State Constitution.

The Continental Congress, having formed Articles for the Confederation of the States, submitted them to the States, and the States to the people. At a meeting held January 5, 1778, a committee was chosen to consider and report upon the subject. At the adjourned meeting, held on the 12th of January, they reported that the Representative be instructed to vote for the ratification of those Articles; at the same time they expressed a strong desire that there might be some amendment adopted by which alterations may be proposed to them by the people.

In the midst of the trials and sufferings which naturally fell upon the brave and patriotic men who were fighting the battles of their country, they had from time to time some testimonials, showing that they were not forgotten by their brethren who were at home. At a meeting of the inhabitants of the town, March 10, 1778, the following vote was passed:—

"That Our Brethren of this Town in the Continental, be forth-with Supplied each of them with One Good pair of Shoes made of Neats Leather, One Good pair of Stockings and a Good Shirt made of Cotton & linnen, to be Given to them free of Charge, and paid for by the Town."

We have already seen that an effort was being made to form a constitution of government, for the safety and well-being of the State; and that the people of Lexington had empowered their Representative to act on the subject. A constitution was formed and submitted to the people. In Lexington the subject was referred to a committee of the most prominent citizens, — the result of which was to draw from the Rev. Mr. Clarke another of his valuable papers on the subject of civil government, which may be read with profit at the present day: —

"The Freemen of the Town of Lexington, having upon Mature Consideration Voted that they do not Approve of the Constitution and Form of Government, sent out by the late Honorable Convention to the Inhabitants of this State for their Approbation, or Disapprobation, cannot look upon it improper to Suggest some Reasons why they could not chearfully Accept of said Constitution and Form of Government, as calculated to Answer the important Ends proposed.

"Accordingly it may be Observed, That it appears to Us That in immerging from a State of Nature, into a State of well regulated Society, Mankind give up some of their natural Rights, in order that others of Greater Importance to their Well-being Safety & Happiness both as Societies and Individuals might be the better enjoyed Secured & defended: That a Civil Constitution or Form of Government is of the Nature of a most Sacred Covenant, or Contract, entered into by the Individuals which form the Society, for which such Constitution or Form of Government is intended, whereby they mutually and Solemnly engage to Support and defend each other, in the Enjoyment of those Rights which they mean to retain: — That the main & Great End of establishing any Constitution or Form of Government among a People or in Society, is to maintain, secure and defend those retained Rights inviolate: And Consequently, That it is of the highest Importance, both to the Public Peace and Utility and to the Safety and Security of Individuals, that said Rights intended to be retained, at least those that are fundamental to the Well being of Society & the Liberty & Safety of Individuals, should be in the most explicit Terms declared: — And that not only that Government and Persons in Authority might know their stated Limits & Bounds; but also that

Subjects and all Members of such Society might know when their Rights & Liberties are infringed or Violated; And have some known & established Standard to which they might with becoming Confidence Appeal for the Redress of Grievances & oppressions, whether real or supposed: and we must readily acknowledge, That the total Omission of a Declaration of Rights of this Kind, is no small Objection to the Constitution before Us.

"Next to a Declaration of Rights, it is humbly conceived, That equality of Representation, is of the Greatest Importance to the Preservation of the Liberties of the Subject, and the Peace & safety of Society. But we cannot think that the Provision made in this Form of Government is adequate to this Purpose. And we are of Opinion that it is not without Ground to be feared that through the Imperfections of Mankind in some Future Times, small Towns may become an easy Prey to the corrupt influence of designing Men to the no small Danger of the Public Tranquillity, as well the Liberties of the People: As hath been frequently & Notoriously the Fact in England and many other States.

"A Rotation in the Members in the Supreme Council of a Nation, & the Legislative Body of a State (even where such are Elective) hath been frequently Suggested & earnestly recommended, by the best Writers on Policy & Government, and by Practice & Experience found to be a Powerful Check to the Arts & Schemes of Ambitious & designing Men, and a Means under Providence of pralonging the Liberty Safety & Tranquility of Such States & Commonwealths as have adopted it: Of this the Commonwealth of Rome was a Striking Instance; where no Citizen, could be legally elected to the Consulship which was the office of the Supreme Magistrate, but once in Ten Years. And we could have wished that the example of the Honorable Congress in the Articles of Confederation had been adopted in this Matter. And that no Citizen of this State had been eligible to the office of Supreme Magistrate, or as a Member of the General Court more than Two Years in Five, Three Years in Seven, or at least for some limited Time.

"We have complained of it in Times past, under the Charter, and Still look upon it of dangerous Tendency, to have the Legislative & Executive Powers blended in the same Persons. And the Wise & Judicious in all ages have Spoken of it as a very great Grievance to have in the Supreme Council or Legislative Body of a State, Plaicemen & Pensioners, or which amounts to almost the same Thing, Persons who hold Lucrative Posts in the Gift of that Court or are dependent thereupon for their Offices & the Salaries and Perquisites annexed thereto. And We cannot persuade ourselves that the Provision made in this Constitution would be an adequate Remedy.

"Canvassing for Elections, corrupt Influence and open Bribery,

have had their most baleful effects to the Subversion of Liberty and the destruction of Good Government in free States, and that in almost all Ages. And Yet We cannot find anything in this Constitution to give the least Check to Practices of this Kind.

"We could have Wished That the inestimable Right of Trial by Jury had been more explicitly defined.

"We don't find any Sufficient Provision for any Alteration or Amendment of this Constitution but by the General Court or by instructing our Representatives. Whereas it appears to Us at least, of the Highest Importance that a Door should be left open for the People to move in this Matter; and a Way explicitly pointed out wherein they might legally and Constitutionally propose Such and Effect, any Such Alterations or Amendments, in any future Time, as might Appear to them Advantageous or necessary. And the rather as this might Give Satisfaction to the People; and be an happy Means, under Providence of preventing popular Commotions, Mobs, Bloodshed, & Civil War, which too frequently have been the Consequences of the Want of such an Opening, which They might have legally and Constitutionally improved.

"These in General are a Sketch of the Reasons that have induced Us to withhold our Approbation of the Constitution and Form of Government, transmitted to Us by the late Honorable Convention.

"Wherefore as the late General Court have explicitly recommended to the Several Towns in this State, to instruct their Representatives upon this subject; — The Representative of this Town is accordingly, hereby instructed and directed to lay the Proceedings of said Town hereupon, with these Reasons why this Constitution and Form of Government was not approved, before the General Court. And in Case the establishment of this Constitution and Form of Government should be proposed in said General Court, to Give his Voice in the Negative.

"If this Form of Government should not be established (and we have some Grounds to believe that it will not) and it should be proposed in Court to Form another, We would say, — That Notwithstanding This Town instructed & impowered their Representative for this Purpose, last Year; and Notwithstanding we earnestly hope to have a Good Constitution in due Time established in this State; Yet for Various Reasons which to Us, at least, appear of Weight, We could wish to have it waved for the Present. Not only because the Form of Government we are now Under, as it hath done, so it may still answer all Purposes of Government; but also, because it may interrupt the Deliberations of the Court upon Affairs of more immediate Concernment, to the well-being, and perhaps to the very existence of the State; which may demand all their Time, and all their Attention; And especially, because our Brethren, absent in the War, and foremost in Toils & Danger, in the Great Contest in which

we are engaged, may think themselves not well treated in being deprived of having a Voice in so interesting an Affair.

"The Representative of this Town, is, therefore, for these, and other obvious Reasons, hereby further instructed to Use his Influence to have the Matter waved at least for the Present. But in Case the Court should Determine to have the Matter further attempted at present, The Representative is further instructed to Use his Influence that it may be done by a Convention, freely chosen by the People for that Purpose, and that only."

We give these papers in full because they show the immediate relation which at that time existed between the Representative and his constituents, and because we think that both Representatives and the people might profit by the just views expressed in these instructions, written by a sound divine and practical statesman at that day.

In 1778, the burdens of the war pressed more heavily upon the people than they had done before. The depreciation of the currency, and the corresponding increase of prices, augmented the embarrassment. Besides, soldiers who had served, returned home without pay. If the towns paid them, it must greatly increase their taxes, and so exhaust their means; and if they neglected to pay those who had served, it would discourage enlistments, and so render it difficult for towns to fill their quotas. Lexington like all other towns felt this embarrassment. But she resolved to be true to those who had been in the field. Accordingly, May, 1778, she appropriated £2001 14s., to pay her troops up to that time. But more men were required, and in September of that year the town voted, "That the Men who shall engage to march on the present Alarm, shall be intitled to receive from this Town £15 per Month including the Court's pay."

It would seem from the face of the record that ample provision was made to pay for the past expenditures and to provide for the future expenses of the war. But in Lexington, as in all other towns at that time, the people were ready to vote taxes, but were unable to pay them. The high price of all the necessaries of life and the ruinous state of the currency rendered it almost impossible to obtain money on any consideration. They did all they could, and that was but little. There were but few who had money, and those who had would not lend it except at exorbitant rates; and the raisers of produce partook of the same spirit. Prices were so fluctuating and the

currency was so deranged that Congress suggested the propriety of some action on the subject; and in Massachusetts a convention assembled at Concord, for the purpose of considering the matter and fixing a system of prices. Lexington participated in the movement, and chose Matthew Mead, Thaddeus Parker, and Joel Viles as delegates. The Convention met in July, and fixed a scale of prices for goods, wares, and merchandise, and also for articles of produce and the wages of labor. The town expressed its hearty concurrence in the measures recommended by the Convention and chose a committee to fix a scale of prices and report the same to the town, at an adjourned meeting. These prices, being an important part of the history of the times and showing the causes of the embarrassments of the people, we deem it a duty to insert: —

West India rum, £6 9s. per gall.; New England rum, £4 16s. per gall.; Molasses, £4 15s. per gall.; Coffee, 18s. per lb.; Brown sugar, from 11s. to 14s. per lb.; Chocolate, 24s. per lb.; Bohea tea, £5 16s. per lb.; Cotton wool, 37s. 6d. per lb.; German steel, 36s. per lb.; Salt, best quality, £10 10s. per bush.; Indian corn, £4 4s. per bush.; Rye, £5 10s. per bush.; Wheat, £8 10s. per bush.; Beef from 3s. to 4s. 6d. per lb.; Mutton, Lamb, and Veal, 4s.; Butter, 12s.; Cheese, 6s.; Milk, 1s. 6d. per quart; English hay, 30s. per cwt.; Barley and Malt, £4 per bush.; Beans, 5s. 10d. per bush.; Cyder, £5 10s. per bbl.; Sheep's wool, 24s., and Flax 12s. per lb.; Mugs, 50s. per doz.; Milk pans, 12s. per doz.; Yard wide tow cloth, 24s. and cotton cloth, 36s. per yd.; Sole leather, 20s. per lb.; Upper leather in the same proportion; Men's shoes, £6, and women's £4 10s.; Making shoes and finding wax and thread, 48s.; Shoeing horse and steed, 90s.; plain, 66s.; Setting a single shoe, 5s.; New axe, £6, laying one, £3 12s.; Spinning a double skein lining, 4s. 6d.; Weaving tow cloth one yard wide, 4s., and cotton, 4s. 6d.; Woollen cloth, one ell wide, 6s.; Best felt hats, £4; Best saddles, £60, common do., £40; Good yarn hose for men, 66s.; All wool cloth, common dye or mixed, £4, 10s. per yard; Teaming under 30 miles, 18s. per mile; Carpenter's or mason's work, 60s. per day; Common labor, 36s. to 48s.; Oxen per day, 24s.; Horses per mile, 3s.; West India flip per mug, 15s., New England do., 12s.; Extraordinary good dinner, 20s., and common, 12s.; Best supper and breakfast, 15s., and common, 12s.; Lodging, 4s.

The town voted to have the Committee of Safety proceed with all persons, according to the Resolve of the Convention, that should demand, take, or give more for any article than

the rates set down in the schedule. These prices appear to be much higher than they really were, owing to the depreciated currency, which was at that time worth about one-sixth of the value of coin. But even with that allowance, men at the present day would hardly be willing to work in the summer season for thirty-five cents per day and pay ninety-three cents per pound for Bohea tea.

In 1779, the people were called upon to elect a delegate to a convention to form a constitution, and the inhabitants of Lexington, with great wisdom and propriety, selected the Rev. Mr. Clarke, who, though modest and unpretending, had a good share of influence in that body. He was on several important committees, where his good sense and ripened wisdom were of great service.

The delegates, thus elected, framed a constitution and submitted it to the people for their ratification or rejection. The inhabitants of Lexington voted to adopt most of its provisions; they, however, qualified their approval by proposing sundry amendments, all of which showed how jealous they were of their rights, and how careful they were to secure the great principles of popular equality and to recognize religion as the basis of all good government.

The limited means of the people, the depreciation of paper money, and the numerous calls upon the town to furnish men and supply beef for the army rendered the case exceedingly embarrassing. The town meetings, which were very frequently held, show the great difficulty under which the inhabitants labored. To indicate the depreciation of money and the consequent loss which must have been realized by the holders of the paper issued, it is only necessary to state the fact that in 1781, the town instructed the Collectors to receive of those who were in arrears for their taxes *one* dollar of the new emission for *forty* of the old. And on the year following the Selectmen settled with Benjamin Wellington, allowing him eighty for one, as the difference between silver and paper money.

Such a depreciation in the circulating medium would at any time produce great derangement in business, destroy confidence, and bring about a state of confusion in the transactions of life. And when we consider that this took place in the midst of the exhausting war of the Revolution, we are surprised that our fathers sustained themselves as well as they did.

As this element of depreciation in the paper currency at that day was interwoven with almost every transaction, public and private, it becomes important that we should understand the origin of these paper issues, and the cause of their depreciation. As this subject of the currency affected very materially the enlistment of soldiers in this and other towns, we take the liberty of making an extract from the history of Marlborough, where the subject was treated with some detail.¹

"The unsuccessful expedition against Canada, in 1690, involved the Province in a heavy debt. To meet this demand bills of credit were issued for one year. These were punctually redeemed till 1704, when the expenses of calamitous wars induced the General Court to defer the payment, first for two years, and afterwards for a longer term. About 1714, the subject of the currency attracted considerable attention. Some were for returning to a specie currency; others were for a land bank; and others, for the Province loaning its credit to the towns, and thence in small sums to the inhabitants on interest. This latter scheme prevailed, and £50,000 were issued, and passed over to the towns, in proportion to their share of the public tax. The sums thus apportioned to the towns were committed to trustees appointed by the towns, to be loaned out in small sums to individuals, who were to repay it at stated times with interest, and this interest was to be appropriated to defray the public expenses.

"But these bills were constantly undergoing a depreciation. In 1702, an ounce of silver would buy of these bills 6s. 10½d.; in 1705, 7s.; in 1713, 8s.; in 1716, 9s. 3d.; in 1717, 12s.; in 1722, 14s.; in 1728, 18s.; in 1730, 20s.; in 1737, 26s.; in 1741, 28s.; and in 1749, 60s.

"Another scheme was projected to support a paper currency by silver coin, namely: A loan of £60,000 to be deposited with the towns as in the other case, but to be repaid in specie. To extinguish this paper currency, which had become exceedingly oppressive, the home government interposed, and Parliament, knowing that this paper had been issued to carry on the wars of Great Britain against the French and Indians, passed an Act for reimbursing the Colonies in specie. The General Court provided by law for the rate at which these bills of credit should be redeemed; and fixed it at about one-fifth less than their lowest current value; that is, at fifty shillings for an ounce of silver, which was valued at 6s. 8d.; or an English crown. This was the origin of the 'Old Tenor' reckoning — fifty shillings of paper equal to an ounce of silver, or 6s. 8d.

"As the design of this law was the abolition of the paper currency, and as the grant of Parliament was insufficient to redeem the

¹ See Hudson's History of Marlborough, pp. 181-85.

whole mass of paper that the Province had issued, the remainder was liquidated by a tax of £75,000, payable in bills, at the above rate of fifty shillings in bills for 6s. 8d. in specie. All future debts after March 31, 1750, it was enacted, should be understood to be contracted on the specie basis of 6s. 8d. per ounce of silver. This was the origin of what has been known as 'lawful money'; three ounces of silver being equal to £1, or 20s.

"This restored the currency to a metallic basis, and to a uniform permanent value. Having passed this crisis of depreciation, the people enjoyed a sound and uniform circulating medium for more than twenty years. But the breaking-out of hostilities with the mother country, imposed a new obligation upon the Province. War had commenced, and means must be supplied to carry it on. Consequently the Provincial Congress in May, 1775, empowered the Treasurer to borrow one hundred thousand pounds, lawful money, secured by notes of the Province at six per cent, and made payable June 1, 1777. They also desired the other Colonies to give currency to such securities. At the same time, they commended this subject to the consideration of the Continental Congress.

"The Treasurer was required to issue no notes of a less denomination than £4; but it was found necessary, to meet the wants of the army, to have notes of a less denomination; and the Provincial Congress empowered the Treasurer to issue notes of six, nine, ten, twelve, fourteen, fifteen, sixteen, eighteen, and twenty shillings, — this emission not to exceed £26,000. Almost simultaneously with these issues by the state, Continental bills were issued by the General Government. For the first year these bills circulated freely, and were readily exchanged for cash.

"But the continued issue of such bills by the state and the nation, and the fact that they had no specie to redeem them, the dubious prospect of the result of the war, and the general exhaustion of the community, tended to depreciate their value. Add to this, the British officers and the adherents of the royal cause in the midst of us took every opportunity and had recourse to every means to impair the value of this paper. They represented, and with too much truth, that the Continental Congress had no means by which to redeem their bills; and with great injustice asserted that they never intended to provide for their redemption. Under the influence of these causes, this paper money gradually sunk in value, till it required about seventy-five pounds in paper to procure one in specie. Such a reduction in the value of the circulating medium wrought great injustice, especially towards those who subsisted on a salary or labored for stated pay, fixed beforehand. Many clergymen found, by sad experience, that the salary which, at their settlement, was deemed sufficient, would hardly save them from starvation; and the poor soldiers who enlisted at government pay, for three years, found

their wages hardly worth receiving, as will be seen by the following scale of depreciation:—

A Table showing the Depreciation of Paper Money, from January 1, 1777, to January 1, 1781, inclusive; in which the value of £1, or 20 shillings in paper, will be seen for each month during the whole period.

Year.	Month.	s.	d.	q.	Year.	Month.	s.	d.	q.
1777	January.....	19	0	2	1779	January.....	2	8	1
	February.....	18	8	3		February.....	2	3	2
	March.....	18	4	0		March.....	2	0	0
	April.....	17	10	1		April.....	1	9	3
	May.....	17	5	3		May.....	1	7	3
	June.....	16	8	0		June.....	1	5	3
	July.....	16	0	0		July.....	1	4	3
	August.....	13	4	0		August.....	1	2	3
	September.....	11	5	0		September.....	1	1	1
	October.....	7	3	0		October.....	11	3	
	November.....	6	8	0		November.....	10	3	
	December.....	6	5	1		December.....	9	1	
1778	January.....	6	1	1	1780	January.....	8	0	
	February.....	5	8	2		February.....	7	1	
	March.....	5	4	0		March.....	6	1	
	April.....	5	0	0		April.....	6	0	
	May.....	5	0	0		May.....	5	3	
	June.....	5	0	0		June.....	5	3	
	July.....	4	8	1		July.....	3	1	
	August.....	4	4	3		August.....	3	1	
	September.....	4	2	2		September.....	3	1	
	October.....	4	0	0		October.....	3	1	
	November.....	3	8	0		November.....	3	1	
	December.....	3	1	3		December.....	3	1	
					1781	January.....	3	1	

"The above scale of depreciation will enable us, at any period during these years, to estimate the worth in specie, or lawful money, of the paper money then in circulation.

"It may not be amiss to state that what was so embarrassing in Massachusetts was still more so in all the States south of the Potomac, where little or nothing was done to sustain the credit of the country; and where, during the whole period of the Revolution, Massachusetts did more in men and money than any other State. By an official Report from the Treasury Department at Washington, made in 1790, it appears that the amount of money, including paper reduced to its specie value, which had been received by and paid to the several states by Congress, from the commencement to the close of the Revolution, was as follows:—

States	Paid to State	Received from State
New Hampshire.....	\$440,974	\$466,554
Massachusetts.....	1,245,737	3,167,020
Rhode Island.....	1,023,511	310,395
Connecticut.....	1,016,273	1,607,259
New York.....	822,803	1,545,889

New Jersey.....	336,729	512,916
Pennsylvania.....	2,087,276	2,629,410
Delaware.....	63,817	206,878
Maryland.....	609,617	945,537
Virginia.....	482,881	1,965,811
North Carolina.....	788,031	219,835
South Carolina.....	1,014,808	499,325
Georgia.....	679,412	122,744

"Thus it will be seen, that while Massachusetts paid into the Continental Treasury, during the Revolution, \$1,921,283 more than she received back, the five States of Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia paid only \$178,503 more than they received; so that Massachusetts, in fact, contributed a balance towards the support of the war more than ten times as great as these five States mentioned!"

If Massachusetts received from the General Government a large sum, it was because she furnished more soldiers than any other State, except Pennsylvania. As compared with Virginia, Massachusetts, with half the population of the Old Dominion, furnished nearly three times as many soldiers. Divide the whole number of men in the service by seven, the length in years of the war, and it would give Massachusetts an average for each year of 9701, and Virginia only 3953.

No wonder, under circumstances like these, that towns found it difficult to fill their quotas. No wonder that soldiers who had enlisted for three years, on a pay founded upon a silver basis, were unwilling to reënlist, when they found that their pay, by the depreciation of the currency, had become nearly valueless. With hostile fleets upon our coasts and hostile armies upon our soil; with a feeble army poorly fed and clothed, whose term of service was about to expire; and with crippled resources and a currency nearly worthless, so as not to command recruits, no wonder the towns felt themselves greatly embarrassed. Lexington in common with other towns had to strain every nerve and put forth her best energies. It was not the want of patriotism, but the want of an adequate compensation, that led the young to hesitate to enter the service. It was not the want of generosity, but the want of means, that prevented the good people of Lexington offering such a compensation as would induce men to enlist at once. But the records show that they did exert themselves in a becoming manner; and if they failed in part in doing what seemed to be right and proper, it is due to them to say that

they succeeded in a great degree under circumstances which would have overwhelmed almost any other people.

The burdens under which the people of the town labored, and the efforts they made to discharge their obligations and fill their quotas of men for the army, will readily be seen in the following extracts from the Town Records: —

"June 26, 1780. *Voted*, That the sum of £14,000 be raised to hire the Men required of this Town for the Army."

"July 16, 1780. *Voted*, That £6,000 be granted to purchase the beef required of this town for the army."

December 4, 1780, the Assessors reported to the Selectmen

"That they had assessed the war tax of June and July, of £28,091 4s. 8d.; also the beef tax of £6,036 5s. 6d.; also the town tax of £2,010 5s. 5d."

"Dec. 19, 1780. *Voted* that the Sum of £6,000 be raised to purchase the *remainder* of the Beef for the Army."

"Jan. 17, 1781. *Voted* the sum of £27,000 to enable the Committee to hire men for the Towns Quota of men for the Continental Army."

"*Voted* to raise the Sum £12,000 to pay the Six Months & the Three Months' Men, hired by the Towns Committee last Summer to reinforce the Army."

"Feb. 20, 1781. *Voted* that the Town will Give the Men who shall engage for the Army each 15 Head of Cattle for their Service upon the following Conditions, Viz — if they serve one Year they shall receive Yearling Cattle, if Two Years then Cattle of Two Years Old, if three Years, then they shall receive Cattle of Three Years Old."

These votes speak for themselves. And the record further shows that the people exerted themselves to the utmost to carry these votes into effect. At their meetings, which in some cases were held weekly, they appointed committee upon committee — one to obtain the men, one to borrow money, one to aid the Collectors in collecting the taxes, one to obtain the beef for the army, and another to report upon the best means to be adopted to further the great end. With the increase of the obstacles, they renewed their efforts. One led on by hope and another confiding in despair — each and every one exerted their best energies to sustain the cause of their common country — the cause of human rights.

After a great expenditure of blood and treasure — after trials, sufferings, and privations, such as are unknown, and

consequently unappreciated by us their descendants, our fathers were at last blessed with liberty and independence. But they came out of the struggle exhausted in their resources, and embarrassed by new and perplexing difficulties. Poverty, disorder approaching anarchy, and a complication of new and difficult political questions, stared them in the face. As the country had been carried through the eventful struggle of the Revolution by the voice and efficient support of the primary assemblies, so now, after the treaty of peace, it was deemed important that the small towns should speak out. Lexington, which had been free to express her opinion before and during the Revolution, was willing to look any new difficulty in the face. Parson Clarke had a realizing sense of the condition of the country and of the necessity of wise and prudent counsels; hence in 1783, he spoke through a committee of citizens in Instructions to Benjamin Brown, Esq., the Representative to the General Court: —

“Sir: — Having given the Strongest Evidence of our Esteem and Confidence in electing You to represent this Town in the General Court of this Commonwealth the ensuing Year: it is not to call in Question, either Capacity, Disposition, or Fidelity, that We Assume the Right of instructing our Representative; but rather to assure You of that hearty Concurrence & Support which you may be certain to meet with from Your Constituents in those Measures for the public Good which (we trust) Your Own Wisdom Prudence & Love of Liberty and your Country, would naturally suggest at such a Time as this. —

“It is true, under God, by the Wisdom, Firmness, Patriotism and Bravery of the People of this, and the United States of America We have been happily carried through a Contest, in which all that we held dear as a Free People was at Stake: and in less Time, and at less Expence of Blood & Treasure than the most sanguine Expectations of the discerning & Judicious among Us promised, affected a REVOLUTION great in itself, and Glorious in the Eyes of the astonished WORLD!

“Much however remains yet to be done to perfect the Work; and perhaps there never was a Time (not even in the Height of the Contest, or Depth of our Distress) when Attention, Firmness, Penetration, Wisdom, and Integrity were more necessary than the Present. — This Year appears to Us to be a most interesting, critical and important Period: and upon the Counsels taken, and Measures adopted and pursued at this Period, the establishment of our Rights & Liberties (for which We have fought & bled) as Freemen, free &

Sovereign States, and an independent Nation, as well as the Blessing of Peace upon a permanent Basis, will in a great Measure depend.

"Among other important Concerns which may engage Your attention, we beg Leave to recommend the following, as what appears to Us to demand the most critical Notice & serious Consideration — The Case of those Persons who in the late Contest with Britain have left their Country and join'd the Enemy — By an Article in the Provisional Treaty of Preliminaries for a Peace between the United States and Britain, it is expressly agreed and stipulated 'That Congress shall earnestly recommend to the Legislatures of the respective States,' that Persons of the above described Characters 'shall have free Liberty to go to any Part or Parts of the Thirteen United States, and there remain twelve Months unmolested in their Endeavors to obtain the Restoration of their Estates, Rights, &c.' — Reference being had to the Article itself, being the Fifth Article of said Treaty.

"While we sincerely wish that the Faith of the Nation, solemnly plighted by the Plenipotentiaries of the United States, might be realized and regared with the most sacred Attention, we also wish that the Freedom, Independence & Sovereignty of these States respectively considered might not be forgotten.

"The Words of the Treaty evidently suppose, that when Congress, in Compliance with its Stipulations in Favor of Persons of the above described Characters have 'earnestly recommended the Matter to the Legislatures of the several States,' the Right of decision remains entirely & absolutely with them. The States severally, are submitted to as the alone Judges; — and upon their Determination their Fate must rest — from them there is no appeal.

"Not to mention the hard Names, and opprobrious Characters of Conspirators, Traitors or Rebels, nor to lay any stress upon the Questions who among them are most, or least, deserving: There is one thing in which they are all alike and without Exception in the same Predicament; — and this suggests a Rule and points out a Line of Conduct for these States, which appears to Us Obvious, rational, just and necessary; and a Rule equally applicable to all Persons of the above Characters. They have left the Society — they have left the Country under which they held — by which they were protected in — and to which, they owed Liberty, Property & Life — and they have joined the Enemy; and put themselves, not only into their Power, but also under their Protection. — By this one Act, without any coloring or aggravations, it appears to Us, they have forfeited all Claim to Privilege, Property or Protection, in the Society, State, or States, they have so left. The Estate or Property which they have heretofore held, under the Protection of the Society or State, to which they belonged, of Course reverts to such

Society, State or States and Reason Common Sense, the Laws of Nature and Nations concur to pronounce them, one and ALL, ALIENS from the COMMONWEALTH.

"This, alone, we humbly conceive, is an Argument both clear and conclusive against their return to Us, and the Restoration of their Estates: and at the same Time points out a Line of Conduct both just & necessary: and is no more than putting a Sanction upon their own Choice.

"Many other Arguments might be fairly urged against the return of Persons of this Character and their admission as Citizens of the States they have left — as that they have, by leaving and joining the Enemy, weakened our Cause and strengthened the Enemy, and have sought and done what was in their Power to Subjugate us to the British Yoke — That it is both unnatural and unjust that such Persons should share in Privileges which they have to their utmost endeavored to destroy — That if they should be restored, & their Estates returned to them, they will be very dangerous to the Peace of Society and the Liberties of this Country &c &c — And we may add That as to the Idea of admitting some, & rejecting others, it is easy to see that the Wisdom of Angels would be puzzled to draw the Line, to determine when and where to stop.

"Upon the Whole we cannot but think it indispensably necessary, for the Peace & safety of this and the Freedom and Happiness of the United States, that a decided part is taken to prevent their Return, and the Recovery of the Estates or Property that was formerly theirs.

"We would further recommend to You to Use Your Endeavors to promote a more thorough Inquiry into the State of the public Debts both State and Continental; that the public Accounts may be adjusted & properly Arranged — To restore and establish the Credit of State Notes and Securities, and Fund for the Punctual payment of the Interest of them:

"We also wish that every proper Measure may be taken to promote Economy in all Grants &c — and in all disposals of public Monies — and, at the same Time that Merit is duly noticed and rewarded, and the Public Faith is preserved, where solemnly plighted, the most and the most watchful Care be taken that all unnecessary Expenditures in Pensions, or otherways, may be prevented.

"We would suggest to you the Importance in a free Government of the Encouragement of Literature in all Branches of Science and Useful Knowledge and particularly of the University at Cambridge and public Schools and Seminaries of Learning — and as the General Court is the Great Inquest of the Commonwealth, to promote an Inquiry into the Causes of the too general Neglect and Contempt of the Law for Grammar Schools in the several Towns.

"In all your proceedings, we trust we need not Urge that a Sacred Regard to the Rights of the Community our excellent Constitution, and the Articles of the Confederation of the United States of America, is at all Times both becoming a Necessary.

"In all other Matters which may call for Your Attention in the Course of the Year, we chearfully confide in your Wisdom and Prudence Firmness & Integrity: and most Sincerely wish that your Attention & Endeavors for the Interest of your Constituents; the Good of this Commonwealth and the Peace & Prosperity of the United States in General may be attended with the happiest Success."

We have seen the efforts made by the people of Lexington to carry on the war, but we have found them true to the cause in which they were engaged. Particularly have we seen them inculcating the soundest principles of constitutional liberty. The experience of the world has shown that it is easier to throw off the yoke of foreign oppression than it is to establish a system of civil government adapted to the wants of a free people. But in this Commonwealth, the people in the very midst of a revolution framed a constitution of government remarkable for its wisdom; and we have the pleasure of seeing that the people of Lexington were alive to the subject, and active in establishing a government which has proved a blessing to the community.

Nor were the people of Lexington behind the rest of the community in their efforts to establish a government of laws. Reared up under the wise counsel of a prudent statesman, they were never disturbed by Tories, nor by those wild visionaries who think that liberty consists in throwing off all restraint. The people, as a body, were peaceable and law-abiding, and equally ready to resist tyrants or to sustain rulers duly elected in conformity to the laws of the land. They were devotees of liberty, but it was liberty regulated by law. They were warm advocates for a well-regulated freedom, exempt from tyranny on the one hand and licentiousness on the other.

CHAPTER X

FROM THE PEACE OF 1783 TO THE YEAR 1830

Population in 1783 — Embarrassment of the People — Shays's Rebellion — Instruction to Representatives — A New Meeting-House erected — Jay's Treaty — Death of Mr. Clarke — Settlement of Mr. Williams — Resolutions on National Affairs — Green's Oration — Mr. Williams dismissed — The Great Bridge rebuilt — The Fourth of July celebrated — Reception of Lafayette — Phinney's Address — His History of Lexington Battle — Adams's Letter in Defence of Acton — Stetson's Oration.

THOUGH the war of the Revolution had been a period of trial and anxiety to the people of the Commonwealth, the period which followed the war was in many respects quite as trying. The heavy debt of the nation, state, and towns, incurred during the seven years' war, and the embarrassments of individuals arising from the same cause and from the depreciation of paper money, produced a depression of business and a state of monetary affairs bordering upon bankruptcy. From this general embarrassment Lexington was not exempt.

Up to this time the people had been subjects of Great Britain or involved in a contest with that country; but thenceforward they were freemen. But there were causes which operated against the increase of population. A considerable number who had served in the army, from the town, did not return to Lexington to become permanent citizens; and others who had resided in town during the war, left the place, owing to the depressed state of business and pecuniary embarrassments, to seek their fortunes elsewhere. These causes served to keep the population nearly stationary for a considerable period.

The Town Records for some years present nothing of special interest. The burden of the Town Meetings was to obtain means to discharge the debts contracted during the war. The year 1786 was memorable for what has generally been denominated "Shays's Rebellion." The pecuniary embarrassment of which we have spoken, and the heavy taxes which were necessarily imposed, gave color to the plea that unnecessary burdens were imposed upon the people. On the

22d of August, a convention of delegates from fifty towns in the county of Hampshire met at Hatfield, and adopted measures looking to resistance against the laws. A large number of men assembled at Northampton, took possession of the Court-House, and prevented the sitting of the court. The Governor issued a proclamation, calling upon all officers and citizens to suppress such treasonable proceedings, but to little or no purpose. At Worcester and Concord the courts were interrupted. The Legislature passed several acts relieving the people as far as was practicable. But the insurgents, headed by DANIEL SHAYS, who had been a captain in the Continental Army, to the number of about three hundred, marched to Springfield in December, and took possession of the Court-House, and so prevented the sitting of the court at that place. To meet this emergency, four thousand troops were ordered out for thirty days, unless sooner discharged. Of this force, eight hundred were from the county of Middlesex. They were put under the command of General Lincoln. Though the insurgents appeared in martial array at Worcester, Springfield, and several other places, there was never any direct collision between them and the troops, though a few shots were fired, and three or four of the insurgents were killed. Shays was driven from Springfield, and his force was soon dispersed at Petersham, where one hundred and fifty were taken prisoners. This terminated the rebellion.¹ The precipitate flight of Shays on the appearance of General Lincoln's troops at Petersham gave rise to much ridicule and many sallies of wit. In one of the doggerel ballads of the day, his flight is thus characterized: —

“When he came to the river of Styx,
Where Charon kept the Ferry;
He called for a speedy passage o’er,
For he durst no longer tarry.”

Though the scene of this rebellion was not laid in Lexington, the inhabitants of this town did not refrain altogether from a participation in the affair. In response to an Address from the town of Boston, touching the subject of this insurrection, the people of Lexington, in town meeting assembled, October 16, 1786, expressed their condemnation of all such

¹ Daniel Shays was born in Hopkinton, 1747. After his rebellion was crushed, he fled to Vermont, and afterwards moved to Sparta, New York, where he died September 29, 1825, aged eighty-four. He was a pensioner of the United States.

lawless proceedings and promised their coöperation in all suitable measures to put down the rebellion, and sustain the honor and authority of the Government.

Captain William Munroe, with a body of men, marched towards the scene of action; but the flight of Shays rendered any further movement unnecessary, and he returned.

On the 10th of March, 1787, the General Court appointed a commission, empowered, on certain conditions, to receive the submission of the insurgents. About eight hundred came in and submitted themselves, and were not further proceeded against. Fourteen were tried and convicted. They were severally sentenced to death, and some were even brought to the place of execution; but they were all ultimately pardoned.

While the State was thus embarrassed by its debts, and the people were borne down with pecuniary burdens, the citizens of Lexington freely expressed their sentiments in instructions to their Representative, which show the points of discussion before the public.

At a meeting held March 28, 1787, their Representative was instructed, "to adhere strictly to the Constitution, to oppose the emission of any paper money, to restore public credit, to oppose the removal of the seat of government from Boston, to urge the imposition of impost duties on foreign articles, and to urge that heavy penalties be imposed upon those who exact excessive interest on money loaned." ¹

¹ Following are the instructions in full (*Ed.*): —

"In the first place We enjoin upon you a strict adherence to our most excellent Constitution; and you are to make that the Rule of your conduct.

"You are not to consent on any account to have an Emission of Paper Money; but to oppose such a Measure (if moved for) to the utmost of your Power. —

"You are to use your endeavors to restore Public Credit in this Commonwealth; which for some time past hath been very low; and when Public Credit is gone there is no more confidence to be put in Rulers. —

"You are to Use Your endeavors to have the Old Taxes, that are behind paid. — in particular those that were to be paid in the New England Money, and in the Army Notes. —

"As it is expected there will be a push in Court, to remove the Court out of the Town of Boston, — which you are to Use your utmost endeavor to prevent; — as We think it will not be so convenient in any other Place, as in the Town of Boston; — as it will Open a Door for the Eastern Counties to be a separate State.

"You are to see that Congress have sufficient Power (if they have not) to regulate the Public Affairs that are Necessary for the Public Good. —

"As to a Tender Act, We submit it to the decision of the General Court; that if it is thought best to continue it, to do it for a limited time only.

"You are to Use Your utmost endeavor to have the Authority of Government kept up; and that all offenders be punished according to their deserts. —

"You are to endeavor to have such Impost and Excise Duties laid on all Foreign Manufactures as may be consistent with Trade; which will be an easement to a Land Tax. —

"You are instructed to move in the General Court, respecting the Court of Common Pleas; that there be such regulations & amendments made, as shall be satisfactory to the People. — To that End draw Outlines of your Amendments as you shall Judge reasonable and send them to the People for their Acceptance in order that a General Accommodation may take place among all Ranks & Denominations of People. —

December 10, 1787, Benjamin Brown, Esq., was chosen a delegate to the State Convention to ratify the Constitution of the United States.

November 5, 1789, President Washington, in the course of a tour of New England, visited Lexington and dined at the Munroe Tavern.¹

At a meeting held April 4, 1791, Rev. Jonas Clarke, Benjamin Brown, Esq., and Captain Joseph Simonds were elected a committee to present a memorial to Congress asking them to erect a monument over the remains of those persons who were slain on the 19th of April, 1775.

In 1792, great excitement prevailed in town in consequence of the prevalence of that dangerous and loathsome disease, the small-pox.

In 1793, the subject of building a new meeting-house began to be agitated. At a meeting held March 11, 1793, it was "voted unanimously to Build a New Meeting-House, and to Sett it in the Most Convenient Place, Near this Meeting-House."

His Excellency Governor Hancock, learning that the people of Lexington, for whom he always manifested a strong attachment, were about to build a new meeting-house, generously placed a hundred dollars at their disposal to aid them in the enterprise; for which he received "the thanks of said inhabitants, for this fresh instance of his friendship and affection to the town, in which the memory of his pious ancestors is still held in veneration, and the name of HANCOCK *will ever be precious.*"

May 23, 1793, the town voted to build a new meeting-house, and to have two porches and a tower to the proposed house. Thus far the town proceeded with great unanimity. They all wanted a new meeting-house. They all desired it to be located on the Common. But when they came to minor points, as is usual on such subjects, a difference of opinion arose. Town meeting after town meeting was held, to decide whether the house should be set a few feet more or less from the old meeting-house; whether it should "Face Due South," or "Down the Great Road"; whether there should be one

"That the Act relative to Interest on Money be more strict — viz — That a Person convicted of a Breach of said Law be forever deprived of any advantage of an Exemption for any Debt. — "You are to Use Your influence that the Massachusetts Bank in the Town of Boston be Annihilated —"

¹ For an account of this visit, see Proc. Lex. Hist. Soc., Vol. I, p. xxviii. Ed.

porch or two; or whether it should be painted "pea-green" or some other color.

But these questions were finally adjusted by voting to set the house "twenty feet back of the sills of the old house," and that it should "face half-way between south and south-east." But it does not appear that these differences obstructed the march of improvement; for in anticipation of a new house, they positively directed their committee to provide those indispensable appendages of a meeting-house, *horse-blocks*. Smile not at the rustic manners of our fathers; for you must know that in those days the ladies rode to meeting on horse-back behind their husbands or brothers, and were much more punctual in attendance than people are at the present day, with handsome carriages to ride in. In those days a *pillion* was a necessary part of a young lady's outfit, and many a belle has been seen riding to a ball behind her intended, upon a pillion of her own furnishing. And at church, how could a lady mount her horse, behind her gentleman, unless she had a horse-block to ascend? These horse-blocks may be considered almost in the light of an institution; and a sounding-board over the pulpit and a horse-block near the house were almost as important as the house itself.

The house being finished was dedicated on the 15th of January, 1795. About the same time the pews were sold at auction. The size of the house appears not to be a matter of record.¹ The number of pews below was fifty-four, and the number in the gallery was twenty-four. The aggregate sale amounted to \$5887. Besides these pews, there were seats in the body of the house; and a seat reserved for the negroes.

This meeting-house was situated on the southeasterly end of the Common, near the present liberty-pole.

When the Treaty of Amity, Commerce, and Navigation between the United States and Great Britain, commonly called "Jay's Treaty," was made known to the American people, it met with decided opposition. On the 13th of August, 1795, the inhabitants of Lexington met in town meeting for the purpose of considering it. When the treaty was read, it was referred to a committee, of which Rev. Jonas Clarke was chairman. This drew from Mr. Clarke an able paper,² in

¹ See Proc. Lex. Hist. Soc., Vol. I, p. 130; also Vol. III, p. 82. Ed.

² This paper occupies about ten pages of the Records of the Town. Ed.

which he condemns the treaty and shows the impolicy of many of its provisions. As the subject has long since passed by, and as our space is limited, we reluctantly exclude it from our pages. We will, however, say that it fully sustains the character of its author for ability and watchful devotion to what he believed to be the true interest of his country, and his paper was unanimously adopted by the town. Nor was Lexington alone in opposing that treaty. It drew from many of our soundest men severe condemnation. It was assailed by argument and by wit — in prose and in verse. One scribbler vents his spleen thus: —

“Greenville and Pitt, with Jonney Jay,
Have fairly bargained us away.”

In the misunderstanding between France and the United States in 1797 and 1798, Congress had under consideration the subject of arming merchant vessels, that they might defend themselves against French depredations. The inhabitants of Lexington, in town meeting assembled, adopted a memorial to Congress, expressing their apprehension that such a measure would be fraught with danger; that it would be committing the peace of the nation into the hands of any and every master or commander of a vessel, so armed and commissioned; who, through ignorance, prejudice, resentment, or design, might commit acts of hostility and so involve the nation in war, in contravention of the Constitution, which makes Congress the sole judge of the propriety of declaring war, after a full consideration of the subject.

This memorial is the last paper, found upon the town records, prepared by their faithful pastor and enlightened statesman, Mr. Clarke. Few towns are able to furnish from their records papers so numerous, elaborate, and able as Lexington; and if she has whereof to boast, nothing, save the heroic part she acted on the 19th of April, 1775, can stand in preference to the able state papers which emanated from her village clergyman.

The nineteenth century opens upon Lexington with a population of 1006, being sixty-five more than in 1790. Nothing of importance occurred in the town for some years. Having recovered in a good degree from the pecuniary embarrassments growing out of the Revolution, the people became more liberal in their appropriations for schools, highways, and other

objects which mark the progress of civilization. In 1805, the town experienced a severe loss in the death of their devoted and distinguished pastor, Rev. Jonas Clarke. They manifested their regret and respect for his memory by bearing the expense of his funeral, and caring for his family after his decease. Mr. Clarke died, November 15, 1805, being in the seventy-fifth year of his age, and in the fifty-first year of his ministry.¹

In October, 1807, the church, acting separately from the town, as was then the custom in all the Congregational churches, voted to call Mr. Avery Williams, and submitted their action to the town, which voted unanimously to concur with the church. The town voted to offer him a salary of seven hundred dollars, and one thousand dollars as a settlement, — he relinquishing all claim upon the ministerial lands and fund. Mr. Williams accepted the call, and was ordained, December 30, 1807. The town made ample provision for the occasion, as appears by the fact that they paid Amos Muzzy, Jr., \$139.78 for entertaining the Council.

The health of Rev. Mr. Williams declining, and a journey South failing to restore him, the town, after supplying the pulpit for several months at their own expense, in September, 1815, came into an agreement with Mr. Williams, by which his connection with the parish should terminate — they paying him six hundred dollars.

On the Fourth of July, 1809, the people of Lexington celebrated the Thirty-third Anniversary of our Independence. Benjamin Greene, Esq., delivered an oration, in which he made the following allusion to the town of Lexington and her martyred citizens: —

“If there ever was a time when it might be more than ordinarily the duty of posterity to recount the wonderful achievements, and to call to mind the insurmountable fortitude and perseverance of their ancestors; and if there ever was a place peculiarly appropriate to this important purpose, surely this is the time, *this is the place*. For here the thunders of British oppression, which had been accumulating for years, like the fulminating bolt from the dark and condensed tempest, burst its barriers, disgorging its direful effects upon the innocent victims of its cruel and relentless rage; and here the soil of freedom was first moistened with the blood of her sons.

¹ For an account of his character and services, see Ecclesiastical History, and for an account of his family, see Genealogies of the Lexington Families. [Vol. II. Ed.]

"That frail monument shall moulder to the dust, and be mingled with the corporeal of those whose names it is designed to perpetuate. But their names shall be remembered and repeated by the last of freedom's race. By their blood they have consecrated this place; and on the wings of their fame have they borne the name of LEXINGTON through every region of the globe."

During the War of 1812 with Great Britain, party politics ran high in the State. Lexington was strongly Republican. In 1814, the Fourth of July was celebrated in the town with great show and parade. By eleven o'clock, four or five thousand people had assembled. A procession was formed, which moved to the meeting-house, escorted by a detachment of Colonel Loring's Fourth Regiment. The services at the church were as follows: Prayer, by Rev. Edmund Foster; reading of the Declaration of Independence, by General Joseph B. Varnum; Oration, by Hon. Timothy Fuller. The assembly was honored by the presence of General Henry Dearborn, and several other officers of the army under his command. The presence of Hon. Elbridge Gerry, Vice-President of the United States, added to the interest of the occasion. General Varnum presided at the table. That the ladies might participate in the festivities of the occasion, a spacious marquee was erected on the Green, and a social tea-party was formed. At least a thousand persons partook of the bounties of the table. In the evening a splendid ball was given in the marquee, which was tastefully fitted up for the purpose.

Many distinguished men of the Republican Party, among whom were Hon. Judge Dana, Hon. Benjamin Austin, Hon. George Blake, and Hon. William Eustis, honored the occasion by their presence. It was truly a proud day for Lexington. The Orator of the day alludes to Lexington in this thrilling strain: "This glorious spot, the hallowed scene of this day's devotion; this happy, favored spot, beheld the first precious, ruddy drops, shed to redeem our country. Yonder sacred pedestal, the faint emblem of our gratitude, declares the names of the first victims of British injustice. But long after that shall have crumbled to dust, the faithful page of history, the hearts of a grateful people shall engrave the deeds, and transmit the glorious record to remotest ages."

But Lexington did not confine her support of the Government, and of the war in which we were engaged, to mere words. She made provision for the soldiers who might volun-

teer, or be called out by the National or State Government, voting them five dollars bounty, and a sum which would make up their pay to sixteen dollars a month, including the amount offered by the General Government.¹

The subject of the "Great Bridge" between the towns of Cambridge and Brighton, which had annoyed the people of Lexington for about a century, and which required of them an annual tax for repairs, appeared in 1815 in a form more oppressive. The bridge was rebuilt at a cost of \$1727, of which Lexington was required to pay \$356.64 — a tax sufficiently onerous when it is considered that few if any of the inhabitants of the town ever passed over it.

In 1821, in order to keep up with the times and make a little more noise in the world, the town voted to exchange their church bell for a larger one.

As Lafayette, the distinguished Frenchman, who had served so faithfully in the Revolution, and by military and civil talents had contributed so much towards the establishment of our Independence, had consented to become the

¹ *18 May, 1812.* Voted to each Soldier belonging to the Town of Lexington five doll. as a bounty when Mustered who should turn out by order of Government & ten dollars pr. Month in Addition to Government pay, while in actual Service.

Voted then to reconsider the last Vote as Above. It was then

Voted to give each detached Soldier belonging to Lexington Six dollars as a bounty when mustered and ten dollars pr. Month while in actual Service in Addition to the pay of Government.

Adj. meeting 1 June 1812. Voted to grant the sum of one Hundred & thirty Dollars to pay the bounty to the Soldiers and Non Commission Officers. (authority to borrow \$130.)

Apr. 12, 1813. Selectmen "reckon" with Nathan Chandler treasurer. We also finde due to Nathan Chandler for money he borrowed June 22d 1812 to pay the detached Soldiers Agreeable to a Vote of the Town. \$120-0

June 27 1814. An order to pay Capt. John Parker Seventeen dollars out of the monies Received of the exempt Soldiers belonging to Lex.

15 Aug. 1814. Voted to make up each Soldier belonging to Lexington who has been or may be detached by a late Order of Government Sixteen dollars pr. Month while in actual Service. And five dollars as a bounty to each Soldier detached as aforesaid, when he shall march. (Voted to raise \$100 to pay the bounty.)

Nov. 23, 1814. The Selectmen granted an order to pay Mr. John Underwood \$20 — o — being detached soldier by Order of Government, this Allowance is Agreeable to a Vote of the Town.

26 Dec. 1814. An Order to pay Mr. Peter Wellington \$7 —, viz. five dollars for Nursing and Attendance on Christopher Marsson a Soldier of the U. S. Army taken into said Peters house sick, & died. also, two dollars for bording David Creasey four days a Soldier who helpt take care of said Marsson while he lived.

Orders to pay cease 25 Feb. 1815.

15 Aug. 1814. John Mulliken received "40-cents for airing the town's stock of Powder." (Ed.)

guest of a grateful country during his sojourn in America; and as he would probably desire to visit all the places memorable in the great patriotic struggle in which he had so nobly participated, it was natural to suppose that he would delight to visit the spot distinguished as the birthplace of American Liberty. The good people of Lexington, true to the spirit of their fathers, extended to the hero and sage a cordial invitation to visit the place and receive the congratulations of the admiring throng. To enable the whole people to participate as far as possible in paying a tribute of gratitude and heartfelt admiration, the subject was laid before the inhabitants in town meeting assembled. On the 30th of August, 1824, it was

"Voted, That the Board of Selectmen, together with Messrs. Abijah Harrington, John Muzzey, Elias Phinney, James Brown, Samuel Downing & Christopher Reed, be a Committee to make arrangements to give General Lafayette a suitable reception in this place.

"Voted that the Committee be authorized to draw upon the Town Treasurer for any sum of money that may be necessary to defray the expense of the preparation to receive the General."

This vote of the town, giving their Committee the power to draw from the Treasury without limitation, shows the state of feeling which pervaded the country at that time. Lafayette was the guest of the nation, and the entire people were disposed to show him the greatest possible respect. The recollection of his patriotic and valuable services in the field, and the no less valuable services in procuring aid from the French Government, endeared him to every American; and wherever he went he was hailed with joy and admiration. His tour through the country was rapid, and was marked everywhere by the most heartfelt demonstrations of gratitude and admiration. Cavalcades moved forward to meet him, cannon announced his approach, bells rang out their merry peals of congratulation and welcome, triumphant arches were thrown across the streets on which he was to pass, flags tastefully entwined, or thrown openly to the breeze, testified to the universal joy which the community felt. Never did a conqueror, returning from his victorious exploits, receive such heartfelt adulation. The pageantry attending the tour of monarchs through their dominions, escorted and protected by their

hireling bands of armed men, of which history furnishes many examples, are mere empty show, ostentatious parade, or feigned adulation at which the heart sickens, when compared with the sincere and voluntary homage paid to this illustrious man by every friend of liberty throughout the land.

On the 2d of September, 1824, Lafayette honored Lexington with his presence. Attended by his voluntary suite, he left Boston for our peaceful village. At the line of the town he was received by a troop of horse and a cavalcade of citizens, who escorted him to the Common. Here was a beautiful arch of evergreen and flowers, with a motto, — "Welcome, Friend of America, to the Birthplace of American Liberty."¹ The Common was tastefully decorated with flags, and a large concourse of people had assembled to do honor to one who had done so much for our country. Among those thus assembled were the children from the schools, and fourteen of the gallant men who had participated in the battle of the 19th of April, 1775. After entering the Common, under the arch before mentioned, the procession moved to the Monument, where the following patriotic and eloquent speech of welcome was delivered by Major Elias Phinney, of Lexington: —

"GENERAL: — In behalf of the Committee of Arrangements and the Inhabitants of Lexington, allow me to tender you the assurance of their most respectful and cordial welcome to this town. Impressed with a sense of the important services you have rendered this country, they meet you on this occasion, and upon this memorable spot, with hearts swelling with every emotion which a generous love for your exalted character, and a grateful remembrance of the distinguished lustre of your deeds can inspire.

"On this hallowed ground, consecrated by the blood of the first martyrs to liberty, was kindled that flame which roused the nation to arms, and conducted them through peril and blood to a glorious Independence. Here a small band of patriots hurled the first signal of defiance to a host in arms, and taught the enemies of their country the appalling truth, that Americans dared to die in defence of their rights.

"These hardy and virtuous yeomanry of the country offer you the sincere tribute of their warmest affections. Among them your presence has awakened emotions too powerful for utterance. With the name of Lafayette is associated every comfort which sweetens the fruit of their toil, every charm which crowns the altar of domestic

¹ This banner, painted on pure linen, is preserved in the Hancock-Clarke house. *Ed.*

happiness. Under the shadow of that glorious fabric, which your hands have assisted in rearing, they repose in peace and security.

"Permit me, Sir, in common with grateful millions, to express our earnest solicitations that a life which has for so many years been steadfastly devoted to the cause of national liberty — which has so long encountered, without dismay, the frowns of arbitrary power, may be preserved for many years to come, a blessing and an honor to mankind; and when you, Sir, and your brave associates in the war of the Revolution, shall have ceased from your earthly labors, instead of the fathers, may their children rise up to bless your memory, and emulate your virtues."

The General, with great sensibility, expressed his warmest thanks for the flattering attention he had received from the people of Lexington, the satisfaction and pleasure he felt in standing upon the soil consecrated by the blood of patriots to the glorious cause of freedom throughout the world, and the high gratification he experienced in beholding the surviving remnant of that heroic band, which here inaugurated that resistance to tyrants which is obedience to God.

After these ceremonies were over, the General was introduced to fourteen of the Spartan band who had rallied under the gallant Parker, on the memorable 19th of April, half a century before, to assert the rights of freemen in the face of a haughty foe. After exchanging cordial greetings with the citizens assembled on the Green, the company partook of a collation prepared for the occasion. Everything went off agreeably, and the day will long be remembered by those who were present.

At a meeting of the inhabitants of Lexington, held December 18, 1824, a committee was appointed, consisting of Hon. Nathan Chandler, Rev. Charles Briggs, Elias Phinney, Amos Muzzy, Abijah Harrington, Benjamin O. Wellington, Charles Reed, John Muzzy, and Francis Bowman, Jr., Esquires, to collect and present to the public a statement of such facts relative to the affair at Lexington on the morning of the 19th of April, 1775, as may be supported by undoubted testimony, and which may be calculated to place the transactions of that day, before the public, in their true light.

This measure was adopted in consequence of publications¹ which claimed for Concord the leading honors of the 19th of April, 1775. These writers asserted that "at Concord the first

¹ By Rev. Ezra Ripley, D.D., and Lemuel Shattuck, Esq. *Ed.*

blood was shed between the British and the armed Americans," and "that the first forcible resistance" was made at the North Bridge in Concord. Elias Phinney, Esq., acting for the committee, of which he was a member, prepared and published in 1825,¹ a succinct and well-digested history of the events of that day, so far at least as Lexington was concerned, — showing conclusively that the first blood on both sides was shed at Lexington, and that, though the British at Lexington as at Concord fired first, several of Captain Parker's men returned the fire. These statements were fully substantiated by the affidavits of several persons who were present and acting on that occasion. The pamphlet of Major Phinney, written with ability and candor, went far towards settling that controversy. The lists of the casualties of that day decide most conclusively who were at posts of danger and who were in the forefront of the battle. While Lexington with a single company had ten killed and ten wounded, Concord with two companies had no one killed and only four or five wounded, and one of them a citizen pursuing his ordinary occupation.

Concord, rather unfortunately for her fame, subsequently engaged in a controversy with Acton, relative to the events of that day. Josiah Adams, Esq., a native of Acton, delivered a Centennial Address in his native town in 1835, in which he defended Captain Davis, who fell gallantly leading the column to the Bridge occupied by the British troops; and in doing this he called in question the claims of Concord relative to the honors of the day. This defence of Captain Davis gave offence to the citizens of Concord, and a controversy ensued which drew from Mr. Adams a spicy letter to Lemuel Shattuck, Esq., the author of the History of Concord, in which he showed conclusively that to Captain Davis and his Acton company belonged the principal honor of the affair at the North Bridge.²

¹ This pamphlet, through the efforts of Mr. Charles A. Wellington, was republished in 1875. *Ed.*

² Mr. Adams, in his publications, maintains with great force that on the hill where the Provincials were assembled, the Concord companies both ranked the Acton company; that they were paraded on the right near the road leading to the Bridge; that both seniority of rank, and position on the field, would naturally devolve upon the Concord companies the duty of leading the column down the narrow causeway to the Bridge; but that in fact Captain Davis, occupying a central position in the line, wheeled his company out of the line, and marched in front of the Concord companies and at the head of the column, to dislodge the British from the Bridge; and that this must have been done with the approbation of Major Buttrick, who commanded at

In 1825, the citizens of Lexington celebrated the Fourth of July in a becoming manner. Rev. Caleb Stetson delivered the Oration, which was replete with patriotic sentiments. After paying a general tribute to the heroic, self-sacrificing spirit of our fathers who achieved our independence, the speaker alludes to Lexington in the following peroration:—

“But there are local associations coming home to our hearts—awakening an intense and absorbing interest. We can never forget that in this village, — in the little band that stood in fearless array with the gallant Parker, — the spirit of resistance to British oppression was first roused to action. Here was shed that blood in which the Declaration of our Independence was written.”

Alluding to those who fell on the 19th of April, he said:—

“Their memory is the legacy of mankind. It will descend with power and pathos to the bosoms of distant posterity. Yonder Monument is but an inadequate and perishing memorial of their glory — but the seal of immortality is already stamped upon it. We carry forward our vision through the shadowy range of coming generations, and see it grow brighter and brighter in the dimness of the distance. And it shall live in every heart that beats in freedom’s cause, when the mausoleums of departed greatness, and the monuments of pride and power shall have mouldered to oblivion.”

the time. He also asserts that on the retreat of the British from Concord, the Acton men joined in the pursuit and followed them as far at least as Lexington, where one of their number was killed; but that there is not the least evidence that the Concord companies ever left their own town during that day; that the assertion that the first forcible resistance was made at Concord is untrue; that there was forcible resistance at Lexington several hours before; and that the resistance at Concord was made by the Acton and not by the Concord men. He also confutes the assertion that when they marched down to the Bridge and returned the British fire, they had not heard that the enemy had fired upon Captain Parker’s men at Lexington several hours before. Any one who wishes to understand the transaction at Concord, and to honor those to whom honor is due, will do well to read the publications of Mr. Adams. (See an Address delivered at Acton, July 21, 1835, by Josiah Adams: Boston. Printed by J. T. Buckingham, 1835, and an Oration delivered in Acton, Mass., on the 29th of October, 1851, by his Excellency, George S. Boutwell . . . it being the Celebration of the Completion of the Granite Monument erected on Acton Common, over the Remains of Captain Isaac Davis, and Privates Abner Hosmer and James Hayward. Boston. Basin & Chandler, Printers, 1852. Also, Letter to Lemuel Shattuck, Esq., of Boston, from Josiah Adams, Esq., of Framingham. Boston. Damrell & Moore, Printers, 1850. *Ed.*)

CHAPTER XI

FROM THE YEAR 1830 TO 1867

The Nineteenth of April celebrated by the Town — The Remains of the Martyrs of 1775 removed — Controversy relative to the Ministerial Fund — The Town Hall — Kossuth visits Lexington — Death of Jonathan Harrington — Breaking-out of the Rebellion — Lexington sends her Quota of Men — Bounty to the Soldiers.

No one day in the annals of Lexington, save the 19th of April, 1775, stands out so prominent as April 20, 1835. On that day, the remains of those heroes who fell on Lexington Green, in 1775, and who had been interred in the graveyard, were removed and deposited in a vault, prepared for the purpose, near the base of the Monument, with appropriate ceremonies, long to be remembered. On the 28th of April, the year preceding, at a legal town meeting, it was

“*Voted* to have the remains of those who fell on the 19th of Apr. 1775 removed to a place near the monument (with the consent of their friends) and inclosed with the monument by an iron fence or railing.”

“*Voted*, To choose a Committee to carry the foregoing vote into effect.”

The following gentlemen were chosen:

Benj: O. Wellington
Charles Reed
Col. Samuel Chandler
Col. Phillip Russell
Ambrose Morell

Nathaniel Mulliken
William Chandler
Rev. Charles Briggs
Elias Phinney, Esq.

The Committee, impressed with the solemnity and importance of the subject, wisely selected the Anniversary of their fall as the day to remove their remains; and as the event was one of historic and national importance, they, with equal wisdom, chose one of the nation's most distinguished orators, Hon. Edward Everett, to deliver an Address on the occasion. The names of the persons whose remains were enclosed in the sarcophagus were, *Jonas Parker, Robert Munroe, Samuel Hadley, Jonathan Harrington, Jr., Isaac Muzzy, Caleb Har-*

ington, and John Brown. These persons belonged to Lexington and were killed in the morning. Three other citizens of Lexington were killed on the return of the British in the afternoon, namely, Jedediah Munroe, John Raymond, and Nathaniel Wyman.

The bodies of the seven individuals belonging to Lexington were, at the time of their death, enclosed in long wooden boxes, made of rough boards, and buried in one common grave in the burying-ground, separate and apart from all other graves.¹ A few days prior to the celebration, their remains were disinterred under the direction of the Committee, placed in a wooden coffin, which was enclosed in lead and made airtight, and the whole in a mahogany sarcophagus, on the sides and ends of which were eight urns, bearing the names and emblematical of the individuals whose remains were contained therein. A deposit was made in the sarcophagus of a thick leaden box, hermetically sealed, containing the following articles: A copy of the History of the Battle of Lexington, by Elias Phinney, Esq., a sketch of the exercises and orders of the day, a copy of the Bunker Hill Aurora, and a copy of the Concord Whig; the names of the President of the United States, of the Lieutenant [Acting] Governor of Massachusetts, and the clergymen of Lexington. To receive the sarcophagus, a tomb had been prepared in the rear of the foundation of the Monument.

Salutes and minute guns were fired at intervals during the morning, and flags raised in honor of the occasion were waving at half-mast until the close of the funeral services. At an early hour the village was filled with visitors to the number of several thousand, notwithstanding the unpropitious state of the weather. Public and private houses were thrown open and filled with visitors.

¹ See letter of Miss Betty Clarke, Proc. Lex. Hist. Soc., Vol. iv, p. 92: "Father sent Jonas down to Grandfather Cook's to see who was killed and what their condition was and, in the afternoon, (of Apr. 19, 1775,) Father, Mother with me and the Baby went to the Meeting House, there was the eight men that was killed, seven of them my Father's parishioners, one from Woburn, all in Boxes made of four large Boards Nailed up and, after Pa had prayed, they were put into two horse carts and took into the grave yard where your Grandfather and some of the Neighbors had made a large trench, as near the Woods as possible and there we followed the bodies of those first slain, Father, Mother, I and the Baby, there I stood and there I saw them let down into the ground, it was a little rainy but we waited to see them Covered up with the Clods and then for fear the British should find them, my Father thought some of the men had best Cut some pine or oak bows and spread them on their place of burial so that it looked like a heap of Brush." Ed.

The procession was formed at 11 o'clock, near the Monument House, and moved under a military escort, consisting of the Lexington Artillery and a volunteer company of light infantry, commanded respectively by Captain J. F. LeBarron and Captain Billings Smith. The procession moved to the burying-ground, where they received the sarcophagus, the band performing appropriate music during the ceremony. On arriving at the church, the military opened to the right and left, the sarcophagus was placed in the broad aisle, and the procession entered. The pulpit was occupied by the Chaplain and the Reverend Clergy. In front of the pulpit a platform had been raised for the orator; and on each side of him on the platform were seated the survivors of Captain Parker's company, namely, Dr. Joseph Fiske, Daniel Mason, Benjamin Locke, William Munroe, Jonathan Harrington, Ebenezer Simonds, Jonathan Loring, John Hosmer, Isaac Durant, Josiah Reed. Solomon Brown and Ebenezer Parker were absent, one living at a great distance, and the other on account of the infirmities of age. The galleries were occupied exclusively by the ladies. Notwithstanding the unpromising state of the weather the preceding evening and that morning, the church was filled to overflowing, as well as the platform which had been erected round the church; the windows also were filled with hearers.

After an appropriate prayer by Rev. James Walker, Hon. Edward Everett delivered an Address which was listened to in breathless silence for two entire hours. We shall attempt no synopsis of this Address. Nothing short of the whole could give an adequate idea of its power and beauty. It is enough to say that it has been given to the public, and is one of the happiest efforts of that distinguished orator, whose words have electrified the country, and whose life, even to the last, was devoted to the great cause of American Independence.

We cannot, however, dismiss this masterly Address without saying that Mr. Everett gave a succinct statement of the causes of the American Revolution, passed a justly merited eulogy upon John Hancock and Samuel Adams, commended the able and patriotic efforts of Rev. Jonas Clarke, noticed the preparations made in Lexington to meet the crisis; and of the events which occurred on the Common on the 19th of April, 1775, said:—

"Another general volley aimed with fatal precision, succeeds. . . . Several dropped, . . . killed and wounded. Captain Parker now felt the necessity of directing his men to disperse; but *it was not till several of them had returned the British fire, and some of them more than once*, that this handful of brave men were driven from the field."

After the close of the exercises at the church, the procession again formed, and moving around the enclosed battleground to the Monument, the sarcophagus was placed within the iron railing in a tomb of stone masonry, prepared to receive it. Three volleys of musketry were then fired over the grave, and the procession moved on to the pavilion erected near the Monument House, where a collation was prepared.

Elias Phinney, Esq., Chairman of the Committee of Arrangements, presided at the table. On each side of the President were the invited guests, including Lieutenant-Governor Armstrong and Aides, Orator and Chaplains, Daniel Webster, Judge Story, President Quincy, Attorney-General Austin, Adjutant-General Dearborn, and others.

The sentiments given on the occasion were responded to by the distinguished guests, who passed the highest eulogiums upon Lexington and her brave minute-men.

Lexington had been blessed in her historic association and in every department of her history. This had been particularly true of her parochial affairs. It is a lamentable fact that the spiritual concerns of a community, which should teach them forbearance and charity, have, in many, very many instances, been the cause of more disputes and heart-burnings and have produced more rancor and bitterness than almost anything else. Lexington, as we have seen, had been an exception to this too general rule for almost a century and a half.

But alas, for human nature! offences will come. As soon as Lexington became a parish, the people took measures to create a parsonage or ministerial fund, which should secure to them the means of supporting, or rather aid them in supporting, the Gospel ministry. They purchased a quantity of land and set it apart for that purpose. The original cost of the land was but about \$67, which was raised by a tax upon the parish. This land, or the avails of it, have been cherished with great fondness and managed with extreme care and fidelity. In 1817, an Act was obtained, incorporating certain persons as

Trustees of the Ministerial Fund, whose accounts were audited annually by the town. This fund in 1830 amounted to the sum of \$16,600, besides a quantity of land unsold.

In that year a portion of those who had worshipped at the church of the old parish formed themselves into a Baptist society, and subsequently a second Congregational society and a Universalist society were formed in the East Village.

In 1833 an article was inserted in the Warrant for March Meeting, which gave embodiment to the feeling which prevailed in the eastern section of the town:—

“To see if the town will move the Old Meeting-house, or build a new one in some central place, where there can be land procured to build out-buildings; or build a new one in the East Section of the town, & settle a Minister as Colleague with Rev. Charles Briggs to supply preaching in both Houses.”

The same article was inserted in the Warrant for a meeting in August of that year; and though these Articles were voted down by decided majorities, the opposition were not discouraged or disheartened. In October, 1834, they procured the insertion of an Article in the Warrant for a town meeting:—

“To see whether the Town will petition the Legislature of this Commonwealth, at the present session either to repeal the Act entitled ‘An act to incorporate the Trustees of the Lexington Ministerial Fund’ or so to modify the same that the equal rights to said fund and the profits resulting therefrom may be secured to all the inhabitants of said town agreeably to the intention of its Ancient Founders.”

This article was voted down, 120 to 64.

At a meeting, June 1, 1835, an Article was inserted in the Warrant:—

“To see if the town will authorize the trustees of the Ministerial Fund to pay to a Committee chosen for that purpose one half the income of said funds towards the support of a Congregational minister to preach to that part of the first Congregational society who worship in the East Village.”

This Article discloses the fact that those worshipping in the East Village still claim to be members of the old society and vote in their meetings. The town refused to act upon the Article.

This contest went on for years, and town meeting after

town meeting was called for the express purpose of obtaining a portion of this fund. Not only those who resided in the East Village, but the Baptists and Universalists, who had formed societies, claimed a share of the fund; and in order to be more successful, they all retained their membership in the old parish.

From ill health, Rev. Mr. Briggs resigned his office as pastor, and Rev. Mr. Swett was invited to take his place. But this only gave a new opportunity for the disaffected to renew their demand for a portion of the fund. It would be tiresome to go through all the details of this strife. But one thing is certain, namely, *that the income of the fund was the prize sought*. Like the eager heirs of a large estate, they were willing to sacrifice the harmony of the community and the very object of all preaching in a scramble for the means to pay the preacher.

As was natural, the opposing parties, though they had no common sympathy for each other, would unite against the stronger party and paralyze their efforts. The old society could not hold a meeting, or settle a minister, or transact their ordinary parish business, without encountering the opposition of those who, in a practical point of view, had no sympathy with the society, being alienated, either by doctrinal sentiments or sectional feelings, from the parish. In 1845 all parties became weary of the strife and came to a mutual understanding, by which the income of the fund should be divided between the different religious societies on the basis of the taxable property held by the members of each society respectively.

Now that the contest is over, the fund divided on a wise basis, and most of those who took the lead in that unfortunate struggle passed off the stage, we can look upon this matter impartially, and hence learn wisdom from the foibles of those who have gone before us. The character of the town has suffered by this bitter controversy, the effects of which have hardly yet passed away. And here Lexington does not stand alone. Almost every town which has had any considerable fund has experienced a like contest and alienation of feeling growing out of it.

On the legal rights of the case there is no room for doubt. All such funds are the property, not of the town, but of the parish. The law of Massachusetts, as expounded by the

courts, is clear. Every original township was a parish, and the two organizations, the *Municipal* and the *Parochial*, co-existed. When a bequest was made to the town, or when the town created a fund for the support of the minister, the property vested in the parish—the town being nothing but trustee for the parish. But the case of the Lexington Fund was still stronger. The land which formed the basis of this fund was bought and paid for by the parish, nearly twenty years before the town had a being. Consequently it belonged to the parish by as good a title as is known to the law. When, therefore, a person ceased to be a member of the parish, he ceased to be a joint owner of the fund. By leaving the parish he relinquished all right in and control over this parish property. While he remained in the parish he would have a right to vote; but being a member of a corporation, he must submit to the voice of the majority. If, therefore, those people who had formed themselves into a Baptist Society, or a Universalist Society, or who worshipped at the East Village, had left the old parish, they could have no legal claim upon the fund. But if they still belonged to the old parish, they were legally bound by a vote of the majority. So that at no time during this controversy were any of their *legal rights* infringed.

But they claimed that they had an *equitable* right to their share of the fund. This certainly deserves consideration. But on what was such a claim founded? On the original intent of those who created the fund? They designed it for the support of the ministry in their parish, and not in other rival societies which would tend to break down the parish for which they were providing. Did they base their claim in equity on the fact that they were members of the parish, and should have their share of the profits of the fund? If they were members of the parish, they were bound in law and equity to abide by the voice of the majority. Did those at the East Village claim a portion of the fund on the ground that they lived at a great distance from the meeting-house? It is a notorious fact that at the time the fund was created and the meeting-house built on the Common, there was a greater proportion of the inhabitants at the extreme eastern and other out-parts of the township, as compared with the centre, than there was when they were urging their plea.

Besides, all pleas of right imply corresponding obligations

and duties. Suppose the parish had been in debt for their meeting-house, or for the past salaries of their ministers, would these discontented persons have been willing to be taxed to pay that indebtedness? I apprehend that, under that state of things, they would have regarded it as an act of injustice to call upon them to help pay the old debt, contracted it may be before they were born, and would have shown their unwillingness by leaving the society. And further, was it acting on principles of moral equity to retain their legal membership, that they might be able to vote themselves a portion of this fund, when, in fact, they were members of other societies, which they were laboring to build up at the expense of the old parish? The facts in the case show that those who had formed rival societies had no *claim in law or equity* to any portion of the fund.

At the same time the old parish were unwise in resisting the application as long as they did. A little sober reflection should have taught them that the peace and harmony of the town was worth more in a civil, social, and religious point of view than a few hundred dollars of the Ministerial Fund. They should have seen earlier than they did that a determined minority would be likely to succeed in the end; that it is a safe policy to soothe rather than exasperate an opposition; and that it is wiser to bestow cheerfully than to wait and be compelled to yield reluctantly. Had they not brooded over this fund so long and cherished it with so much fondness, they might have seen that the tendency of a large fund is to paralyze rather than quicken religious feeling — the great object for which the Christian ministry was instituted. They acted discreetly at last in consenting to a division, and the only pity is that it was not done at an earlier day.

We would gladly have passed over this unfortunate page in the history of this otherwise peaceful town. But the impartial historian should record the unpleasant events which occur, as well as those which are more agreeable. It is from this presentation of light and shade that the spirit of the age may be seen, and the true character of individuals or communities may be known.

The Act of the Legislature, in 1845, providing for a distribution of the income of the Ministerial Fund, was accepted by the town by a unanimous vote, March 31, 1845. Thus an

end was put to that unpleasant and unprofitable controversy.¹

When that remarkable man, Louis Kossuth, former Governor of Hungary, fled from his country to escape the barbarity of Austria, and visited the United States, he was invited by the Governor of Massachusetts, at the request of the Legislature, to visit our Capital and become the guest of the State. He complied with the invitation, and during his sojourn in the State visited most of the principal cities and towns, where he was received and welcomed by thousands of the inhabitants. Being an exile from his native land and an ardent lover of free institutions, he would naturally desire to visit the birthplace of American Liberty. He was invited to Lexington. On the 11th of May, 1852, he left Boston, and taking West Cambridge in his route, he was escorted by the horsemen of that and the neighboring towns to the boundary of Lexington, where he was received by the Lexington Committee and a large cavalcade. The procession then moved to Lexington Common, where a rostrum had been erected near the Monument and appropriately decorated. All sides of the Common were hung with flags, tastefully arranged; at the entrance was the inscription — "WELCOME TO THE BIRTHPLACE OF AMERICAN LIBERTY." A large concourse of people had assembled at the Green, and the school-children were arranged along the walk, to greet Kossuth as he passed.

On reaching the platform, Kossuth was introduced by Colonel Isaac H. Wright to Hon. Charles Hudson, Chairman of the Lexington Committee, who addressed him as follows: —

"GOVERNOR KOSSUTH, — As the organ of the citizens of Lexington, I bid you a cordial welcome to this quiet and peaceful village. We are assembled here this morning to pay our honors and to tender our sympathy to one who, in other lands, has so nobly vindicated the rights of man against the encroachments of arbitrary and despotic power. Your advocacy of human rights, your devotion to the best interests of your beloved country, your labors for her welfare, and your suffering in her behalf, justly commend you to the friends of free institutions throughout the world. We rejoice

¹ The controversy was reopened later, as is evidenced by a pamphlet, *The Origin and Ownership of the Lexington Ministerial Fund*, published in 1879; but the last echoes of this ancient feud seem now to have died away. *Ed.*

in this opportunity of tendering to you our unfeigned regard, and to your bleeding country our kindest sympathy.

"We welcome you to this consecrated spot, on which was shed the first blood in that glorious struggle which made us a free and prosperous people, and gave us a name among the nations of the earth. But these blessings were dearly bought. This Green has been trampled by a foreign foe. Here our fathers met their oppressors, and this unpretending stone tells the sad story of their fate. In yonder humble dwelling,¹ our domestic exiles, the proscribed Hancock and Adams, sought a retreat, and, like the heroes in Grecian story, consulted the patriot priest on the safety of the Commonwealth.

"But a brighter day has dawned upon our country; and some of the sainted patriots who passed through those struggles, through that wilderness of dangers, and that Red sea of blood, are here to-day to partake of the blessings of this Canaan of rest.

"So may it be with your beloved country! Though a dark cloud overshadows her, its gilded margin betokens a brighter sky, and points to the bow of promise. Your country must ultimately be free. Austria and Russia may combine against her, but their efforts cannot prosper. Let these tyrants rely upon their fortresses and their armies — let their legions come up like the locusts of Egypt; but their trust is vain.

"Jove shakes the feeble props of human trust,
And towers and armies levels with the dust."

"I again welcome you to the birthplace of American liberty, and to all the hallowed associations which cluster around this place. I welcome you to the hearts of this people."

Kossuth in his reply, speaking of those who fell on Lexington Common, on the 19th of April, 1775, said: —

"It is their sacrificed blood with which is written the preface of your nation's history. Their death was and ever will be the first bloody revelation of America's destiny, and Lexington the opening scene of a revolution, that is destined to change the character of human governments, and the condition of the human race."²

¹ The Clarke House, on Hancock Street.

² Louis Kossuth was truly a wonderful man. A stranger in our country, and only self-taught in our language, and consequently unacquainted with our history, — he passed from place to place, speaking almost daily to large assemblies, in different localities, and displaying a knowledge of the local history of each place which would actually be instructive to the permanent inhabitants. The readiness with which he acquired a knowledge of our history, general and local, was surprising. He was, in fact, a man of remarkable talents. And when we consider the persecution he had suffered in his own country, the perseverance with which he pursued his efforts for her independence, we can easily excuse any extravagant theories into which he may

After Kossuth had finished his remarks, he was introduced to Jonathan Harrington and Amariah Preston, both soldiers of the Revolution, and each of them ninety-four years of age, and to many others of our citizens, when he visited the old Clarke House. He then moved on to Concord, where he had another public reception, made a speech, and returned to Boston the same day.

On the 26th of March, 1854, Jonathan Harrington, the last survivor of the battle of Lexington, closed his earthly career, aged ninety-five years, eight months, and eighteen days. At his funeral a large concourse of people assembled, a military procession was formed, and the greatest respect was shown to the memory of one who in his early youth had sounded the shrill notes of liberty in the ears of foreign oppressors, and had lived to witness the happy fruits of that Revolution, in the opening scene of which he had participated.¹

We enter now upon that part of our history which connects us with the mighty struggle to sustain our institutions. Many of the heroes of the Revolution had lived to see the fruit of their toils and sacrifices, in the prosperity of their country. They had seen the nation in her rapid march of improvement and civilization occupying a proud position among the nations of the earth — teaching the votaries of freedom throughout the civilized world that liberty is conducive to national prosperity and greatness. But these sainted patriots had passed off the stage, leaving a people enjoying greater blessings than had ever before fallen to the lot of any nation; and we, their descendants, born to this rich inheritance, had almost forgotten the sacrifices through which this vast patrimony was purchased.

The present generation considered their freedom secure. They saw the nation moving forward with gigantic strides, and our flag respected in every part of the habitable earth; knowing we had nothing to fear from any foreign power and deeming the Union of the States perpetual, they had suffered the idea of military defence to pass almost into oblivion. They had heard the threats of dissolving the Union, but they

have fallen, and any impatience he may have manifested at what he regarded the backwardness of this country in entering into his visionary scheme of delivering Hungary from the yoke of Austria.

¹ See *Genealogy of the Harrington Family*, 1st edition. *Ed.*

regarded them as the idle vaunting of the reckless few, scarcely worthy of a moment's consideration. And when they saw a few factious leaders of a restless and disappointed minority quitting their seats in Congress for no other conceivable reason than that they were out-voted at the polls, they could not believe that they would dare to raise a parricidal hand against the country which bore them. Such was the confidence of the great mass of the people in the permanence of the Union, and in the love of country which prevailed even at the South, that they could hardly dream of taking up arms against their Southern brethren; fondly believing that decrees of secession, like paper blockades, would prove perfectly harmless in the end. And it was not till the air reverberated with the thunders of the artillery opened upon Fort Sumter that the mass of our people realized that there was any occasion for buckling on their armor in defence of their rights.

Fort Sumter was attacked on the 12th of April and taken possession of on the 14th. On the 15th of April, 1861, the President issued his proclamation, calling for troops. Several regiments in Massachusetts responded at once to the call. Though Lexington, like most of the country towns, had no organized company, several of our young men volunteered and enlisted in companies out of town which were under marching orders. An effort was made to raise a company in Lexington; but there being no manufacturing or other business to retain the young men in the place, it was found difficult to obtain a full company in the town, and hence they united with a neighboring town, in the hope of gathering one. While this effort was being made, a town meeting was held, at which it was unanimously voted to appropriate the sum of four thousand dollars to aid the cause. A large committee was chosen to disburse the same, as far as might be necessary, to encourage enlistments, and to supply the wants of the families of those who should enter the service for the period of *three months* — that being the only term then required. Immediately after this appropriation, and before the company was full, the President announced that no more three-months' men would be accepted; but that all volunteers must enlist for three years. In the mean time the State Legislature assembled and passed an Act confirming contracts already made by towns in aid of enlistments, and virtually prohibit-

ing such appropriations in future. This changed the whole state of affairs; and the company, nearly filled, not choosing to offer themselves for a three years' service, the Committee felt constrained to confine their expenditures to the amount already contracted for. The sum actually expended for clothing, drill-officers, and for supplying the families of soldiers in service amounted to about six hundred dollars; and the Committee in their Report, submitted to the town, say: —

“In view of the whole subject, the Committee believe that the money by them disbursed has, under the peculiar and exciting state of things, under which they were called to act, been expended in such a manner as to aid the great cause we all have at heart, by contributing to the comfort of the gallant men who have entered the service and of the families they have left behind them.”

Under the novel state of things existing at the breaking-out of the Rebellion, and with the patriotic enthusiasm of the people, it is not strange that errors were committed and unwise expenditures made in very many cases; but the Town Records of Lexington show that while she had patriotism enough to make a generous appropriation to encourage men to enter the service, and to provide for the comfort of them and their families, she had at the same time wisdom and prudence sufficient to guide her emotions, and to expend no more than seemed to be conducive to those ends.

While some of our neighboring towns, at the commencement of the war, expended thousands of dollars in a way which they themselves, at a later period, saw to be fruitless, Lexington can look back upon her early expenditures with a conviction that they were judicious, and that the balance of the appropriation was more wisely and usefully applied at a later period than it could have been during the first six months of the war.

But the efforts of the town and the liberality of her citizens did not stop here. On the 2d of July, 1862, the people were called together, “To see what measures the town will adopt in relation to furnishing the Town's quota of Soldiers under the call of the President of the United States.”

The people having convened, the following preamble and vote were adopted: —

“*Whereas* the present alarming state of the Country requires that

large reinforcements should be sent forward without delay to sustain our gallant soldiers now in the field, and to put down the existing unrighteous rebellion; and the devoted President of the United States in the discharge of his official duty, has made an appeal to the patriotism of the people, and the Governor of the Commonwealth, prompt to every such appeal, has designated the quota of men required of every town: — *And whereas* the Town of Lexington was the first to seal her devotion to freedom and equal rights in 1775, and the blood of her slaughtered citizens cries to us from the ground to sustain the cause in which they offered themselves a living sacrifice; and as every citizen is under the most sacred obligation to bear his share, if not in the perils, yet in the burdens and sacrifices of this righteous contest, and bound to encourage, support, and sustain those who obey their country's call, and manfully enrol themselves in defence of our dearest rights and privileges, It is therefore, in open Town Meeting legally called for the purpose,

"Voted unanimously, That a bounty of one hundred Dollars be offered to each and every patriotic soldier who will volunteer into the service of the United States for the period of three years, unless sooner discharged, to fill the quota of twenty men required of this town."

Under the above vote *twenty men*, the town's full quota, were enlisted, and the sum of two thousand dollars was paid to the soldiers.

Soon after, a call was made by the President for nine months' men, and the quota of Lexington was *thirty-one*. The town, at a meeting called for the purpose, on the 29th of August, voted a bounty of two hundred dollars. This quota was promptly filled by enlisting *thirty-two men*, — *five of them for three years*. Under this vote the town expended six thousand two hundred dollars.

At a subsequent meeting, the town made ample provision for the support of the soldiers' families beyond what was allowed by the State, and requested the Assessors to abate the poll-tax of all soldiers in the service.

In addition to the sum granted by the town from time to time to pay the bounty for recruits, individuals subject to military duty, and others not subject to such duty, contributed freely to the same object. All such sums, however, were reimbursed by the town, so that the cost of procuring soldiers, except some incidental expenses, was ultimately paid by the town. Hammon Reed, Esq., Chairman of the Selectmen

in his report in 1866, states the amount paid by the town for procuring soldiers during the rebellion, exclusive of the expenses of town officers, to have been \$25,692. To this amount may safely be added, for the sum paid to the families of soldiers, beyond what was reimbursed by the State, and for other incidental expenses, \$1500 — making a gross sum of \$27,192. The Selectmen also state that the town had furnished, including reenlistments, two hundred and forty-four soldiers, being nine more than the town's quota.

In addition to this there were organized two sewing-societies working for the hospitals, which sent forward a large amount of clothing and stores for the benefit of the sick and wounded. Lexington also furnished one hospital nurse,¹ whose services were scarcely surpassed by any of that class of self-sacrificing ladies, who submitted to every hardship and encountered every danger to relieve the sufferings of the patriotic defenders of our free institutions. As much true moral courage was required to brave disease in the hospitals as bullets in the field. Of the two hundred and forty-four soldiers and seamen, being nine more than her quota, that Lexington furnished, we believe not one brought any dishonor upon the town. And though Lexington at the commencement of the rebellion had no military company, and consequently her citizens could commence with no military prestige, yet their record was creditable to themselves and the place they represented. Two² of our citizens entered the service as captains; one³ as second lieutenant, and became a lieutenant-colonel; one⁴ as a private and became assistant-adjutant-general, with the rank of captain; one⁵ who went out a non-commissioned officer rose to be major and commissary of subsistence; one⁶ who went out as a private rose to the rank of captain and major by brevet; and one⁷ who went out as a private rose to the rank of quartermaster. Several others became warrant officers while in service.

Such in brief is the military record of Lexington during the slaveholders' rebellion — and of this record no intelligent citizen need to be ashamed. Lexington has been true to herself and true to the great principles of civil liberty. She has

¹ Mrs. Mary von Olnhausen. (See Phinney Family, Vol. II. Also *Adventures of an Army Nurse*, Little, Brown & Co., 1903. *Ed.*)

² Charles B. Johnson, and William Plumer.

³ John W. Hudson.

⁴ Charles A. Gould.

⁵ Loring W. Mussey.

⁶ Jonas F. Capell.

⁷ George E. Mussey.

contributed her share to sustain those institutions which resulted from the American Revolution, the opening scene of which was performed within her limits by her own citizens.

When the late unholy rebellion was substantially brought to a close by the capture of the rebel armies, and the people of the free States were filled with rejoicing at the glorious event, the nation was suddenly thrown into a state of consternation by the tidings of the assassination of our excellent President, who had, with so much wisdom and patriotism, conducted us successfully through the war; and as soon as the first feeling of surprise had subsided, the emblems of rejoicing were displaced by the insignia of mourning. The flags which were thrown to the breeze in honor of our victories were lowered half-mast as a token of the nation's grief; and the loud huzzas that were echoing through the air gave place to sighs and lamentations; and the thousand bells which were resounding in joy and gladness ceased their merry peals, that they might toll in unison with the sad laments of the people. Everywhere throughout the free States a solemn silence reigned, and the whole community felt that the country had met with an irreparable loss. All parties, with one accord, were ready to testify to the worth of the departed statesman and to do honor to his memory.

The 19th of April, a day dear to every citizen of Lexington, was set apart for the funeral solemnities at Washington; and the people throughout the country were invited to observe the day in some appropriate manner. The people of Lexington assembled at the Church of the First Parish, which was suitably draped in mourning, and appropriate services were performed in the presence of a large and sympathizing assembly. Rev. L. J. Livermore, assisted by Rev. Mr. Savage, conducted the devotional exercises; Rev. William T. Stowe delivered an appropriate address; Charles Hudson, from acquaintance with the deceased, spoke of his personal character and moral worth; and further remarks were made by Rev. Caleb Stetson. The occasion was one of peculiar interest, and the assembly retired with a full sense of the nation's loss.

We cannot close this part of our history without recognizing the hand of God in the trying scenes through which we have passed. Not only the result of the rebellion, but the

means employed, show an overruling Providence. Slavery, the foul blot upon our national character, had become so interwoven into the texture of Southern society and had so far demoralized the Southern heart that nothing but some great convulsion in the social system could wipe out the stain. Under God this crying evil has been the great instrument of eradicating itself.

Whoever reads the history of this rebellion aright will see an all-wise Providence restraining the ambitious designs of unprincipled men, and turning their base instrumentalities against them. Their bloody massacre at Fort Pillow, by which they fondly hoped to dissuade the blacks from entering the army; their more than savage cruelty at Belle Isle and Andersonville, by which they hoped to thin the ranks of the Union armies by starving their prisoners to death, or so reducing them to skeletons that they would be unfit for service if exchanged, only aroused the indignation of the lovers of our free institutions, and called our brave men to the field. Yes, the innocent blood wickedly shed at Fort Pillow cried from the ground against them; and the feeble moans of our starving prisoners in those wretched pens, under the very eyes of the rebel government, were heard on high, and drew down the withering frowns of the Righteous Ruler of the universe.

On the other hand, the Lord raised up a man to guide the nation through this fiery trial and bring this war to a happy termination. In ABRAHAM LINCOLN we had the statesman, the patriot, and the Christian ruler, that the crisis demanded — a man of the people, who knew their wants, feelings, and sentiments, and who was ready at all times to carry out their views, agreeably to the genius and spirit of our admirable form of government. If we were asked, who put down the rebellion, we could answer in the very language of the Preamble of the Constitution, "We, the people of the United States." The people have put down the rebellion agreeably to the genius of our government, by the agent of our own choice, the Heaven-appointed Lincoln. Nor does this detract from the worth of the man or the value of his services. On the contrary, it shows that his talents, his integrity, his abiding trust in an overruling Providence exactly fitted him for the crisis, and so enabled him to work out a mighty deliverance for his people.

The American people with one accord have denominated

GEORGE WASHINGTON, the "Father of his Country," and admiring nations have confirmed the designation. And the future historian, when he narrates the events of the late rebellion, will place ABRAHAM LINCOLN in the same galaxy of illustrious men with Washington; and as the former is the acknowledged "FATHER," so the latter will be the admitted "SAVIOR OF HIS COUNTRY." The names of WASHINGTON and LINCOLN will go down to posterity, and their memories will be cherished by every lover of freedom and equal rights. Washington, in pure patriotism, and with Christian fortitude, labored to resist the encroachments of foreign tyrants and to build up free institutions in his native land; Lincoln, with like patriotism and fortitude, labored to repel the assaults of domestic traitors and to defend these institutions, so that the land of his birth might enjoy the blessings of perpetual and universal freedom. And though Lincoln, by the order of Providence, had no opportunity to participate in the important work of organizing our civil institutions, he enjoyed the privilege of blotting out the only foul stain which deformed the work of our fathers. Lincoln's Proclamation of Emancipation, which burst the bonds of slavery and set four millions of human beings free, reflects the highest honor upon his character, and will mark an epoch in the world's history as important as that of Magna Charta or the Declaration of Independence.

CHAPTER XII

FROM THE YEAR 1867 TO 1912

A Period of Transition — Centennial of the Battle — New Town Hall — Railroad Development — Savings Bank — Water Supply — Parks — Fire and Police Protection — Electric Railway — Patriots' Day — Public Buildings — Hayes Fountain — Street Development — The Town Meeting.

WITH the year 1868, to which Mr. Hudson brought the History of Lexington, there closed a distinct era in the United States, and there began a new period of expansion in trade, in manufacturing, in world-knowledge, and in political ideals, which in forty-five years has brought this country to a height of prosperity unimaginable in 1860, to a concentration of vast wealth that has raised many profound social and political questions, and to a cosmopolitanism that is bringing in its train many complex problems.

While Lexington, during this period of nearly half a century, has maintained its rural and semi-rural character, while its manufactures are proportionately little greater than they were in 1868, it has nevertheless been deeply influenced by these great national changes, and is doubtless soon to be confronted with many new questions growing out of its nearness to Boston, brought almost to its doors by the development of cheap and rapid methods of transportation. The period 1869-1912 may properly be called, therefore, an era of transition from the time when Lexington was a small rural community to the time when it will be, inevitably, a closely built suburb of one of the largest cities in the United States. In this period of change the town has been confronted with questions of education, transportation, water supply, building, lighting, removal of wastes, and consequently of increased taxation, that have brought grave responsibilities to her officials, and have presented many perplexing problems to the consideration of her town meetings.

Moreover, because of these national and local changes, the homogeneity which characterized to an unusual degree the citizenship of the town during its first hundred and fifty

HAYES MEMORIAL FOUNTAIN AND "MINUTEMAN"

years of corporate life, has largely disappeared. Not only has the single church governed by the town meeting given place to a number of religious organizations, but there has developed also a wide range of commercial and social interests. Because of this, there has arisen, at times, some divergence of views — fortunately only temporary — between those residing in the centre of the town, and conducting their business affairs there or in Boston, and those living away from the centre, and dependent mainly upon agriculture.

Almost surrounded by richer and more rapidly growing towns, with Boston only ten miles away, and with all those communities spending large sums upon education, roads, and other public utilities, Lexington has been forced into many expenditures necessary to maintain a healthy civic growth, but burdensome upon the taxpayers, and, in the eyes of those who secure little immediate benefit from them, superfluous. Therefore, if, to one familiar with local history, there seem to have been many controversies, those have had their origin not in any unusual pugnacity on the part of the citizens, but rather in the peculiar conditions surrounding the town's development.

A somewhat minute examination of the town records since 1868, and of the debates in the town meetings, would be of the highest significance to the student of economic history; but such a method would be out of place in a volume which can and should be mainly, if not solely, a mere chronicle of events. During the period since the Civil War there has been in Lexington, however, only one event of national importance — the celebration of the one hundredth anniversary of the Battle of Lexington. With that exception, therefore, this addition to Mr. Hudson's History can be little more than a record of occurrences, each comparatively small in itself, but together bringing about changes of lasting importance in the life of the town.

The close of Mr. Hudson's volume left Lexington at the moment of beginning to recover from the strain and stress of the Civil War. Many of her sons and some of her daughters had taken active part in that fearful struggle; and practically all the citizens not at the front had bent their energies to such grave home problems as those of taxation, the raising of supplies, the furnishing of comforts, and the furthering by patriotic meetings and in other ways of the Union cause. Active as

the people of Lexington had been in upholding the Federal armies, they realized that with the coming of peace there should be brought about as rapidly as possible a re-cementing of the people of the North and South. They saw in the approaching centennial of the Battle of Lexington an opportunity to further this healing process by stimulating patriotism towards the whole nation, in contradistinction to that sectional patriotism which had necessarily been fostered by the Civil War. It was not, therefore, in a spirit of self-glorification, but rather in the mood of fulfilling a patriotic duty, that the town took steps to prepare for a national celebration on April 19, 1875.

In November, 1873, an attempt was made to arrange a joint celebration with Concord. This resulted in a committee, appointed by both towns, to consider the feasibility of so dividing the exercises that those of Lexington should occupy the morning and those of Concord the afternoon. No such plan seeming to be practicable, the idea was abandoned, and, as events proved, most fortunately; for the congestion was such that it would have been absolutely impossible to convey the enormous crowd of visitors from one town to the other.

Decision to hold separate celebrations having finally been reached, Lexington, at a town meeting held July 11, 1874, appointed as an Executive Committee, with full power to make all arrangements, the following: Charles Hudson, *Chairman*; M. H. Merriam, W. H. Munroe, W. A. Tower, G. E. Muzzey, B. C. Whitcher, L. S. Peirce, G. O. Smith, Webster Smith, E. G. Porter, E. S. Elder, Alonzo Goddard, C. C. Goodwin, Benjamin Hadley, G. D. Harrington, H. Holmes, T. G. Hovey, Patrick Mitchell, C. M. Parker, N. W. Peirce, Levi Prosser, John Pryor, Hammon Reed, R. W. Reed, A. B. Smith, C. A. Wellington, Walter Wellington, Henry Westcott, and F. E. Wetherell, *Secretary*.

This body of citizens was divided into appropriate sub-committees, the members of which gave largely of their time and thought, with the result that an excellent programme, national in its scope and complete in every detail, was arranged and was carried out in so far as the extraordinary circumstances of the day allowed. The weather, however, was unseasonably cold, a heavy fall of snow taking place a few days before the celebration, and the temperature on the 19th of April remaining below freezing, with a sharp north wind;

and the crowd, despite the inclement season, was far in excess of the most extravagant expectations. It is estimated that at least one hundred thousand persons thronged the streets, while many thousands more were unable to reach the town or even to leave Boston. The only means of transportation, other than on foot or by carriage, was that furnished by the single-track railroad running from Boston to Concord, through Lexington, and by a horse-railway extending only to Arlington, five miles away. Even trains of thirty cars, not only crowded in the ordinary meaning, but with the roofs laden with passengers, were wholly inadequate to the moving of such a throng; and the single highway leading from the direction of Boston was so congested that progress by vehicle became wellnigh impossible. That, under such conditions, it was possible to carry through an elaborate procession, to hold the other exercises measurably as planned, and to avert the serious consequences of hunger, cold, and lack of shelter for such a multitude, was indeed a feat, accomplished by extraordinary zeal on the part of the committees, supplemented by the unstinted hospitality of every householder.

The town and, indeed, the entire route of the British march from Boston was elaborately decorated; and for the exercises — held, naturally, on the battle Green, or Common — there were provided two floored tents, that used for the morning exercises and for the ball in the evening seating seven thousand persons, and that for the dinner seating three thousand seven hundred.

The 19th of April coming on Monday, it was planned to begin the celebration with special religious services in all the churches on Sunday morning, followed by a general service in the larger of the tents on Sunday evening. The cold was so intense, however, as to compel the use, for the evening service, of the Town Hall instead. Rev. Edward G. Porter presided, special music was rendered by a Lexington chorus of fifty voices, the sermon was preached by the Rev. William Adams, D.D., and two hymns written for the occasion, one by Dr. S. F. Smith and the other by Dr. I. N. Tarbox, were sung. The many thousands who could not secure admission to the hall were permitted to inspect the decorations of the pavilions and to listen to music by the Brockton Band.

The celebration of the 19th of April itself was begun by a salute of one hundred guns. At half-past ten the formal exer-

cises, held in the larger of the tents, were opened by a scholarly address by Thomas Meriam Stetson, Esq., President of the day. This was followed by prayer by Rev. Henry Westcott, minister of the First Parish Church. The Boylston Club then sang Eichberg's "To thee, O country, great and free," and Rev. John Wesley Churchill read Scripture selections from the Bible presented to the church by Governor Hancock.

The now familiar poem of Whittier's, "Lexington — 1775," written for this occasion, was then read; and was followed by an address, with the unveiling of the statues of John Hancock and Samuel Adams, by the Hon. Charles Hudson.

The orator of the day was the Hon. Richard Henry Dana, Jr. He proved equal to the great occasion and in terse, vigorous English recited the causes and summarized the steps of that eventful day. Especially clear and convincing is his analysis of the attitudes of mind of the Provincials and the British officers.

"When the British troops marched out this morning, it was not merely to destroy the military stores collected at Concord, but to disarm and disperse any military organizations not recognized by the new laws, and to arrest and commit to prison the leading patriots. If they had come across a town meeting or a congress, held without authority of the royal governor's warrant, they would have entered, and dispersed the meeting by the bayonet; and who will doubt, that, like the Roman senators in their curule chairs and stately robes, our ancestors, in their homespun clothes, and on the plain wooden benches of their office, senators of the town and county, would have yielded up their lives where they sat, rather than acknowledge the tyrannical command? It mattered little, and no one could predict at all, whether the first blow would fall on the town meeting, the congress in its session, or the militia company on the training-field.

". . . Now, what was all this but a call for martyrdom? The first that fell must fall as martyrs. The battle would begin with the shot which took their lives. No call could be made demanding more fortitude, more nerve, than this. Many a man can rush into battle, maddened by the scene, who would find it hard to stand in his line, inactive, to await the volley, if it must come. But our people were thoroughly instructed in their cause. They had studied it, discussed it in the public meeting and through the press, carried it to the Throne of Grace, and tried it by every test they knew. They had made up their minds to the issue, and were prepared to accept its results. . . .

"When the events of that day assumed their serious aspect, the British sought to prove that this little band fired first. Not only is this improbable, nay, absurd in itself, and contradicted by all our testimony; but no British officer speaks of more than what he heard and believed at the time. As they neared Lexington, the report came to them that some five hundred men were under arms; and I am not disinclined to reconcile their testimony with the facts, by the consideration that they heard the roll of our drums, and perhaps saw the flash or heard the report of our signal-guns, intended to call our men together, and thought them a defiance; and perhaps officers in the centre or rear might have thought them hostile shots. But the front knew they had not been fired upon, and saw the short, thin line of sixty men with arms at rest. Pitcairn, when he rode up to them, and ordered them to surrender their arms and disperse, knew they had not fired. He was not the man to talk after hostile shots. Pitcairn has had the fate which befalls many men who carry out orders that afterwards prove fatally ill-judged. When he ordered our men to surrender their arms and disperse, he was executing the orders of his commander-in-chief and of his King. If Britain was in the right, Pitcairn was in the right. Twice they were ordered to surrender their arms and disperse; and twice they refused to obey, and stood their ground. Then came the fatal fire; and why not? General Gage had been authorized to use the troops for this very purpose. He was authorized to fire upon the people, if necessary to enforce the new laws, without waiting for the civil magistrate. He had resolved to do so. Had that volley subdued the resistance of Massachusetts, Pitcairn would have been the hero of the drama. Was he to leave a military array behind him, and not attempt to disarm and disband them? If they refused, was he to give it up? I have never thought it just or generous to throw upon the brave, rough soldier, who fell while mounting the breastworks at Bunker Hill, the fault which lay on the King, the Parliament, the Ministry, and the commander-in-chief. The truth is, the issue was inevitable. The first force of that kind which the King's troops found in martial array was to be disarmed and disbanded; and, if they refused to obey, they were to be fired upon. Both sides knew this, and were prepared for it. It is inconsistent in us, and an unworthy view of this crisis, to treat it as a wanton and ruthless slaughter of unoffending citizens by an armed force. It takes from the event its dignity and historic significance. It was no such accidental and personal matter. It was an affair of state. It was the inevitable collision between organized forces representing two antagonistic systems, each a *de facto* body politic, claiming authority and demanding obedience, on the same spot at the same time. If our cause was wrong, and resistance to the new laws unjustifiable, our popular militia was an unlawful band, and ought to surrender

its arms and disperse. If our cause was right, Captain Parker's company was a lawful array, and their loaded guns were lawfully in their hands; they had a right to stand in their line, on their training-field, before their homes, and beside their church, ready to shed their blood in the cause, and to fire when fired upon. They were determined neither to attack nor to fly; neither to surrender their arms nor to fire first; but to fire when fired upon; all in strict obedience to the line of duty enjoined on them by the Continental Congress, by the votes of the towns, and the counsels of their leaders. The issue was made up just then and just there. . . . The trial of that issue, in the presence of the world, began with the first volley on Lexington Green, and lasted six years. The battle of the 19th April began on this spot, and ended at Charlestown Neck. The war of the Revolution began at Lexington, and ended at Yorktown.

" . . . Our soldiers loaded their guns, by military command, to fire if fired upon; and the war began with the volley and the falling of the dead and wounded. It may not be of much account in any political or strategic sense, but it is a satisfaction to our pride in our ancestors, to know that rashly, it may be, uselessly, perhaps, but bravely, beyond doubt, the moment the British fire authorized us to use the guns we had loaded for the purpose, and met the condition in Captain Parker's order, 'unless fired upon,' the fire was returned by men still standing in their line, in their martial array; and that the line was not abandoned until they were ordered to disperse by their captain, who saw that the regulars were hastening up, on both flanks, to surround and capture them; and that, when the survivors withdrew, they took their arms with them. It is not of much account that a regular of the Tenth Regiment, and another, were wounded, and that the horse of the commander was grazed by two balls; but it is a satisfaction to know that here in Lexington was not only the first hostile volley fired by British troops at Provincial troops, but the first shots fired back by our troops at theirs. You recall with pride, too, that no sooner had the regulars resumed their march than your Minute-Men rallied, took six prisoners who had straggled from the line; joined in the pursuit of the British from the Lincoln and Concord line to Charlestown Neck; and that in that pursuit three more men of Lexington laid down their lives, of whom one had been wounded on the Green in the morning. You read with ever renewed satisfaction that on the rolls of that day Lexington stands first: ten of her townsmen killed, — seven in the morning on the Green, and three in the afternoon in the pursuit, — and first in the list of wounded, nine; nineteen in all, from your small population, who suffered death or wounds in the common cause. The pecuniary loss of Lexington that day in houses and other property destroyed, nearly two thousand pounds sterling, bore a large proportion to the whole property of the town. Well did she redeem her

modest promise to Boston, 'We trust in God, . . . we shall be ready to sacrifice our estates, and everything dear in life, yea, and life itself, in support of the common cause.'"

The morning exercises closed with a poem written for the day by Julia Ward Howe, and the benediction was pronounced by the Rev. Rollin H. Neale, D.D. Immediately thereafter the invited guests were escorted to carriages, and joined the procession which had meanwhile been forming at the corner of what is now Massachusetts Avenue and Middle Street. Its route was as follows: Main Street (now Massachusetts Avenue) to Hancock Street, through Hancock to Revere Street, through Revere to Bedford Street, and thence to the Common.

The procession was in three divisions, the Chief Marshal, Colonel William A. Tower, being escorted by the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company. The first division comprised, among others, the Lexington Minute-Men (who will be referred to later); one hundred men of the Military Order of the Loyal Legion; veterans of the War of 1812; many distinguished guests, including the President and Vice-President of the United States, members of the Cabinet, and the Governor and ex-Governors of Massachusetts and other States; and delegations from the towns which participated in the battle. The centre division included more such delegations; while in the left division were representatives of the militia and of the Grand Army posts, together with various city and town officials.

About half-past three, — the President of the United States and others having reviewed the procession, — the exercises of the dinner were formally begun. The presiding officer was Mr. Stetson, President of the day, and at the head table with him were President Grant; Vice-President Wilson; the Secretary of War, General Belknap; the Secretary of State, Mr. Fish; the Secretary of the Navy, Mr. Robeson; the Postmaster-General, Mr. Jewell; Chief-Justice Gray; Governor Gaston of Massachusetts; Governor Chamberlain of South Carolina; and a number of others.

The first toast of the dinner was, of course, to the President of the United States; and responses to subsequent toasts were made by Governor Gaston; Governor Chamberlain; the orator of the day; Chief-Justice Gray; Hon. George B. Lor-

ing, President of the Massachusetts Senate; General William F. Bartlett; General Chamberlain of Bowdoin College; Hon. Nathaniel P. Banks; Rev. Edward Everett Hale; and others. Poems written for the occasion by Rev. William C. Gannett and Rev. W. R. Huntington, D.D., and set to music, were sung by the Boylston Club; and letters from distinguished foreigners and others were read. That from the Hon. William E. Gladstone has, in view of the occasion, special significance:

"LONDON, March 5, 1875.

"Gentlemen:

"I have had the honor to receive the letter in which you convey to me a very warm and courteous invitation to attend the banquet which it is proposed to hold at Lexington in commemoration of the attainment of independence by the United States of America.

"The circumstances of the war which yielded that result, the principles it illustrates, and the remarkable powers and characters of the principal men who took part, whether as soldiers or civilians, in the struggle, have always invested it with a peculiar interest in my eyes, quite independently of the intimate concern of this country in the events themselves.

"On account of these features, that war and its accompaniments seem to me to constitute one of the most instructive chapters of modern history, and I have repeatedly recommended them to younger men as subjects of especial study.

"With these views, I need not say how far I am from regarding the approaching celebration with indifference. It is entirely beyond my power to cross the sea, even with the present admirable communications, for the purpose of attendance. The present time happens to be for me, even independently of my attendance in Parliament, one of many urgent occupations which I am not at liberty to put aside. But I earnestly hope, and I cannot doubt, that the celebration will be worthy of the occasion.

"In a retrospective view of the eventful period, my countrymen can now contemplate its incidents with impartiality. I do not think they should severely blame their ancestors, whose struggle to maintain the unity of the British Empire is one that must, I think, after the late great war of the North and South, be viewed in America with some sympathy and indulgence. We can hardly be expected to rate very highly the motives of those European powers who threw their weight into the other scale, and who so sensibly contributed towards accelerating, if not, indeed, towards determining, the issue of the war; yet, for one, I can most truly say that, whatever the motives and however painful the process, they, while seeking to do an injury, conferred upon us a great benefit, by re-

leasing us from efforts the continuation of which would have been an unmixed evil. As regards the fathers of the American Constitution themselves, I believe we can and do now contemplate their great qualities and achievements with an admiration as pure as that of American citizens themselves; and can rejoice no less heartily, that, in the counsels of Providence, they were made the instruments of a purpose most beneficent to the world.

"The circumstances under which the United States began their national existence, and their unexampled rapidity of advance in wealth, population, enterprise, and power, have imposed on their people an enormous responsibility. They will be tried, as we shall, at the bar of history; but on a greater scale. They will be compared with the men not only of other countries, but of other times. They cannot escape from the liabilities and burdens which their greatness imposes.

"No one desires more fervently than I do, that they may be enabled to realize the highest hopes and anticipations that belong to their great position in the family of man.

"I have the honor to be, gentlemen,

"Your obliged and faithful servant,

"W. E. GLADSTONE."

The final event of the day was a reception by the President of the United States in the large pavilion, followed by a ball in which many hundreds participated. Before leaving the town, at about 10 P.M., General Grant planted at the east end of the Common an elm tree which, after many vicissitudes, died in 1902.

Throughout the day there were exhibited in the Cary Library relics of great interest, the chief treasure being the brace of pistols, silver-mounted and elaborately chased, used by Major Pitcairn in firing upon the Minute-Men on the day of the battle.¹

¹ "These famous pistols were brought to Lexington on the day of the celebration by the Rev. S. I. Prime, D.D., of New York. Their history is uncommonly full and authentic. After having been fired by Pitcairn on Lexington Common, before any other firearm was used, they accompanied their owner to Concord. On the return of the British through Lexington, early in the afternoon, a severe skirmish took place about a mile and a quarter west of the village, at Fiske's Hill, where Major Pitcairn was conspicuously engaged in directing the movements of the troops. A party of Minute-Men fired at him from behind a pile of rails. The Major fell wounded; and his horse, having lost its rider, ran over the fields, and was captured by one of the Provincials, and taken to Concord.

"Subsequently the horse and the accoutrements were sold at auction. Captain

The difficulties incident to the crowds and the cold of the 19th of April, 1875, would have been increased had it not been for the fact that the railroad, which, from its opening in 1846¹ until 1873, terminated at Lexington, was in the latter year opened to Concord; and for the further fact that in 1871 the Town Hall, which for many years had occupied a wooden building on the site of the present High School, had been removed to the existing Town Building erected to house the town meetings, the Cary Library, a Memorial Hall, the Masonic Lodge, and the various town officials. It is true that there was much opposition on the part of the citizens of East Lexington to a location so far distant from that section, and that the architecture of the building has always been severely criticized. The echoes of the somewhat bitter controversy over the site have, fortunately, long since died away; and however unpleasing in its exterior the Town Building may be, its commodious hall has been of great value, both from the civic and the social standpoint, to the life of the town; while the generous space thus early given to the Cary Library was a distinct asset in the development of that valuable institution.

The immediate impulse to the building of a new Town Hall, a project that had been under discussion for some years after the close of the Civil War, was given by a proffer of Mrs. Maria Hastings Cary of six thousand dollars to fit up a Memorial Hall and Town Library Hall, "provided the Town should within three years erect a suitable building for municipal purposes, to embrace in its construction suitable accommodations for those objects." This proposal was brought before the town at a meeting in November, 1869, and was referred to a committee consisting of Messrs. Charles Hud-

Nathan Barrett purchased the holsters and pistols, marked with Pitcairn's name, and offered them to General Washington, who declined them.

"They were afterwards presented to General Putnam, who valued them very highly, and carried them through the remainder of his active service in the war.

"They descended in the family, and became the property of the General's grandson, the late John P. Putnam, of Cambridge, New York, whose widow placed them in the custody of her friend Dr. Prime for exhibition at Lexington. The Secretary of War is making an effort to obtain them for the museum of the War Department." (From the Proceedings at the Centennial Celebration of the Battle of Lexington, April 19, 1875, published by the Town, p. 130.) The pistols were subsequently secured by the town of Lexington and are on exhibition at the Hancock-Clarke House. *Ed.*

¹ See *Origin of the Lexington & West Cambridge Branch Railroad*, by George Y. Wellington; *Proc. Lex. Hist. Soc.*, Vol. III, p. 58. *Ed.*

son, John Hastings, Sergeant C. Whitcher, Hammon Reed, Luke C. Childs, Warren E. Russell, and Reuben W. Reed, who were empowered to consult architects and to procure plans and estimates. The committee reported at a special town meeting called for the purpose, January 25, 1870, submitting plans and estimates and recommending the purchase of the site and the erection of a new Town Hall in accordance therewith. The report was accepted, its recommendations adopted, and the same gentlemen constituted a building committee with necessary powers, and provision made for funds to pay the cost. Subsequently, in April, 1870, a further proposition was received from Mrs. Cary, increasing her donation in the aggregate to twenty thousand dollars, whereby ten thousand dollars were secured to the general purposes of the building, six thousand to the Library, and four thousand to the Memorial Hall through the Lexington Monument Association. The building was designed by Messrs. Gridley J. F. Bryant and Louis P. Rogers, of Boston.

The dedication took place on April 19, 1871.¹ The formal exercises were preceded by a procession and were followed by a banquet held in the Lexington Railroad Station. Asa Cottrell, Esq., presided at the dedication exercises, the keys were presented to a group of young men by the Hon. Charles Hudson, response for those young men was made by James E. Parker, prayer was offered by Rev. A. B. Muzzey, and an oration was delivered by Dr. George B. Loring.

The statues in the Memorial Hall have an interesting history. This is given by Mr. Hudson, active in securing them, in the published Proceedings at the Centennial Celebration of the Battle of Lexington, from which the following extracts are taken:—

“To a certain extent, the statues and tablets which the hall contains are the offspring of the Lexington Monument Association. The impression becoming prevalent that the monument on the Common did not comport with modern taste, some of our prominent citizens conceived the idea of superseding it by one more in accordance with the spirit of the age. In 1850 they obtained an act of incorporation, and organized a company, making the venerable Jonathan Harrington, the last survivor of the Battle of Lexington, their president. Their object seems to have been simply to rear a

¹ See Proceedings at the Dedication of the Town and Memorial Hall. T. R. Marvin & Son, 1871. Ed.

more fashionable monument in honor of the citizens of Lexington who fell on the 19th of April, 1775. Nothing, however, was done, more than to keep up the organization, till 1858, when broader and more liberal views prevailed. It was then perceived that, though the existing monument was somewhat antiquated in its appearance, it bore the impress and breathed the spirit of the Revolution, and was a fit memorial of the sturdy patriots to whose memory it was erected; and it was resolved to give the proposed enterprise a national character, and erect a monument commemorative of the opening scene of the Revolutionary drama. To carry forward this idea, Charles Hudson, who had taken an active part in giving a national character to the enterprise, was entrusted with the development of the idea. Encouraged by the countenance of some of our prominent citizens, among whom were General Samuel Chandler, Major Benjamin Reed, Colonel Philip Russell, Jonas Munroe, John Hastings, Bowen Harrington, William Stevens, and others, he undertook the work; and soon found that the name of *Lexington*, and the character of the deeds performed upon her Common, were quite as fully appreciated beyond the limits of the State as within its borders. He found no difficulty in organizing a corporation, consisting of a president and an acting board of directors in Massachusetts, with one vice-president from each of the New England States, and one from every other section of the country. . . .

"These statues already have a history worthy of mention. When they were first modelled, the committee had special reference to this celebration; and, to insure their completion in season, the contracts stipulated that they were to be delivered in Lexington by the 1st of January, 1875. Three long months passed after that date, but no statues had arrived. We became anxious, but could learn nothing except that they were *en route*. Weeks of anxiety passed on, but they brought no statues. One steamer from Liverpool, which was expected to bring the Adams, arrived at Boston; but no statue was found on her manifest. There was only one more chance before the 19th; and that consisted mainly in the speed of 'The Parthia,' the next steamer. At this juncture, it was reported that the sailing-vessel with the statue of Hancock on board, from Leghorn early in January, had just reached our coast, and was weather-bound in Vineyard Haven. This was the state of things at early dawn, on Saturday the 17th. Neither statue had arrived in port. That evening in the light of the full moon, between the hours of eleven and twelve, when hope was giving place to despair, the statue of Adams arrived in our village. We deemed it no desecration of the Sabbath to place it in position on that day. We had scarcely adjusted the statue of Adams, when that of Hancock arrived; and, before the setting of that Sabbath sun, both of these statues were in position in the village where, one hundred years before, Adams and Hancock

were enjoying the hospitality of the distinguished clergyman from whose dwelling they were driven before the rising of the next morning's sun.

"It is certainly very remarkable, that these statues should leave the same Italian port a month apart, bound to the same place, — one going direct by sailing-vessel, and the other by steamer *via* England, — and, after months of delay, should arrive at their port of destination within a few hours of each other; and that, too, on the very last day when they could have arrived in season for the celebration."

In the winter of 1872-73, Lexington, in common with Boston and many other communities in New England, was visited by a serious outbreak of smallpox. On May 3, 1873, after ninety consecutive days of sleighing during the winter, there was again a heavy fall of snow. On August 9, the railroad, as already stated, was formally opened through to Concord. Later it was extended to the Massachusetts Reformatory, and a branch railroad (originally narrow-gauge) was carried from Bedford, half-way between Lexington and Concord, through to Billerica and Lowell. In this same year George G. Meade Post 119, G. A. R. (which will be dealt with subsequently), was first organized.

Having been the pioneer in the numerous one-hundredth anniversary celebrations of the Revolutionary War, and having set a standard of emphasis upon patriotism to the nation as a whole, Lexington was, of course, deeply interested in the subsequent celebrations of like character, especially in the Centennial Exposition held at Philadelphia, in 1876, to commemorate the signing of the Declaration of Independence. It was most fitting, therefore, that, after the close of that Exposition, steps should be taken to bring the Massachusetts State Building to Lexington, to be used as a hotel. The building was carefully taken down, shipped in parts to Lexington, and reërected on land belonging to the Muzzey Estate, next to the Town Hall. This unique hotel was opened in August, 1878, and for fourteen years was famous as a comfortable place of sojourn, as a goal for sleighing excursions, and as a centre for "Germans" and other private parties. In 1892, however, it was sold to those controlling the so-called "Keeley Cure" for inebriety, and is still used by them.

In 1882 the Russell House was opened. It is an excellent hotel, to which guests return year after year, drawn by its

home-like character, and the genuine hospitality of its proprietor. Besides this, and the Paul Revere Tavern, there are in the town a number of good boarding-houses.

As already pointed out, Lexington soon after the close of the Civil War found herself confronted with many problems arising from the rapid expansion of trade and industry and of the coincident growth, not only in population, but also in complexity of living, of many near-by cities and towns. Lexington, as Mr. Hudson shows, had always been near the front in matters of public education, and she had not been behind her neighbor communities in providing and maintaining roads. As early as 1846, moreover, railroad communication had been established with Arlington, Cambridge, Somerville, and Boston. In doing this there was lost, however, the picturesque travel by stage-coach and other vehicles which, together with the through highway journeying from New Hampshire and Vermont, had given life and activity for a century and a half to her numerous taverns.¹

Lexington was also prompt in providing an essential factor in the economic life of a town — a savings bank. The Lexington Savings Bank² was incorporated March 11, 1871, by the following: Sergeant C. Whitcher, George W. Robinson, Warren E. Russell, Charles Brown, Matthew H. Merriam, George L. Stratton, Richard D. Blinn, Charles C. Goodwin, Isaac N. Damon, Bradley C. Whitcher, Charles Hudson, Edward Reed, and Thomas B. Hosmer. The first meeting was held at the Lexington Railroad Station March 25, 1871, with Charles Hudson as chairman, and Isaac N. Damon as secretary. The second meeting, three days later, was held over B. C. Whitcher's store, with S. C. Whitcher, chairman, and Isaac N. Damon, secretary. The organization meeting was held in Seminary Hall, April 15 of the same year, and the following officers were then elected: President, George W. Robinson; Vice-Presidents, S. C. Whitcher, M. H. Merriam, and W. D. Phelps; Secretary and Treasurer, L. G. Babcock.

The bank opened for business in a front room in the house now No. 464 Massachusetts Avenue. Seven years later, December 13, 1878, as a precautionary measure, made necessary by the depressed condition of business throughout the

¹ See *The Old Taverns of Lexington*, by Edward P. Bliss; *Proc. Lex. Hist. Soc.*, Vol. I, p. 73. *Ed.*

² For this information the Committee is indebted to Mr. James E. Crone. *Ed.*

country, the bank was placed in the hands of Mr. George W. Robinson as receiver. Its condition at that time was: assets, \$101,142.88; due depositors, \$95,222.52. Depositors were paid in full, including interest. August 15, 1882, the injunction was dissolved, and in the following month business was resumed, with deposits of nearly \$25,000 and a surplus of \$6000. Mr. Robinson generously donated to the bank his fees as receiver. The total deposits at successive intervals were: 1885, \$96,054; 1890, \$228,180; 1900, \$474,667; 1910, \$620,000.

The following have served as officers of the bank: Presidents: George W. Robinson, 1871-1892; Bradley C. Whit-cher, 1892-1904; George O. Whiting, 1904-. Treasurers: Leonard G. Babcock, 1871-1873; Oliver P. Mills, 1873-1874; Charles T. West, 1875-1878; (Receiver, 1878-1882); Bradley C. Whit-cher, 1882-1888; Arthur W. Newell, 1888-1889; James E. Crone, 1889-1904; Bradley C. Whit-cher, 1904-1909; Edwin B. Worthen, 1909-. Clerk of Corporation: Augustus E. Scott, April 23, 1873-.

There remained, however, to be provided for in modern ways lighting, water supply, telephones, postal service, removal of wastes, parks, playgrounds, increased space for cemeteries, and adequate fire and police protection. A gas company was organized in 1877, and after certain vicissitudes, became well established, supplying a gas made from petroleum. In 1893 it undertook the supplying also of electricity and continued to do so until its plant was purchased by the Edison Electric Illuminating Company, of Boston, in 1909. For more than thirty years, therefore, the streets have been lighted by modern methods, though not without difficulties in the placing of lights, in the type of lamp to be used, and in the extending of lighting into the outlying sections of the town. The New England Telephone and Telegraph Company inaugurated a public service in the town in 1892. Rural free delivery¹ was established May 16, 1904, and general free delivery October 16, 1909.

¹ The first U.S. Post Office in Lexington was opened in the ell of the Buckman Tavern in January, 1813, by Rufus Meriam, Postmaster. He was succeeded by his son, John Parkhurst Meriam on the 20th of April, 1826, who continued at the same location. John Davis was commissioned Postmaster Nov. 15, 1841, and moved the office to the house now No. 464 Mass. Ave. Leonard G. Babcock was commissioned Postmaster Mar. 7, 1867, and moved the office to the store now occupied by W. H. Burke, plumber, No. 432 Mass. Ave. Later Mr. Babcock removed to Cary Hall for a brief time and then to Norris Block, No. 481 Mass.

In 1881 the Lexington Water Company was organized to supply water to the citizens and to provide hydrants for the better protection of their buildings against loss by fire. The supply, which was ready for use in January, 1885, was secured from wells driven in a meadow near Lincoln Street, pumped into standpipes on a hill in that vicinity and on Mount Independence in East Lexington. The supply thus obtained was found in a few years inadequate to the rapidly growing demands and, although the company, and subsequently the town, which bought the waterworks in 1895, made efforts to increase that supply, by constructing a reservoir on Middle Street and by sinking new and deeper wells, the citizens, after much discussion in town meeting, voted in 1903 to petition for admission to the so-called Metropolitan System, now using, as its main reservoir, the extensive Wachusett basin, formed by the damming, at Clinton, of the Nashua River. In 1912 a new standpipe, 105 feet high, was erected near the old one at a cost of \$19,000. Its top is 443 feet above sea level.

With the greatly increased use of water which follows upon the substitution of a central water supply for the individual well and pump, there arose an increasing need for a system of sewerage, at least for the more thickly settled districts of the town. The matter seems to have been first discussed seriously in 1889, when a survey for a system of drainage for the town was authorized. It has been considered by a number of different committees, each of which has gone into an exhaustive examination of the problem; and the town, in 1897, went so far as to secure entrance to the Metropolitan Sewerage System at the Arlington boundary, for which right it has since paid a yearly tax increasing from \$2100 in 1897 to over \$4000 in 1911. It has not yet been possible, however, at any town meeting at which the question has been put to vote, to get a majority sufficient to authorize the issue of bonds for the building of the sewers.

For many years the only public space in Lexington was the Common. Enclosed by a fence made of stone posts and con-

Ave. The present Postmaster, Leonard A. Saville, was commissioned Jan. 31, 1901, and moved the office to the new Savings Bank Building in September, 1904. The Post Office at E. Lexington was established 24 June, 1836, when Amos Adams was commissioned Postmaster. William H. Smith was commissioned 27 April, 1852; Augustus Childs, 20 Sept., 1867; Carlton A. Childs, 31 May, 1895; Lucius A. Austin, 17 Jan., 1900. Office discontinued 15 Oct., 1909, on establishment of free delivery. *Ed.*

necting rails, it was used for baseball and other games and was not the ornament that it now is. Through the efforts of the Field and Garden Club¹ this famous bit of ground was in 1886 made into a true park, and has ever since been well cared for by the town. In the early part of the last century, Eli Robbins, of East Lexington, built roads, arranged seats, etc., on Mount Independence, and permitted the use of this private property by the citizens. And in all sections of the town, the owners of wooded and hilly property, or of fields suitable for sports, have shown so generous a spirit in the matter of public use that the reservation of any special areas for public parks seemed superfluous. The time will soon come when, looking into the future, it will be wise to set aside large open spaces for the use of the public forever; and a good beginning has been made in the gift to the town, by certain citizens, of the triangular area between Massachusetts Avenue and Lincoln Street, known as Hastings Park, and in the gift, by Mrs Sarah Bowman Van Ness, of five and one half acres of land on Pleasant Street, East Lexington. There is special need, however, of a large area near the centre, to be used by the youth of the town for athletic sports, skating, and swimming. There is a baseball field, near Parker Street, acquired for that purpose by the town in 1896, and, recently, facilities for swimming have been arranged in the small ponds formerly used for water supply; but it is the desire and hope of many citizens that the long-continued, though somewhat spasmodic, efforts to induce the citizens to extend these somewhat meagre opportunities will at an early date come to fruition.

It is hardly an exaggeration to say that almost throughout the period since the close of Mr. Hudson's History, there has been agitation to extend the cemetery area in Lexington. The Old Burying Ground, behind the First Parish Church, was long ago filled; and the so-called New Cemetery, in the rear of the Munroe School, has almost no further space available. Moreover, the Roman Catholics have no opportunity to bury their dead within the limits of the town. Therefore successive Cemetery Committees have brought the matter forcefully to the attention of the citizens, and they and special committees have presented plans for the purchase of a new area. The difficulties in the way of finding a site that shall be access-

¹ For an account of this organization, see Chapter XXIV, *infra*. Ed.

ible and not too costly, and that shall secure the approval of the boards of health, are, however, very great. It is hoped that the committee now having the problem under consideration will be successful in meeting these difficulties and in leading the citizens to make early provision for an ample and beautiful new cemetery.

Since the fighting of fire, with any hope of success, is dependent upon an abundant water supply, it was not until the laying of mains and the providing of hydrants by the Lexington Water Company, in 1885, that the town could make any real provision for protection against this ever-present scourge of American communities. Up to that time there had been valiant attempts, in which practically all the people participated, to cope with fire by hand "tubs," fire buckets, and hand chemical engines; but with the purchase of a steam fire engine and a chemical engine in 1895, the modern era of fire fighting really began. In 1895 and 1898, respectively, adequate engine houses were built in Lexington Centre and at the Village Hall, East Lexington; in 1895 regular firemen were employed (they and the fire horses assisting also in street watering); and within the last year (1912) an automobile engine has been purchased, the element of time being the essential factor in a widely scattered community like Lexington. The town has possessed for some years a modern fire alarm system; but the main body of firemen are "call" men, engaged in other vocations; and it will be many years, of course, before the size and wealth of Lexington will permit of the employment of a full corps of firemen, on duty at all hours of the day and night. As is too often the case in American municipalities, the fire department has been more or less entangled with the political ambitions of individuals; and it is always, of course, under criticism; but despite these handicaps, it has handled most of the fires which it has been called upon to combat with skill and efficiency.

Although the constable is one of the earliest of New England functionaries, it was not until the opening of the electric railway that — except on rare occasions — there was any real need for police service in Lexington. An agricultural and residence community, with practically no manufactures and with a steady vote for "no license," the elements essential to law-breaking were largely absent. The "tramp" problem was for many years somewhat serious; but one or two officers

of the law were sufficient to cope with that. Until 1899, therefore, there were only two policemen. Since then, however, the number has been increased to six; and while they are called upon to deal mainly with misdemeanors, such as fruit stealing, they are kept fully employed. During the year 1911 there were, according to the Town Report, one hundred and fifty arrests, all — with few exceptions — for minor infractions of the law. By vote of the town, the police department was placed under civil service law in 1911. On March 13, 1901, was established a Law Enforcement Society, which co-operates with the police in ferreting out and in suppressing such offences as the illegal sale of liquor, gambling, etc.

As already stated, for nearly half a century after 1846 the only rail communication out of Lexington was by a single-track railroad to Boston, later extended to Concord and to Lowell. In 1886 this railroad was double-tracked from Boston to Lexington; and in the last decade of the nineteenth century agitation was begun for an electric railway from Arlington Heights — the limit of the Elevated Railway system — through Lexington to Concord and to Billerica, and from Lexington to Waltham on the one side, and to Woburn on the other. This project met with such determined opposition from a large number of citizens that it was not until December 2, 1897, that permission to lay the tracks was obtained. Though accepted by the Lexington & Boston Street Railroad Company this franchise was allowed to lapse. A second franchise was granted February 4, 1899, and the road was constructed the same year. On the Sunday preceding April 19, 1900, the Lexington & Boston Street Railway began to run cars for public transportation, and it now maintains a service every fifteen minutes throughout the day and evening from Lexington to Boston (*via* the Cambridge Subway); one every thirty minutes to Waltham; and one every hour to Woburn. The normal traffic on these roads is in summer greatly augmented by travel to and from Lexington Park, an amusement enterprise maintained by the railway company in Bedford, just beyond the Lexington boundary line.

In 1894, largely through the initiative and efforts of the Lexington Historical Society, sustained by many other Lexington citizens, the 19th of April was denominated "Patriots' Day," and made, by act of the Legislature, signed by Governor Greenhalge on March 16, 1904, a legal holiday

throughout the Commonwealth. The resort to the town in that year and for some years subsequent was very great. The exercises on the 19th of April, 1894, were attended by the Governor, Lieutenant-Governor, and other State officials, and included a procession, band concerts, literary exercises, a banquet, and a ball. Since that date, various modifications of this general programme have been undertaken, either by the town directly or by the Lexington Historical Society, with grants made by the town meeting. That of 1900, being the one hundred and twenty-fifth anniversary of the battle, was somewhat more ambitious, the Governor again being a guest, and an elaborate trades procession being organized with signal success.

In the same year (1894) in which the 19th of April was made a legal holiday, the variously named streets and roads leading from the centre of Dorchester, with its historic meeting-house, through Boston, Cambridge, Arlington, and Lexington to the centre of Concord, were constituted a single thoroughfare and renamed, with the consent of the several municipalities concerned, Massachusetts Avenue.

Lexington, in the last twenty years, has been fortunate in the gift, directly to the town, or to the Lexington Historical Society, of buildings and monuments that add greatly to its beauty and interest. In 1892, Miss Ellen A. Stone presented to the town her homestead, a large, attractive house in East Lexington, next to the Follen Church; and this property, known as the Stone Building, is used to house a branch of the Cary Memorial Library,¹ and to provide meeting-rooms for the people of that section. In 1896, the Hancock-Clarke House, on Hancock Street, was, through the efforts of a committee of the Lexington Historical Society, saved from destruction and preserved as a museum of objects of historical interest.² In 1898, under the will of Francis B. Hayes, the town received a bequest of \$10,000 (with interest, amounting to \$11,722.12) with which was erected the very beautiful fountain, with its life-size statue of a Minute-Man, modelled by Henry H. Kitson, that stands on the Common.³ In 1906, the Cary Memorial Library, at the corner of Massachusetts

¹ See the account of the Library, pp. 405-410, *infra*. *Ed.*

² For a detailed account, see Lexington Historical Society, p. 488, *infra*. *Ed.*

³ Though called a statue of Captain John Parker, this is only by courtesy, since no picture of him is extant. See Town Report for 1898. *Ed.*

Avenue and Clarke Street, close to the Common, was presented by Miss Alice B. Cary and other generous members of the Cary family.¹ And in 1911, under the will of James S. Munroe, the Munroe Tavern, on Massachusetts Avenue, became the property of the Lexington Historical Society, to be opened by them to the public under such arrangements as they may deem wise.²

The Hayes Memorial Fountain,³ referred to in the preceding paragraph, was unveiled on April 19, 1900, by Mr. Charles M. Parker. Previous to the unveiling, public exercises were held in Hancock Church at 9 A.M. Rev. Carlton A. Staples, Chairman of the Committee on Construction of the Fountain, presiding. Prayer was offered by Rev. C. F. Carter. Mr. William Power Wilson, executor under the will of Mr. Hayes, was unable to be present, and in his absence Mr. Staples presented the gift to the town. Mr. Charles A. Wellington gave a description of the design and construction of the fountain, indicating that the bold foundation and flanking walls of native field stones were symbolical of the sturdiness of our New England ancestors and the old stone walls from behind which the Minute-Men fired their telling shot into the ranks of the retreating British. Suitable and convenient drinking-places are provided for men, horses, cattle, and dogs, such as are seldom found in a public fountain. The structure is so arranged and piped that water flows out from beneath the capstone and pours gently down over the stones to the several basins with a very natural appearance, while shrubs and wild flowers contribute appropriately to the setting. The bronze statue typifies a Minute-Man, sturdy of character, and resolute in position, with his flintlock musket grasped by both hands, ready to stand his ground if armed resistance is necessary. It is a notable work of art and commands general admiration. Mr. George W. Sampson, Selectman, accepted the gift in behalf of the town. Rev. Edward A. Horton, D.D., gave a spirited oration, calling to mind the valor and fortitude of Captain Parker's company of Minute-Men and drawing lessons of patriotism and good citizenship.

The town has also been wise in the matter of preserving its records and fortunate in its selection of committees to under-

¹ See Cary Memorial Library, pp. 405-410, *infra*. Ed.

² See Lexington Historical Society, p. 492, *infra*. Ed.

³ See illustrations. Ed.

take that work. Under vote of the town meeting, in 1896, Messrs. Robert P. Clapp, Carlton A. Staples, and George O. Smith were constituted a committee to undertake the preservation of the early records of the town, and, under their direction, the pages of those fast crumbling documents have been placed between sheets of transparent silk, so that they may now be handled without damage.

In 1896-98, under the direction of the same committee, the records of births, marriages, and deaths up to 1898 were carefully compiled and printed in the form prescribed by the Commonwealth.

In the forty-five years since the close of Mr. Hudson's History, marked changes have taken place in the streets, the buildings, the general appearance, and even the topography of Lexington. By the creation of the Hobbs Brook Reservoir, by the city of Cambridge, a large valley in the south part of the town has been converted into a lake, encircled by a roadway, greatly altering the appearance of that section. New areas on the slopes of Granny Hill (or Hancock Heights), on the plain bounded by Massachusetts Avenue, Lincoln Street, and Waltham Street, on the high land in the vicinity of the Munroe Tavern, and at Oakmount, on Waltham Street, have been opened for good residences; and there has also taken place, at North Lexington, and at the Arlington border, a certain amount of development of a speculative character. This extension of residence territory, together with the opening of street-railway service, has involved much new building of roads, as well as a widening and straightening of many of those previously existing. Notable among these improvements have been the building of a state highway from the corner of Massachusetts Avenue and Middle Street, along the line of the latter street, to the Lincoln line, continuing thence through Lincoln, Concord, and Acton; the widening and practical rebuilding of much of Massachusetts Avenue, and the rebuilding of Lincoln and Bedford Streets. Notable buildings added to the town in this period — besides those already referred to — are the Hancock School,¹ on Clarke Street; the High School¹ and Munroe School,¹ on Massachusetts Avenue; the Hancock Church² and St. Bridget's Church,² near the Common; the Baptist Church,² on Massa-

¹ See Chapter xviii, "Education." *Ed.*

² See Chapter xvi, "Ecclesiastical History." *Ed.*

chusetts Avenue; the Episcopal Church,¹ on Merriam Street; the Old Belfry Clubhouse on Forest Street;² and many notable residences. There is at present building, in East Lexington, a new house for the Adams Grammar and Primary Schools.

As in the days preceding the Revolutionary War, the town meeting has continued to be a free forum for the full discussion of municipal affairs; and many interesting debates have taken place therein. As the expenses of the town grew larger, however, it was appreciated that appropriations should be made with greater care and closer scrutiny; therefore, in 1893, there was created a finance committee, made up of representative citizens, including town officials, to review the proposed annual budget, to hold hearings regarding it, and to submit their recommendations to the citizens. A similar committee has been created in almost every succeeding year, until 1908, when it was voted to give the committee authority to sit throughout the year and to review all proposed town action involving the raising and expenditure of money. As a rule the town meeting has been generous and progressive in providing for the rapidly growing demands of modern municipal life; and on a number of occasions, such as that brought about by the threatened coming of a state institution of a type prejudicial to the best interests of a residential community, the citizens have acted promptly and with substantially a single mind. The importance of the town meeting in the development of New England communities cannot be too strongly emphasized; and those of Lexington have played a peculiarly notable and interesting part.

¹ See Chapter xvi, "Ecclesiastical History." *Ed.*

² See Chapter xxv. *Ed.*

CHAPTER XIII

ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY, FROM 1692 TO THE DEATH OF MR. HANCOCK

The Incorporation of the Precinct — The Establishment of the Gospel Ministry —
The Gathering of a Church, and the Ordination of their First Minister — The
Death of Mr. Estabrook, and the Settlement of Mr. Hancock — Settlement and
Death of his Son Ebenezer — The Services, Character and Death of Mr. Hancock — His Publications.

As our fathers came to this country to establish a religious commonwealth, and to set up institutions founded on the great principle of accountability to God, no history of their settlement can be perfect or complete which does not treat of their ecclesiastical affairs. These are so intimately connected with their civil and political history that it is difficult in some cases to say where the one ends and the other begins. By the early laws of this Province, every tract of territory which was erected into a town was, by the same act, constituted a parish. Standing in this double relation, most of the parochial business was transacted in town meetings. It was generally in the town meetings that votes were passed for building meeting-houses, settling ministers, and providing for their support. These measures are so nearly associated with the municipal affairs of the towns — the same individuals being voters both in the town and the parish — that we shall not attempt to draw any distinct line of separation between the parochial and the municipal. Under the head of "ecclesiastical history," we shall not treat of those public acts performed in town meetings, such as building and repairing houses of worship, but rather present the spiritual condition of the people, the character of their religious teachers, and the acts pertaining to the church, as an organization distinct from that of the parish.

For about forty years after the first settlements were made in what now constitutes Lexington, the people were destitute of a minister whom they could call their own. As the territory belonged to Cambridge, and as most of the settlers had come from that town, many of them being members of the church

REV. JOHN HANCOCK

MRS. JOHN HANCOCK

in that place, they would naturally adhere to the old society until the demand for a separate organization should become pressing. It appears also that the people of Cambridge proper were anxious that those who had removed to the "Farms," should continue their relationship with the parent church. But as the inconvenience to the settlers was great, they desired to establish a ministry of their own, and to manage their own affairs as they pleased. As early as 1682, James Cutler, Matthew Bridge, Sr., David Fiske, Sr., Samuel Stone, Sr., Francis Whitmore, John Tidd, Ephraim Winship, and John Winter, some of the leading and responsible citizens of the Farms, petitioned the General Court for an act constituting them a distinct parish. This step was taken, not from any hostility to the old society or church, but from the great inconvenience of going from five to ten miles to attend public worship. The great unwillingness on the part of Cambridge to have this secession from the church defeated, or rather postponed, the measure for about ten years. Not until 1691 was it ordered by the General Court "That the petitioners be permitted and allowed to invite and settle an able and orthodox minister for the dispensing of the Gospel among them."

Immediately after obtaining an act of incorporation as a precinct, measures were adopted to carry it into effect. A subscription was started for the erection of a house of worship; and early in the season of 1692 the edifice was erected. On the 22d of April, 1692, Mr. Benjamin Estabrook, who had probably preached for the people of Cambridge Farms during some portion of the preceding year, was invited to continue his labors with them till May, 1693, and provision was made for his support. Small as were their numbers, and limited as were their means, they resolved to place themselves in a position where they should be able in future to give a liberal support to those who should become their spiritual guides. In April, 1693, they purchased of the town of Cambridge, for this purpose, "twelve acres of common land on the east side of the causeway, and the rest of the common land on the other side, and on the south side of Vine Brook Meadow." This land was subsequently surveyed and found to contain one hundred and forty-eight acres. Though this purchase cost the parish at first but eighteen pounds, it laid the foundation for a ministerial fund, which has proved amply sufficient to sup-

port a minister. This land was purchased by the parish and paid for by a tax upon all within the precinct.

When Mr. Estabrook's year expired, the people gladly re-engaged him; and such was their attachment to him that in the summer of 1694, they built and gave him a house on condition of his becoming their pastor and continuing with them.¹ Their pecuniary embarrassments however were such that they made but slow progress in preparation for his permanent settlement. In April, 1696, they made their final proposition; and on the third of June following, Mr. Estabrook gave an affirmative answer to their call. His answer is recorded with so much simplicity that we will transcribe it.

"Mr. Estabrook was sent for to declare to the people whether he did accept of the call of the Inhabitants of this place and whether he wold abide with us to be our settled minestor — his answer was *yes he wold*. it was asked him how long. he answered that so far as he knew so long as he liue it should not be his falt if he ded not he had no intent to leave us and if he ded leaue us he wold repay the mony expended for the bulding sd house."

The call being accepted, and the day for the ordination fixed, it was agreed that a church should be organized at the same time. A committee was appointed to make arrangements for the ordination, and to "prouid what is nesessary for the entertainment of the majestrats ministors and mesingers of the chirches that day."

Neither the church nor the parish records give us any information concerning the council, or the services on the occasion. But Judge Sewall, who was then present as one of the honored magistrates to take cognizance of the establishment of a new church, has the following in his manuscript journal: —

"October 21, 1696. A church is gathered at Cambridge, North Farms; no relations made, but a Cov^t. signed and voted by 10 brethren dismissed from y^e churches of Cambridge, Watertown, Wooburn, and Concord, for the work. Being declared to be a church, they chose Mr. Benjamin Estabrook y^e Pastor, who had made a good Sermon from Jer. 3. 15. Mr. Estabrook the Father managed this, having prayed excellently: Mr. Willard gave y^e Charge; Mr. Fox the Right Hand of Fellowship. Sung part of y^e 48th from y^e 9th v. to the end, — O God, our thoughts. — Mr.

¹ This house was 42 feet by 18. It stood a few rods east of Vine Brook.

Stone and Mr. Fiske thanked me for my assistance there. Cambridge was sent to; they had no Teaching officer; they sent Elder Clark, Hastings, Remington." ¹

The church which was gathered on that occasion adopted a covenant founded on the broad principles of the Gospel, avoiding those controverted doctrines which have often proved causes of division.

This covenant was signed by the pastor elect, and by David Fiske, Sr., Samuel Stone, Sr., John Russell, Israel Mead, Thomas Cutler, Sr., David Fiske, Jr., Samuel Whitmore, William Reed, John Merriam, Samuel Stone, Jr., and Thomas Merriam.

The church was further organized by electing John Merriam and Samuel Stone deacons. There were also added to the church during the nine months of Mr. Estabrook's ministry, by recommendations from other churches, the following persons: Seaborn Fiske, wife of David Fiske, Sr., Sarah Stone, wife of Samuel Stone, Sr., Elizabeth Russell, wife of John Russell, Elizabeth Winship, wife of Ephraim Winship, severally from the church of Cambridge; Sarah Merriam widow, Sarah Fiske, wife of David Fiske, Jr., Dorcas Stone, wife of Samuel Stone, Jr., Mary Merriam, wife of John Merriam, severally from the church of Concord; and Abigail Reed, wife of Captain William Reed from the church of Woburn. There were also admitted on their own profession during Mr. Estabrook's labors, Joseph Simonds and his wife Mary, Matthew Bridge and his wife Abigail, Jonathan Poulter and his wife Elizabeth, Philip Russell, Joseph Stone, Mary Winship, Abigail Cutler, wife of Lieutenant Thomas Cutler, Mary Johnson, wife of John Johnson, and Ruth Locke, wife of Samuel Locke.

Thus a church of thirty-three members was gathered in about nine months from the settlement of their first minister. This of itself shows the success with which his labors were blessed. The relation between Mr. Estabrook and his people was a happy one, and promised to be productive of much good. He had been with them several years before his settlement, and hence knew them well and was known of them. He was their first pastor, and they his first flock. It was the

¹ For this, and several other important facts connected with the history of the church, we are indebted to Rev. Samuel Sewall, of Burlington.

union of kindred hearts, given in early life; and the happy fruits of this union show that the attachment had been mutual, and that the confidence on either hand had not been misplaced. Both parties were undoubtedly congratulating themselves on this new relation, and anticipating years of happiness and prosperity. But how delusive sometimes are human hopes! He whose wisdom is unsearchable, and whose ways are past finding out, saw fit to sunder these ties. On the 22d of July, 1697, when Mr. Estabrook had completed only nine months of his ministry, he was called from his earthly labors.

Rev. Benjamin Estabrook was son of Rev. Joseph Estabrook, of Concord, who came to this country in 1660, and entered Harvard College, where he was graduated in 1664. He settled in Concord in 1667, where he remained till his death, in 1711, which was in the seventy-first year of his age and the forty-fourth of his ministry. Benjamin Estabrook was born February 24, 1671,¹ was graduated at Harvard, 1690, and commenced preaching in Lexington in 1692. In November, 1693, he married Abigail Willard, daughter of Rev. Samuel Willard, then of the Old South Church in Boston. Mr. Estabrook was highly esteemed by his people, and left the reputation of a pious and devoted servant of the Lord. Though he was only twenty-six years of age when called hence, he had already established a reputation which gave promise of distinction in his profession. He was buried in Lexington, and his tombstone bears this inscription:—

HERE LYETH INTERRED YE REMAINS OF
MR. BENJAMIN ESTABROOK
LATE & FIRST PASTOR OF YE CHURCH
OF CHRIST IN THIS PLACE
SON TO YE REVD MR JOSEPH ESTABROOK
PASTOR OF YE CHURCH IN CONCORD
WHO DEPARTED FROM US TO CHRIST,
JULY 22D A.D. 1697,
AGED 26 YEARS & 5 MONTHS
VIRTUS ANTEIT ANNOS.

Immediately on the death of Mr. Estabrook, measures were adopted to obtain a candidate for settlement. A meet-

¹ For a more full account of the Estabrook family, see Genealogical Register. (Vol. II. Ed.)

ing was called November 17, to consider "procuring some help in ye ministry: Then thare was made choyce of Mr. John Hancocke to preach with us tille May followinge In order to further settelment: — It was also agreed that Mr. Hancock should have eaighten shillinges aweeke, and bare his own charges:— till May."

Mr. Hancock commenced preaching at Cambridge Farms, December 12, 1697, and in February following, "It was then voted by the majore part of y^e people that were present that Mr. Hancock should bee further Invitted to Continue with us for a settlement; & Dea. Samuel Stone and Lt. David fiske were made choyce of by y^e Companye to traatte with Mr. Hancock about his settelling with us."

It seems that the committee chosen to "traatte" with Mr. Hancock were successful in their preliminaries at least; for in March, 1698, says the record, "The sallerrye that was formerlye granted to y^e Reverend: Mr. Benjamin Estabroke was a second time granted: & confemed upon the Rev. Mr. John Hancock."

"It was allsoe votted that thay will giue the Reverend Mr: Jno: Hancocke four score pounds In monye: towards his settellment: ye one half In ye yeare: 1698: and ye othre halfe In the yeare: 1699."

The preliminaries being settled, the church by "a Unanimes Votte" proposed "to prosede to the ordination of Mr. Hancock, in conuenient time," and the congregation on the 6th of September, 1698, "votted without the church on the Affirmatiue; *very fullye* — att a full mettinge."

The 2d day of November, 1698, was agreed upon for the ordination, and provision was made by the parish for the entertainment of the council. The further proceedings on the occasion we will give in the language of the church records, written by Mr. Hancock himself.

"Five Churches were Sent unto to Carry on y^e work of said Day, viz: the South Church of Christ in Boston, the Churches of christ in Cambridge, Newtown, Concord & Woburn, the elders and messengers whereof appeared, & in the morning, Mr. Willard being chosen moderatour, they proceded, haveing made way for it, & earnestly Imploring heavens blessing on the affairs of y^e day, unto ordination, The Rev. Mr. Willard Giving the Charge, & the Rev. Mr Joseph Estabrook the right hand of fellowship; the elders of the other Churches assisted by laying on of hands."

Mr. Hancock, being thus settled over the church and society at Cambridge North Precinct, continued their pastor till his death in 1752, having had a peaceful and prosperous ministry of *fifty-four years*. Rev. John Hancock¹ was son of Nathaniel Hancock of Cambridge (now Newton). He was born December, 1671, entered Harvard College in 1685, where he was graduated in 1689. He was ordained, as we have already stated, November 2, 1698. He married Elizabeth Clark, daughter of Rev. Thomas Clark, of Chelmsford, by whom he had five children — three sons and two daughters.²

Ebenezer, son of Rev. John Hancock, of Lexington, was born December 7, 1710. He was graduated at Harvard, 1728, and prepared himself for the ministry. He was a young man of great promise; and received a unanimous invitation to settle at Sherborn, as successor to Rev. Mr. Baker. But the people of Lexington, fully impressed with his meek, unostentatious piety, and pleased with his easy manners and popular eloquence, gave him an earnest invitation to settle with them, as colleague with his father. Ebenezer did not long hesitate between these calls. The desire to aid his father in his declining years induced him to accept the invitation of Lexington. The 2d day of January, 1734, was fixed upon by the parties, and on that day Rev. Ebenezer Hancock was solemnly set apart as a co-laborer with his father in the ministry of Christ. Seven churches were invited to take part in the ordination, viz.: the Church of Christ in Weston, the two churches of Watertown, and the churches of Newton, Cambridge, Medford, and Bedford. Rev. Mr. Hancock, the father, preached the sermon, and gave the charge, and the Rev. Mr. Williams, of Weston, the right hand of fellowship.

Though the son engaged ardently in the work of the ministry, for the twofold purpose of promoting the cause of his Divine Master, and of lightening the burden of his devoted and pious father, then over sixty-three, he lived only to complete the sixth year of his ministry. He died January 28, 1740, greatly beloved and universally lamented, in the thirty-first year of his age. He was never married.

¹ See, also, An Address by Rev. Carlton A. Staples in Commemoration of the Ordination and Settlement of John Hancock. Arlington: C. S. Parker & Son, Printers, 1900. Also Proc. Lex. Hist. Soc., Vol. III, p. 5. Ed.

² See illustrations — Rev. and Mrs. Hancock. Ed.

Of the two daughters of Rev. John Hancock, *Eliza*, born February 5, 1705, married Rev. Jonathan Bowman, of Dorchester; and *Lucy*, born April 20, 1713, married Rev. Nicholas Bowes, of Bedford.¹

Though Mr. Hancock was distinguished in his family, he was more distinguished for his personal merit. He was very eminent in his day for wisdom, piety, and fidelity in the cause of his Divine Master; and for a happy talent at preventing discord and healing animosities among his people. From a great respect for his age, services, gravity, and dignified deportment, he was long honored with the appellation of "Bishop." For nearly thirty years he was the senior minister in this part of the county of Middlesex; had for many years presided in most of the councils for ordination within its bounds; and had given the solemn charge to twenty-one ministers, the last of whom was the late Dr. Cushing of Waltham, at their induction into office. He had the reputation of being a peacemaker; and his advice and fatherly counsel were frequently sought by the neighboring churches. His decision was generally the end of strife.

He was remarkable for his industry and devotion to his profession. He was early in the morning in his study, and early in the week at his preparations for the Sabbath. In this way he was always apparently at leisure, and ready to receive and entertain all those whom his social habits called to his house. His success in his profession is evidence of his fidelity. During his ministry, there were added to the church four hundred and forty-five by profession, and thirty-two by letters of dismissal and recommendation from other churches; one hundred and eighty owned the covenant, and sixteen hundred and thirty-seven were baptized.

Mr. Hancock was what might be denominated Calvinistic in his theology; and yet his grasp of mind and acquaintance with the world, and his great good sense, made him liberal and charitable to others. While his own mind was made up, and his own opinions formed, he was willing that others should adopt the same manly course, and judge for themselves.

In his sermon at the ordination of his son at Braintree, he says: —

¹ For a more particular account of the Hancock family, see *Genealogical Register*. (Vol. II. *Ed.*)

"Where there is so much work to be done, and work of such importance, it calls for diligence and fidelity. It is God's work, and must not be done negligently; it is the soul's work, and must not be done slightly; it is a great work, and of eternal consequences, and must be done faithfully. Unfaithfulness in the minister is more unpardonable than in another man, for hereby the cause of Christ, and the souls of men, are betrayed. Who would make an unfaithful person a ruler over his goods? Let ministers learn their dependence both for assistance and success. The power that can furnish you unto this work, and give you success, is from above. 'T is not from men, but from God. Men may pray over you, and put their hands upon you, and bless you in the name of the Lord; but they cannot bestow the gift of the Holy Spirit upon you. They can confer *orders*, but they cannot convey grace."

This extract shows the tone and spirit of his preaching, when young men are set apart for the ministry. We will give a specimen of his bold and manly preaching before the rulers of the Colony. It is from a public lecture delivered before the authorities: —

"I will speak unto great men; About what? Not about matters of state, but religion. Not about their farms or their merchandize, but about their souls. Not about such things as are merely temporal, but about things which are spiritual and eternal. . . . Great men are a part of a minister's charge, and must be addressed to at proper seasons, and on proper occasions. The ministers of Christ are to take heed unto all their flock over which the Holy Ghost hath made them overseers; and the great men in some congregations make up a considerable part of the flock. . . . It is the greatest pride and vanity that can be, for any to think themselves too great to be spoken to about their duties to perform, or about their sins and their faults that they may amend them. However, ministers must speak to them in the name of the Lord, whether they will hear, or whether they will forbear." . . . "Great men are not always good; it would be well, it would be happy for all states and governments, if they were. Indeed, they ought to be good, yea to be the best of men, yet many times they are the worst, scourges of the world, and plagues of mankind."

There is another trait in Mr. Hancock's character, which must not be passed over without notice. He was highly social; not merely fond of society, but with a vein of humor or wit in which he would often indulge. This pleasant, facetious disposition rendered his society interesting to the young and

gave him a hold upon their affections, which few ministers enjoy.

Many anecdotes are related of Mr. Hancock, showing his facetiousness, and the great control he had over his people even in temporal affairs. Two neighbors could not agree upon the division line between their lands — each claimed more land than the other would yield. The dispute rose high, and a lawsuit was threatened. Mr. Hancock, hearing of the dispute, called the parties together, took them upon the ground, and asked them to make their statements. When they had concluded, he took a stake and stuck it into the ground, and said, "There, neighbor A., your land comes to this stake; and neighbor B., don't you encroach upon your neighbor beyond that point." It is only necessary to say that this was the end of the strife.

It was customary in some of the early churches to have *elders*, as assistants to their pastors in certain of their duties; and sometimes they officiated as teachers. There happened to be two members of Mr. Hancock's church who had an inclination to fill such an office, and they called upon Mr. Hancock to confer with him upon the subject. They stated that his labors were arduous, and he somewhat in years, and they thought it might be some relief to him to have two elders chosen. Mr. Hancock told them that he thought well of the subject; but expressed some doubt whether any persons could be found who would accept the position. To relieve his mind on that point, they modestly hinted that they might be induced to accept the place to relieve him. "Well," said Mr. Hancock, "I should be very glad to have elders chosen, and should rejoice to have such gentlemen as you are fill those positions. I suppose you know the duty of such officers?" "No," replied one of the gentlemen, "we do not; but we know that you understand the whole matter, and can easily inform us." "Well," said Mr. Hancock, "the duties of elders have never heretofore been very well defined in the church, but latterly they have settled down to this — the younger elder is to brush down and harness the pastor's horse when he wishes to ride out; and the elder elder is to accompany the pastor when he goes out of town and pay his expenses. I should like very well to have such officers chosen." The gentlemen, being taken somewhat by surprise, let the subject subside, and made no further effort for the choice of elders.

One of his brethren in the ministry, who knew him well, thus speaks of this turn of mind:¹ —

“That facetious temper and turn of wit which were natural to him, and which some people of a different make might think abounded, he made a very good use of in general, and it served to scatter the clouds of melancholy that hung upon some people’s spirits, and to stir up a pleasant cheerfulness within them. He did thereby soften men’s tempers, and correct their ill humors, and bring the fretful, the angry, and the revengeful, into a calm, peaceable, and forgiving frame. As you have had the reputation of being a peaceable people, I believe you will readily grant that it has been very much owing to the pleasant, prudent, and pacific counsels of your deceased pastor.”

Mr. Hancock had great wisdom and sagacity in managing the affairs of his parish. Though he was a close student, and a good Biblical scholar, he did not confine his study to books alone. He mingled with his people, and so learned not only their wants, but their habits and turn of mind — the secret springs of action by which they were moved. He was thus enabled to guide, and in a manner to control them. Mr. Appleton bears testimony to this in the following passage: —

“He was eminently fitted for this place in its infant state, when you were few in numbers, and needed a man of such wisdom and prudence to advise and assist you in your outward and civil, as well as spiritual, concerns. And I believe it will be allowed that but few people have had so great help, benefit and comfort of a minister in all respects, as this people have had in Mr. Hancock. Few ministers have been so much concerned in the various affairs of their people, as he was in yours; and yet I never heard him taxed of being in the least a faulty busybody in other men’s matters; for you yourselves were so sensible of his wisdom, and the goodness of his capacity, and readiness to direct and advise you, that as I have understood, you seldom or never engaged in any important or difficult affair without consulting him upon it.”

The wisdom of Mr. Hancock is perhaps in nothing more conspicuous than in the manner in which he met and controlled the great movement of his day, which was denominated “new-lightism.” Nothing had occurred to awaken the church or to call forth its energies for a long period, and most of the clergy had fallen into a state of stupor. This

¹ Discourses delivered at Lexington the Sabbath after the death of Mr. Hancock, by Mr. Appleton of Cambridge.

condition of things excited the attention and aroused the energies of such men as Whitefield, and their "new-light," as it was called, spread rapidly on both sides of the Atlantic. Many of our churches were excited, distracted, and rent asunder. Many of our clergymen, waking up from their slumbers, and seeing a little more interest manifested in matters of religion, fancied that the Gospel was about to be lost in the blind frenzy of the age; and they declared a war of extermination against this new movement. Others caught the fire, and without stopping to inquire whether it were a true or a false zeal, plunged into the whirlpool, and suffered themselves to be carried in every direction by its blind eddies. The church at Concord was severed in twain, that of Medford was greatly agitated; and others were more or less disturbed by this new order of things. Councils were called, books were written, and all the artillery of the church militant was put in requisition to oppose the spread of what some deemed a dangerous heresy.

But in the midst of this commotion Mr. Hancock moved steadily forward, being aware that the religious as well as the natural world would have its seasons of refreshing as well as of drought; and that what was looked upon as the work of the enemy, was but the natural result of the apathy into which the churches had fallen. Instead, therefore, of opposing this spirit of awakening in his society, he availed himself of it, gave it the right direction, and added many to his church. He was fully aware that these seasons of peculiar religious interest would come, and had, as early as 1728, added nearly eighty to his church in a single year. So, in 1741 and 1742, in the midst of this "new-light" movement, he made about the same accession to his church, and that without any foreign aid or unnatural effort. While some of the neighboring clergy were attempting to smother this religious feeling and thereby stifle the sincere aspirations of pious souls, and others were fanning the flame and thereby converting it into a wild and dangerous conflagration, Mr. Hancock, with truly enlightened zeal, was guiding this spirit of inquiry and feeling of devotion and thereby aiding the cause of true religion.

Not, however, that Mr. Hancock was wanting in manly independence. He knew and realized that the pulpit had its rights, and that to secure these rights he must recognize the rights of the pews. His intimate acquaintance with his peo-

ple, his minute knowledge of their wants, their feelings, their infirmities, and even their prejudices, enabled him so to approach every subject of interest as to obtain a candid hearing and impress a salutary lesson upon his hearers. He did not dwell in the musty past or in the misty future. He was a man of the present; ready, however, to study the past that he might obtain knowledge to guide him in the future. He was conservative and at the same time progressive; desirous of bringing about a reformation by implanting Gospel principles in the heart. He was more emulous of being a faithful minister than a noted reformer — fully realizing the oft-forgotten truth that no reformation is abiding which flows not from Christian principle. With these views and with that great good sense obtained by an intimate acquaintance with human infirmities, he availed himself of all the real advantages of the Whitefield movement without producing any of those convulsions which disturbed many parishes.

We have already seen that Ebenezer Hancock, who was settled as a colleague to relieve his father, died after about six years' labor. His father, at the death of the son, was nearly seventy years of age, yet he continued for more than ten years to discharge the arduous duties of his office up to the Sunday before his death. And it was remarked by his contemporaries that he spoke with nearly the same firmness and vigor at the age of eighty as at the age of forty. But the firmest constitution must yield; the most devoted laborer must cease from his toil. We cannot better describe his sudden and unexpected death, than by copying from the title-page of two discourses delivered at Lexington the Sabbath after his funeral, by Rev. Mr. Appleton, of Cambridge: —

“Going to bed as well as usual, the night after the 5th of December (1752), and awaking some time after midnight with great pain in his stomach, died in a few minutes, in the eighty-second year of his age, and the fifty-fourth of his ministry.”

One thing which stands out prominently on the church records of that day is the discipline of the church, evinced by the public confessions which were made before the church and congregation. That these confessions were not always effectual appears from the fact that some of the members were arraigned the second time for the same offence.

We have already seen that John Merriam and Samuel

Stone were chosen deacons at the organization of the church in 1696. Deacon Stone died in 1703, and Samuel Stone, Jr., was elected in his place in 1715. In the year following, Joseph Estabrook, a brother of their first minister, Rev. Benjamin Estabrook, was chosen deacon. In 1727, on the death of Deacon Merriam, Joseph Brown was chosen to fill his place. In 1733, Deacon Joseph Estabrook died, and the church made choice of John Loughton, who, in 1744, was dismissed to the church in Harvard; and Joseph Estabrook, son of Deacon Joseph, was chosen in his stead. He died in 1740. In 1743, John Stone and Joseph Loring were chosen to that office. The former died in 1762, and the latter in 1746.

Rev. Mr. Hancock not only performed all the duties in his own parish, but was often called to the neighboring towns, when they were without a settled pastor, to administer the ordinances to the destitute churches. November 25, 1705, he was called to Groton, where he administered the Supper and baptized twenty-four persons. Subsequently he baptized nineteen more in that town. That same year he administered the ordinance to sixteen persons in Chelmsford; and during his ministry he baptized about fifty other persons in the neighboring towns, a list of which he preserved.

Mr. Hancock appears to have been very accurate and careful in keeping a record of all his acts and doings; but unfortunately the records of his marriages before 1750 are lost — a loss which is severely felt in preparing the genealogies of many of the early families of Lexington.

Though Mr. Hancock preached on many public occasions, his only printed discourses are the following: (1) A sermon at the general election, 1722 — text, Luke xxii, 25. (2) A sermon at the ordination of his son John, in Braintree, 1726 — text, Luke xxiv, 49. (3) A sermon at the ordination of his son Ebenezer, in Lexington, 1734 — text, 2 Cor. i, 24. (4) A sermon at the public lecture in Boston, November 21, 1734, before his Excellency the Governor and the General Court — text, Jer. v, 5. (5) A sermon at the ordination of Rev. Timothy Harrington, in Lancaster, November 16, 1748 — text, 1 Cor. ix, 19.

CHAPTER XIV

ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY, FROM THE SETTLEMENT TO THE DEATH OF MR. CLARKE

The Call and Settlement of Rev. Jonas Clarke — Introduction of Tate and Brady's Version of the Psalms — Mr. Clarke's Death and Character.

THE loss of such a pastor as Rev. Mr. Hancock was duly realized by his devoted people. They not only showed their respect for his memory, but they decided promptly and with great wisdom that they could best subserve the great cause to which he had devoted his long and active life by embracing the first reasonable opportunity of settling another man. Consequently, at a meeting held May 18, 1753, they not only chose a committee to supply the pulpit, but instructed them to "make dilligent Inquire after a Gentleman Suetable to Settell."

Realizing the importance of the subject, and remembering the teaching of their late pastor, that God would by his providence guide those who meekly called upon him for aid, before making the selection they appointed a day of "fasting and prayer," and invited the clergymen of the neighboring towns to meet with them on the occasion, to enlighten them by their wisdom and aid them by their prayers.

On the 19th of May, 1755, the town concurred with the church and extended a call to Mr. Jonas Clarke¹ to become their pastor — offering him a salary of eighty pounds and twenty cords of wood, and one hundred and thirty-three pounds as a settlement. The call being accepted, the ordination took place on the 5th of November, 1755.

Between the death of Mr. Hancock and the settlement of Mr. Clarke, a period of about three years, six were admitted to the church by letters of dismission from other churches, four owned the covenant, and fifty-six were baptized. Two members were in the meantime dismissed to other churches.

After the labors of a public servant as able and faithful as Rev. Mr. Hancock, and one who was so highly esteemed by

¹ See illustrations. *Ed.*

his people and respected by the community at large, they could hardly expect to find a man who would fully come up to the same standard. And yet Mr. Clarke so succeeded in meeting public expectation that in a few years he gained the entire confidence of his people, and acquired such a reputation in the community as but few clergymen ever enjoy. He soon exhibited powers not to be circumscribed by a parish or confined to the ordinary routine of professional duties.

After the settlement of Mr. Clarke, the cause of religion received a new impulse, twenty-seven being admitted to the church during the first year of his ministry.

At the meeting of the church, May 20, 1756, it was voted unanimously to choose two deacons, and James Brown and Joseph Loring were elected.

The affairs of the church went on prosperously under Mr. Clarke, and nothing worthy of note occurred till 1766, when the church was convened to elect a deacon, and Jonas Stone was chosen.

"At the same Time read a Petition, of twenty-4 Members, to know the Minds of the Brethren, relative to the Introduction of Tate and Brady's Version of the Psalms, together with a select Number of Dr. Watts's scriptural Hymns, to be sung in public, instead of the New England Version of Psalms now in use, — after some Debate upon the Matter, the Church voted to refer the Consideration of said Petition to thursday, October 2d, next ensuing. — To which Time the Meeting was then adjourned."

"At a meeting of the Church, in Lexington, upon Adjournment, on October 2, 1766, Admitted Jonas Stone, by a Letter of Dismission from the Church of Christ in Rutland. Considered the Petition, above mentioned, as read in the Church Meeting September 4, 1766 And Voted: To introduce Brady and Tate's Version of the Psalms, together with a Collection of Dr. Watts's Scriptural Hymns, to be sung in Public, instead of the New England Version of the Psalms that has been in Use among Us.

"The church voted by *Yeas* and *Nays* and upon sorting and counting the Votes, It appeared that there was a Majority of *Three to One*."

"Voted also to elect some Person to set the Psalm or Tune, and lead in the Singing for Six Sabbaths next ensuing upon Tryal (or Liking) as a further Attempt for regular and religious Improvement in that Part of divine Worship.

"The brethren then broug't in their Votes, from which it appeared that *Robert Harrington, Jr.*, was (*unanimously*) chosen to this service."

The New England version of the Psalms was prepared, in 1640, by the leading divines of New England; among whom Rev. John Eliot, Rev. Richard Mather, and Rev. Mr. Weld were the most prominent in this work. When the several portions were versified, the whole was committed to Rev. Henry Dunster, President of Harvard College, and Richard Lyon, of Cambridge. The work reflects no great honor upon them as poets.

This version was used generally by the New England churches up to about the time of which we are speaking. The earliest version used in the English and also in the American churches was that of Sternhold and Hopkins, a very literal rendering of the text, but far from being what good taste would require. This perhaps led to the New England version, which was scarcely an improvement upon its English predecessor. There are stanzas and even whole psalms in both that are barbarous, if not actually ridiculous. Hence we can pardon the English wit, who thus lampooned one of these versions: —

“Sternhold and Hopkins had great qualms,
When they translated David's Psalms,
To make our souls full glad:
But had it been poor David's fate,
To hear us sing, or them translate,
By Jove, 't would 've made him mad.”

The practice long prevailed in our New England churches of what was called “lining the hymn”; that is, reading one or two lines and then singing them, and so on through the whole hymn. This labor was generally performed by one of the deacons, and hence obtained the popular designation of “deaconing the hymn.” The introduction of the present mode of singing in a choir and of reading the hymn from the desk was in many cases a very delicate subject, and one which gave great offence, especially to the deacons, who considered their prerogative invaded.

A good anecdote, bearing upon this point, is related of the facetious Pierpont Edwards, of Connecticut, of whom it has been said that “he was of godly stock, but of devious inclination.” In Connecticut the parishes were formerly all territorial, and there were two and even three in a township. The people in one of these small parishes erected a meeting-house and partially covered it with boards; but owing to their

limited means, and a dissatisfaction growing out of its location, they were unable to do more. The building in this situation stood exposed to the weather till it became so dilapidated that "the rain descended and the winds blew and beat upon that house and it fell." By this time their old feud had subsided and they resolved to build another church. The timber was collected and framed, and on the appointed day the building was erected. After the raising was over, the people collected in a group to sing a psalm, appropriate to all raisings, but particularly so at the raising of a church. Having no psalm-book at hand, they looked around for some one who would be able without a book to repeat the appropriate psalm, and young Edwards, who happened to be present, was selected for that duty. He consented to perform that service, and repeated in a clear and distinct voice the first two lines —

"Except the Lord doth build the house,
The workmen toil in vain."

After singing these lines with becoming emotion, what was their confusion when they heard this wicked wight utter as the remaining lines of the stanza —

"Except the Lord doth shingle it,
'T will tumble down again."

But nothing like this, it is presumed, ever occurred in the town of Lexington. The change of psalm-books and the mode of singing were adopted without difficulty, and Mr. Clarke was so well pleased with the change that he entered in his diary — "October 19, 1766, began to sing the new version of psalms, and Dr. Watts's hymns." But the introduction of singing by the choir and singing from the new psalm-book did not do away with the practice of lining the psalm. This continued some fifteen years longer.

In November, 1781, the church voted to dispense with reading the hymns by line in public worship, and chose Captain Daniel Harrington to lead the singing. In October, 1787, John Bridge and Nathan Reed were chosen deacons.

Mr. Clarke died November 15, 1805, in the seventy-fifth year of his age and the fifty-first of his ministry. He was born December 11, 1730, and was graduated at Harvard, 1752.¹

¹ For a full account of his pedigree and family, see *Genealogical Register*. (Vol. II, Ed.)

During his ministry three hundred and sixty-five were added to the church by profession and ten by letters from other churches. Sixty-nine owned the covenant, and ten hundred and sixty-nine were baptized.

Few towns have been blessed with more distinguished clergymen than Lexington, in the persons of Mr. Hancock and Mr. Clarke. They were both eminent for talents, for piety, for fidelity — for everything which could recommend the preacher or the pastor, the citizen or the man; and hence both were greatly esteemed by their people and respected by the public at large. The aggregate length of their ministry was one hundred and four years. The influence of each of these clergymen was great, not only in the town, but in the community around him. It is not too much to say that Lexington owes its standing and character more to these eminent divines than to any other men who ever resided within her borders. A history of Lexington, without the mention of Mr. Hancock and Mr. Clarke, would be as defective as one of the Jewish Dispensation without the mention of Moses, or one of the Revolution without including Washington.

Mr. Clarke was distinguished himself and in his family, as will be seen in the Appendix.¹ His influence was felt in his parish and in the Colony. We have seen his devotion to the affairs of state; but this did not lead to a neglect of parochial duties. There were no jars or difficulties in his church or society; everything went on smoothly, to the satisfaction of all concerned. Nor did this quiet arise from indifference or inattention to the spiritual wants of his people. No minister was more faithful or preached the Gospel with more fidelity. The additions to his church show that he preached with earnestness and power. The fact that under his guidance the young men in his society formed themselves into an association for religious improvement and edification is the best commentary upon his religious influence. This society he cherished with special care, as he regarded it a safeguard to the young and a nursery of the church.

Mr. Clarke had a just appreciation of the ministerial office, as will appear from an extract from his sermon delivered at the ordination of Mr. Josiah Bridge, in East Sudbury, November 4, 1761. Addressing the candidate, he said: —

¹ Now Vol. II. *Ed.*

"Dear Sir, as you now present yourself before God and his people, to take part of this ministry, we trust you do it, not as the horse rushes into the battle, without consideration, but as the result of the most serious, solemn, and prayerful deliberation. The office you take upon yourself is high and responsible, the work you are engaged in is great and arduous, the charge you are to receive important and solemn, and the account you must render of your stewardship at the last day, awfully strict and impartial. To magnify your office, to be faithful in your work, and to keep the charge you are to receive of the Lord, will therefore be your constant care and most ardent endeavor, as you desire to lift up your head and give up your account with joy in the day of Christ. Your sacred regard for the glory of God, and the honor of Christ, will excite you to make his Word and his Gospel the sole standard of your faith and practice — 'a light to your feet, and a lamp to your path.' And jealous of the liberty wherewith Christ has made you free, and willing that your brethren should freely enjoy the same, you will, we trust, never dishonor yourself, disgrace the ministry, or displease your Lord by receiving or imposing the schemes of *fallible men*, however great or good, as a rule of faith and practice."

In doctrine, Mr. Clarke held the views which were generally prevalent at that day; but he held them in meekness and charity. He was a pious and practical rather than a denunciatory and controversial preacher. And he strove more ardently to make men follow the meek and lowly Jesus than to array themselves under this or that leader. As a pastor he was faithful and devoted, as a Christian he was meek and resigned, bearing affliction, of which he had a full share, with a patience and fortitude rarely excelled, firmly believing that the chastenings of the Lord were ordered in wisdom. As a man he was justly esteemed by all who knew him. Blessed with a social nature and being attached to the people of his charge, he kept up an intimate and familiar intercourse with them and was ever a welcome visitor at their houses. The old and the young were always pleased with his society; for to the dignity of the clergyman, which he never laid aside, he added the familiarity of a friend and the conviviality of a companion. His journal, which he kept upon an interleaved almanac, shows that his house was a place of resort for the young and old of his parish and for the clergymen and distinguished persons from abroad. His journal also shows his method in business and his careful attention to the most minute affairs. The daily state of the weather, the occurrence

of remarkable events, the visitors who called upon him, the journeys he or any of his family performed, the visiting of the schools, the catechising of the children, the deaths in his parish and of distinguished individuals out of his parish, are all carefully noted. Nor did the more domestic affairs escape his attention — the ploughing of his ground, the gathering of his harvest, even the bringing in of his cabbages and squashes, the killing of a calf or a pig, and other matters pertaining to his household affairs, are set down — all going to show that while he was religiously devoted to his charge as a pastor and to his country as a citizen, he did not neglect minor matters or suffer the smallest interest to languish in his hands.

He was a man of method and of industry. As a farmer, by care and good management he was able on a small salary to rear up a large family, to cultivate his land, and to leave unencumbered at his death a farm of sixty acres. Nor did his devotion to worldly affairs lead him to neglect his religious duties. Rev. William Ware, a family connection of Mr. Clarke, informs us that he had seen a manuscript sermon of Mr. Clarke's, numbered 2179, which would make an average of fifty-six sermons a year during his whole ministry at Lexington. When it is considered that his sermons would occupy a full hour in their delivery, fifty-six original sermons in a year must require great labor both of body and of mind. He also published several discourses.¹

His personal appearance was naturally dignified and commanding, and this was heightened in the desk by his clerical costume of *gown, cassock, and bands*, and a wig of immense dimensions and of snowy whiteness. He was also characterized by a neatness so extreme as to serve as a constant rebuke to any want of this graceful virtue in his people. His eloquence was of a commanding character. His voice was powerful and

¹ Mr. Clarke's publications are: (1) A sermon preached to a religious society of young men in Lexington, 1761 — text, Prov. i, 9. (2) A sermon at the ordination of Rev. Josiah Bridge, in East Sudbury, 1761 — text, Luke x, 3 and 16. (3) A sermon at the Artillery Election, 1768 — text, 2 Chron. xvii, 16. (4) A sermon on the use and excellency of vocal music in public worship, 1770 — text, Ps. xlvii, 6, 7. (5) A sermon delivered April 19, 1776, with an Appendix containing a narrative of the events of April 19, 1775. (6) A sermon at the General Election, 1781 — text, Ps. xlvii, 8, 9. (7) A sermon on the death of Rev. Samuel Cooper, D.D., Brattle Street, Boston, 1783. (8) A sermon at the ordination of Rev. Joseph Estabrook, at Athol, 1787 — text, Jer. iii, 15. (9) A sermon at the ordination of Rev. William Mussy, in Sullivan, N. H., 1798 — text, 1 Thess. ii, 4. In addition to his other labors, he wrote numerous state papers, of which we have spoken elsewhere.

agreeable, and when excited by his subject, which was frequently the case, it extended beyond the bounds of the meeting-house and could be distinctly heard by those in the immediate neighborhood.

But Mr. Clarke, though eminent as a divine, was something more than is usually implied in that designation. To his knowledge of the Scriptures and whatever else is generally supposed to appertain to the clerical profession, he added a knowledge of men in their individual and in their associated capacity, and had broad and correct views of civil polity; so that he might be denominated a statesman as well as a divine. But though he was distinguished in both these relations, he did not put these characters on and off at pleasure, assuming the one at one time and the other at another. In him the divine and the statesman were coexistent — dwelling together in perfect harmony, prompting at all times to deeds politically religious and religiously political. His theology did not begin and end in certain abstract speculations upon the divine government in the narrow and restricted sense of that term. He fully realized that man was created for society, and that many of his duties and obligations grow out of the relations which society imposes. Consequently, he viewed the study of human government as an important part of an enlightened theological education.

Entertaining these views, he never put off the character of the clergyman, but brought the solemn sanctions of religion to bear upon all purposes of state. With him patriotism was not a blind attachment to one's own country, but a religious obligation to the land in which we live. On this principle he animated our fathers to stand by the interests of the Colonies as one of their highest duties. Regarding all true government as growing out of the great plan of the Almighty, and believing that form of government best which approaches nearest to the divine standard, he was one of the most ardent and active friends of liberty; and did more, perhaps, than any clergyman in this vicinity to prepare the public mind for that sanguinary struggle which gave us a place among the nations of the earth. He was an intimate friend of Samuel Adams and John Hancock, and a fellow laborer with them in the cause of liberty. To his house they frequently repaired, where they always met with a most cordial welcome, and drew the fire of patriotism from the sacred altar of religion. His counsels are

known to have had a great, and perhaps a controlling, influence upon John Hancock, at a time when he was supposed to be in doubt relative to his duty.

Mr. Clarke's character for patriotism was so well understood that all the ardent friends of liberty used to frequent his house; and they never left uninstructed or 'unwarmed with truly religious, patriotic ardor. His patriotism being engrafted upon the holy principles of his religion, it was modest and unobtrusive, but as firm and as abiding as the source whence it drew its nourishment. However dark the dispensation or gloomy the prospect, he was always cheered with the hope — nay, animated with the conviction — that if we are faithful to the trust committed to our care, we shall ultimately triumph. And though he was a man of peace and would sacrifice everything but principle to preserve a filial regard for the mother country, when he witnessed her wanton encroachments upon our just rights and her determination to reduce us to a state of vassalage, he believed that it was our religious duty to raise the standard of revolt and to resist the attacks of the oppressor.

That Mr. Clarke had just and enlightened views of the science of human government and an ardent devotion to the great cause of justice and equal rights will be seen by the following extracts ¹ from his Election Sermon, preached before His Excellency Governor Hancock and the Honorable Legislature, in 1781: —

"Were there no Laws, Magistracy Government nor Shields in the Earth, for the Preservation of Peace, the guard of Liberty, the Protection of Property & Life, it is easy to foretell, even without a Spirit of Prophecy, what the Event must be: — That anarchy, Confusion, Blood and Slaughter, Waste & Destruction would soon take Place in the Earth. The weak would be devoured by the Strong, the innocent, like righteous Abel, would become an easy Prey to the vicious, ambitious, and abandoned — and the longest Sword must determin the Fate of the World. Hence it appears, I had almost said to a Demonstration, That under God the Supreme Ruler, This wise Institution, this richest of Blessings, takes Rise from *Necessity*.

"It is true Reason teaches the Propriety, Convenience, and all the social Affections concur to urge the Importance Advantage and Usefulness of civil Government. But however engaging or Empor-

¹ Revised from the manuscript, which, with the exception of the last paragraph, is now in the archives of the Lexington Historical Society. *Ed.*

tant, these Arguments might appear to the benevolent, the wise & judicious, they would be at best, but a feeble support to the order of Society, and could never avail to establish a Government, against the lawless Lusts of vicious, aspiring, or Blood-thirsty Men. It is Necessity — absolute Necessity alone which is the great Bond of Society is at the Foundation of civil Government. . . . This necessity, in a great Measure at least, is founded in, & takes its Rise from the Lusts, Corruption, and Vices of Mankind.

“T is not indeed pretended nor even supposed, that any one Man or any Number of Men, have a natural Right of Superiority, or an inherent Claim of Dominion, or governmental Authority over any other Man, or Body of Men. All Men are, by Nature, free, equal, and independent, in this Matter. It is in Compact, and in *Compact alone*, that all just Government is founded. . . . The first steps in entering into Society, and towards the establishing of civil Government among a People, is the forming, and ratifying an original Compact for the Regulation of the State — describing & determining the Mode, Departments, & Powers of Government And the Rights, Privileges and Duties of the Subjects. This must be done by the whole Body of the People, or by their Princes, Leaders, or Delegates, by their Choice Appointment or Consent. This Right in the People, whether emerging from a State of Nature or the Yoke of Oppression, is an unalienable Right. It cannot be disposed of or given up by a People, even though ever so much inclined to sell or sacrifice their Birth-Right in this Matter. . . .

“While the social Compact subsists, the whole state, and all its Members, are bound by it, and a sacred Regard ought to be paid to it. No Man, Party, Order, or Body of Men in the State have any Right, Power, or Authority to alter, change, or violate the social Compact. Nor can any Change, Amendment, or Alteration be introduced but by common Consent. . . . It remains, however, with the Community, State or Nation, as a public, Political Body, at any Time, at Pleasure, to change, alter, or totally dissolve the Constitution, and return to a state of Nature, or form anew as to them shall seem Meet. These Principles being admitted, it is evident that no Man or Body of Men, however great or good — No Nation, Kingdom or Power on Earth, hath any Right to make or impose a Constitution of Government upon a free People. . . .

“Equality and Independence are the just Claim — the infeasible Birth-right, of Men. In a State of Nature, as Individuals, in Society, as States and Nations, Nothing short of these ever did or ever will satisfy a Man or a People truly Free — truly Brave. . . . When Opportunity offers, and Power is given, it is beyond Dispute the Duty of such a Nation to assert its Native Liberty, to shake off the Tyrant's Yoke, and maintain its Equality and Independence among the Nations: and either resume their former, or

establish a New Constitution of Government, as they shall judge best. Upon the whole, this is a Right, the Violation, or Infringement of which, upon any Consideration, whatever, no Man can justify upon the Principles of Reason, the Laws of Nature, or the Rules of Equity. Even God himself, the great, the supreme Ruler of the World, whose Government is absolute and whose authority is uncontrollable, hath ever paid a sacred Attention to this important Right — hath ever patronized this interesting Claim in the Sons of Men. The only Constitution of Government that can plead its Origin as immediately from Heaven, was the Theocracy of the Jews. But even this Form of Government, though dictated by infinite Wisdom, and wrote by the Finger of God, was laid before his People for their Consideration, and ratified, introduced, and established by their common Consent. . . .

“A series of oppressive Measures and lawless Claims of Power, adopted and pursued by the Court of *Great Britain* in open Violation of the most sacred *Chartered Rights*, . . . aroused the spirit of liberty in the Free-born Sons of America to the highest Pitch: and no other Alternative being left them but the Sword or Slavery, the Colonies, unitedly declared their Choice of the former — and greatly dared to be free! The important *Die* was cast — and the glorious *Era* of Liberty commenced. . . . To Heaven the Appeal was made. — By Heaven the Claim hath been supported. — And that God who sitteth upon the Throne of his Holiness, as Governor among the Nations, the Patron of the injured and oppressed, hath hitherto maintained our Right to Freedom, Equality, and Independence — and given Us a Name among the Nations of the Earth. . . .

“To rouse our Attention, and to give a Spring to the noblest Exertion, may we realize the Greatness of the Cause, and attend to the Voice of our Brethren’s Blood, who have nobly fought and bled in its Defence. O, my Fathers & Brethren, All, All is yet at Stake. All may yet be lost, if We rise not as one Man to the noble Cause. How inglorious must it be to fail at the Last, where then the pleasing Scenes of Liberty and Independence, where the glorious Foundations of Safety and Freedom which our Civil Constitutions have laid! They vanish, they are gone, they are lost! forever lost!

“But can this be the Event? Shall this be the fatal end, the shameful issue of all the glorious exertions that have been made, of all the bitter sufferings that have been endured, of all the precious blood that hath been shed? Is this possible? Can it be? Forbid it, righteous Heaven! Forbid it, O my country! America rises indignant at the slavish thought. Her free-born sons are not so lost to the sentiments of liberty, the love of country, or the feelings of humanity, as to breathe the most distant idea of such a disgraceful

end of this glorious contest. Nor can they ever be so debased as to retain a wish to survive the loss of liberty, or their country's independence. Much less to stand the tame spectators of the sacrifices that (in such a case) must and will be made of the noble patriots, wise counsellors, faithful rulers, brave commanders and illustrious heroes — and in fine of the best friends and the best blood of America, by the axe or halter, to satiate the rage, and glut the vengeance of a British conqueror! Or perhaps, that which is still more affecting and degrading, to be doomed to waste away the remains of a wretched life in poverty, chains, slavery, or a cruel imprisonment."

These extracts from a discourse delivered while the War of the Revolution was still raging — extracts, "which those who look at, will think too long, but those who read, will think too short" — clearly show that Mr. Clarke fully understood the nature of human government, and rightly appreciated the prerogatives of rulers and the rights and duties of the people. He was also fully aware that these rights and privileges must be guarded with care and watchfulness; that freemen must not only know their rights, but must be ready at all times to assert and maintain them, if necessary, even by the sword. Instead, therefore, of condemning war in all cases and under all circumstances, he would rather sanctify it and bring all military operations under the control of high religious principle. He had no sympathy for the display of mere brute force, but knew the worth of that true valor which struck for human rights — for liberty — for God.

In a discourse delivered before the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company, in 1768, he presents his views with great clearness and force: —

"Valour, or true fortitude, is that virtue by which men are enabled to preserve presence of mind, to possess themselves fully, think clearly, judge wisely, and act with calmness, firmness and resolution, in times of great confusion and tumult, in the midst of most pressing dangers and perplexing distresses. A virtue which excites to the noblest actions, stimulates to the boldest enterprises, which reason dictates, judgment directs, or duty calls them to engage in. . . . True valour is, therefore, to be considered as a moral virtue, having reason for its foundation, and religion for its encouragement and support. And where courage, valour or fortitude, has reason for its basis, and is encouraged, cultivated and supported, by the principles of religion, it becomes a virtue of the highest rank, and prompts and leads men on to the most heroic undertakings: And when properly called, in a cause worthy their attention, it

enables men, with calmness and composure of mind, to face the greatest dangers, to stand the severest shocks, to meet, undaunted and serene the charge of the most formidable enemy, and all the horrors of war. The want of fortitude, is always attended with disgrace and reproach, frequently with shameful defeats, and sometimes with total destruction. But, inspired with this virtue, a man may engage the boldest rival, in arms, and perform the most glorious exploits."

The various resolutions and instructions given to the Representatives of the town from time to time, which are found upon the town records and of which mention has been made, are all the handiwork of Rev. Jonas Clarke.

As Mr. Hancock and Mr. Clarke were both distinguished in their profession, and each of them labored in the vineyard of their Lord half a century with eminent success, and each died greatly lamented by the people of the place, and as the characters of these eminent divines are not sufficiently known by the people of this generation, it is thought that some light may be cast upon the character of each by drawing a parallel between them. But, in the first place, we should clearly understand in what points they agree. No two clergymen out of Boston filled a larger space in the public mind, in their respective generations, than Mr. Hancock and Mr. Clarke. They were both men of distinguished talents and ardent piety; of great industry and method in business; and, being well acquainted with the wants of their people, they were eminently successful in their calling.

In theology, their sentiments were very similar, each taking a practical view of the religion they taught. They knew that the Gospel, though a scheme of salvation into which the angels desire to look, was adapted to the wants of men, and that the earth was the field in which to train men for the skies. Knowing that religion was designed to fit men to dwell together harmoniously in heaven, they both strove to induce them to live peaceably on earth, as the best preparation for their ultimate abode. But while they both labored to make their people benevolent, kind, and peaceable as men and as citizens, they were not insensible to the higher aspirations and the immortal destiny of the human soul. Hence they labored to raise men above mere earthly things. In one word, though they taught a pure morality, they did not rest in morality alone; but added thereto an active, ardent piety.

Another leading characteristic in both of these servants of the Lord was that of independence. Though kind and conciliatory, they were both open and frank in the declaration of their views, and their preaching was characterized by a boldness which plainly indicated that they preached not the pleasing words of man's wisdom, but the sublime truths of the Gospel which God had committed to them, and which they would proclaim, whether men would hear or forbear.

Agreeing in so many particulars, and conforming so exactly to each other and to the divine standard of a Christian minister, we can find few traits of character on which to institute a parallel. But yet it is believed that there are some points on which they differed, and the exact character of each will best be shown by the contrast. Though remarkable for their social qualities, in their intercourse with their fellow men, Mr. Hancock had more pleasantry and Mr. Clarke more dignity; and while the former would more frequently unbend himself and indulge in playful wit or humor, the latter would always come down to familiar companionship, but would never put off the character of the clergyman. This difference arose probably more from the temperament of the two men than from any real differences of sentiment. Of Mr. Hancock it may be said that he had more art, more of what may be called management, than Mr. Clarke; though in him it never degenerated into low cunning or craft. He was minutely acquainted with all the temporal affairs of his people and here he exerted his influence to a very great extent, and generally, it is believed, for their best good. Mr. Hancock and Mr. Clarke were well acquainted with men and things; but the former knew more of men in their individual character and the latter in their associated condition. And hence the one was the better calculated to rear up a feeble parish in a new settlement and the other to guide a rising State. Of intellectual power, — that creative energy of mind which originates and combines, which meets present emergencies and provides for future contingencies, — the preference must be given to Mr. Clarke. If Mr. Hancock's vision was more microscopic, Mr. Clarke's extended over a broader field; so that the exact observation of the one was more than compensated by the broader survey of the other. Mr. Hancock could meet the wants of the present, Mr. Clarke could anticipate those of the future.

The training of Mr. Hancock's powers was on a scale more limited than that of Mr. Clarke's. The former circumscribed his powers to the wants of his parish and the interests of the churches around him, where he exerted an almost unbounded sway; while the latter entered upon a broader field and brought his energies to bear upon the affairs of states and the destinies of nations; and if his influence was not as controlling in his particular sphere as his predecessor's was in his, it was only because the field was broader and the rivals more numerous and distinguished. Mr. Hancock's sphere of labor being more circumscribed and the themes of his contemplation being more common, his reputation will be less lasting than that of Mr. Clarke, who has left his impress upon subjects which will ever engage the popular mind.

But it is unprofitable to pursue this parallel and point out differences discoverable in these great and good men. Each of them filled with fidelity the sphere in which he was placed. And as they were perhaps equally successful in the common field, that of the Christian minister, it may be true that if their circumstances had been reversed, we should see as many of the characteristics of a statesman in Mr. Hancock as were so eminently displayed by his distinguished successor.

The remains of Mr. Hancock and Mr. Clarke, with their wives and several members of their families, were deposited in the same tomb in the Lexington graveyard and one common stone marks their resting-place.

CHAPTER XV

ECCLESIASTICAL AFFAIRS

The First Parish from the Death of Mr. Clarke to 1868 — Mr. Williams invited to become the Pastor, and accepts — His Dismissal — Settlement and Dismissal of Rev. Mr. Briggs — Ministry of Rev. Mr. Swett — Settlement and Death of Rev. Mr. Whitman — Ministry of Rev. Mr. Barrett — Ministry of Rev. Mr. Staples — Ministry of Rev. Mr. Livermore — Settlement of Rev. Mr. Westcott — Second Congregational Society — Labors and Death of Dr. Follen — Ministry of Rev. Mr. Dorr — Ministry of Rev. Mr. Bridge — The Union Society — Settlement of Rev. Mr. Stowe — The Baptist Society and its Clergymen — The Universalist Society and its Clergymen.

AFTER the death of Mr. Clarke and before the settlement of his successor, a period of about two years, the church records are quite meagre. In August, 1807, Mr. Avery Williams was first heard as a candidate, and on the 8th of October he received a unanimous invitation to become their pastor. He accepted the call and was ordained December 30, 1807. Rev. Dr. Kendall, of Weston, preached the sermon; Rev. Mr. Marrett, of Burlington, made the consecrating prayer, and Rev. Dr. Cushing, of Waltham, gave the charge.

His health failing him, by the advice of his physician Mr. Williams spent a winter at the South, but obtained no permanent relief. The parish supplied the pulpit during his absence; but when it became apparent that his pastoral labors were at an end, it was arranged with the parish that his connection with them should terminate in September, 1815.¹ His ministry was a successful one.

On the 31st of March, 1813, Mr. Williams preached a century sermon, which was published. This discourse is well written and does credit to the author. It is a succinct and well-digested sketch of the early settlement of the place. He pays a just tribute to the memories of his predecessors in the ministry, Mr. Hancock and Mr. Clarke. The sermon shows careful research, sound judgment, and good taste.

In 1819, both church and society extended an invitation to Mr. Charles Briggs to become their pastor. The invitation being accepted, the 28th of April, 1819, was agreed upon as

¹ For a notice of his family, see Genealogy. (Vol. II. *Ed.*)

the time for the ordination. Rev. Dr. Richmond preached the sermon and Rev. Dr. Kirkland made the consecrating prayer.

Nothing of special moment occurred during Mr. Briggs's ministry. The church records, kept by him, are not only meagre, but loose, and compare poorly with those of his predecessors. The records of his marriages and of the deaths in the parish are so imperfect as to be of but little value.

Mr. Briggs was graduated at Harvard in 1815, and his first and only settlement was at Lexington. His ministry extended over a period of more than sixteen years, and was on the whole a successful one, though his health was delicate, and at times he was scarcely able to attend to his ordinary duties. Nevertheless, he retained the affections of the people, who expressed their sympathy by several gratuities, in consequence of his sickness and feeble health. In 1827, the town voted him five hundred dollars, to be paid out of the Ministerial Fund; and in 1835, they voted to give him two hundred dollars in addition to his salary. During this year, his health continuing feeble, Mr. Briggs requested that his connection with the parish be dissolved, which was granted. The feelings of the town towards him, on the sundering of their relations, were fully expressed in the following resolution, which was unanimously adopted: —

“Resolved — That the First Congregational Society in Lexington exceedingly regret that the health of the Reverend Charles Briggs, is such as to render it imprudent for him, with a just regard to himself & family, to fulfil all the duties appertaining to his Ministerial office; that his labors among them hitherto will long be remembered with gratitude and affection; that his talents & ministerial character eminently entitle him to their highest respect; that his discreet & conciliatory deportment has been a strong bond of union to this Society; — that they most deeply sympathize with him & his family in his present precarious state of health.”

It is due to Mr. Briggs to say that the last years of his ministry in Lexington were rendered embarrassing by the unprofitable controversy growing out of the Ministerial Fund.¹ Though he managed prudently, his labors must have been

¹ For a presentation of the controversy from the standpoint of the First Congregational Society, see a pamphlet, *The Origin and Ownership of the Lexington Ministerial Fund*, issued by the Parish Committee in 1879. *Ed.*

REV. WILLIAM G. SWETT
REV. JONAS CLARKE
REV. LEONARD A. LIVERMORE
REV. JASON WHITMAN
REV. HENRY WESTCOTT

Past Pastors of the First Parish Church

greatly neutralized by the unhappy state of feeling which pervaded the community.

About a year after Mr. Briggs left the society, Mr. William G. Swett was invited to become their pastor, with a salary of seven hundred dollars. He accepted the call, and was ordained July 13, 1836. He was son of Colonel Samuel Swett,¹ and was graduated at Harvard in 1828. He was subsequently settled in Lynn. He married Charlotte B. Phinney, daughter of Elias Phinney, Esq., of Lexington. On January 15, 1839, his relations with the society were dissolved at his own request. During his ministry the controversy relative to the Fund must have made his position unpleasant. His salary of seven hundred dollars being deemed insufficient, two hundred dollars was subsequently added, showing a kind feeling towards him personally.

After Rev. Mr. Swett left the parish, they continued in a broken state for some time. That disturbing element, the Fund, kept the town in commotion; and in this distracted state of affairs it was difficult to find any man who would settle with them. The pulpit was supplied from time to time by such preachers as they could obtain. Rev. George M. Rice supplied for a period. Rev. Mr. Knapp, by temporary engagements, supplied the desk several months; and after that, Rev. S. B. Cruft was employed a year or more.

After the close of Mr. Cruft's brief ministry, Rev. Samuel J. May supplied the desk about six months. He saw the distracted state of the town and set himself at work to heal these disorders; and it is due to him to say that by his energetic labors and conciliatory spirit he did more towards bringing about an amicable adjustment of the bitter controversy about the Fund than any other man; for which he received the thanks of the town.

In 1845, after the Legislature had provided for the division of the Ministerial Fund among the different societies, the first parish, which up to that period had transacted their business under a town warrant, organized as a parish, under a warrant issued by William Chandler, justice of the peace.

At a meeting, June 30, 1845, the parish voted unanimously to invite Rev. Jason Whitman² to become their pastor, on a salary of nine hundred dollars. Mr. Whitman accepted the

¹ See Genealogy. (Vol. II.) Also illustrations. *Ed.*

² See Illustrations. *Ed.*

invitation, and July 30, 1845, was agreed upon for his installation. Mr. Whitman had previously been settled at Saco, and at Portland, Maine.

Immediately after the settlement of Mr. Whitman, the society voted to reconstruct their meeting-house; and at a meeting held February 9, 1846, William Chandler, Sullivan Burbank, J. Simonds Parker, William Locke, Isaac Parker, Isaac N. Damon, and Joseph Davis were appointed a committee to carry that vote into effect. The committee contracted with Mr. S. B. Temple to remodel the house; and when it was substantially completed, namely, December 17, 1846, it took fire and was entirely consumed. Being thus deprived of a place of worship, the Baptist society generously offered the use of their house every Sunday morning till the first parish could provide some place for themselves; which offer was thankfully accepted. The house not being insured, and the work on the old house being in the nature of repairs, the loss fell entirely upon the society.

Being thus deprived of a house of worship, the society, at a meeting held February 15, 1847, voted to erect a new meeting-house, at a cost not exceeding eight thousand dollars, and chose a committee to carry the vote into effect. The house was completed and dedicated, February 28, 1848. The pews were appraised and sold at public auction for a sum sufficient to pay for the building.¹

Though Mr. Whitman was settled over the society under very flattering circumstances, unforeseen causes disturbed the peace and prosperity of the parish. The loss of their old house by fire interrupted in some degree his ministry, and the division of the people relative to the location of the new house would naturally impair the harmony of the society; and though no objection was raised against him, the success of his ministry must have been somewhat impeded by these untoward circumstances. Being in Maine to attend the funeral of a brother-in-law, he was taken suddenly ill and died a few weeks before the completion of the new meeting-house.

¹ The architect of this typical New England meeting-house was Isaac Melvin, of whom little is known. He was the architect also of the old Town Hall, — subsequently used as a high-school building and now suffering the ignominy of conversion into a tenement house, — the Stone Building, in East Lexington, and the beautiful doorway of the house on the east corner of Massachusetts Avenue and Pleasant Street. See *Architectural Yesterdays in Lexington*, by Dr. F. S. Piper, *Proc. Lex. Hist. Soc.*, Vol. iv, p. 114. *Ed.*

The parish records contain the following brief notice of the event: —

"The Rev. Jason Whitman died, January 25th, 1848, at Portland, Maine. He was buried from the Baptist meeting-house, on Saturday the 28th."

Mr. Whitman was highly esteemed by his people; and as a testimonial of their regard for him and his family, the parish, at their meeting, March 18, 1848, voted, —

"That the salary of our highly esteemed friend and minister, Rev. Jason Whitman, deceased, be continued up to the first day of May next, and be paid to Mrs. Whitman, widow of the deceased, as a token of the high esteem of the society for him and his family, and for his unceasing labors to promote the cause of religion, education, and every good work, while he was permitted to remain among the living."

Mr. Whitman was a man of feeble constitution and yet he performed a vast amount of labor. He was born in Bridgewater, April 30, 1799,¹ was graduated at Harvard in 1825. He was settled over a small society in Saco, Maine, where he married, March, 1832, Mary Fairfield. The society in Saco being unable to give him a suitable support, he left, and took the general agency of the American Unitarian Association. A new Unitarian society being formed in Portland, Maine, Mr. Whitman was induced to take charge of it, where, by his almost incessant labor, his health gave way, and he was advised to seek a warmer clime. He went to Savannah, Georgia, where his health was soon so improved that he entered upon his labors in that city and vicinity; but seeing that the South was no place to preach with the freedom to which he was accustomed or to educate his children, he returned to Portland, in 1842, with invigorated health, where he remained till 1845, when he received a unanimous invitation to settle in Lexington. Accepting the call, he was installed, July 30, 1845.

Mr. Whitman was ardently devoted to his profession and the moral reforms of the day; and never spared himself when there was a field of labor before him. In addition to his weekly preparations for the pulpit, he wrote for the periodical and weekly press. He also published: *An Address on Temperance*; *A Sermon on the Two Natures of Christ*; *A Sermon on*

¹ For a more perfect view of the family see *Genealogy*. (Vol. II. *Ed.*)

Regeneration; A Sermon on Missionary Efforts; Home Preparation for School — delivered before the American Institute; A Fourth of July Address; A Memoir of Rev. Edward H. Edes, of Kennebunk; A Memoir of his brother, Bernard Whitman, of Waltham; A Memoir of his father, Deacon John Whitman, of East Bridgewater; Young Lady's Aid — a course of lectures before the young ladies of Portland; Young Man's Assistant — a course of lectures to the young men of Portland; A Volume of Sermons on the Lord's Prayer; A Sermon at the Ordination of Rev. C. H. A. Dall; and a number of religious tracts.

Mr. Whitman was a man of modest, unaffected piety, firm and decided in his religious opinions; and yet far removed from a narrow, sectarian spirit. By the simplicity of his manners, by his liberal and benevolent disposition and good sense, he always secured the respect and esteem of the community in which he lived. His writings are characterized by strength and directness, guided by practical wisdom, and expressed with great clearness. His preaching was earnest and direct, practical and persuasive, and rather conversational than declamatory in manner.

In his first discourse at Lexington, after his installation, he gave his new parish a statement of his views and principles — from which we cite the following: —

“People sometimes seem to feel, that, as the minister receives his support from them, it is to them that he owes his first allegiance, and that his great object should be to satisfy them. Upon this point, my views are different. I feel that my first allegiance is due to God and to Christ; I believe that I am accountable to God for what I say; I regard Jesus Christ as the sanctified and sent of the Father, and his instructions as authorized disclosures of God's will. He is my master in matters of religion; to his authority I reverently bow. Whatever his instructions may require me to proclaim as God's truth, woe be to me if I refrain from preaching it, through fear of man. Thus far my allegiance to God and Christ extends. Beyond this I may and I ought to consult the wishes and feelings of the people with regard to the time and mode of presenting even Christian truths and sentiments.”

Concerning the popular movements of the day, he said: —

“The spiritual prosperity and religious growth of a society, will be promoted by frequent social religious conference, and by a deep and active interest in missionary movements.

"On the subject of Temperance, I am, and for years have been, pledged to total abstinence from the use of all intoxicating drinks as a beverage. I have, in years past, taken an active part in efforts to remove the evils of intemperance from the community.

"Upon the subject of Slavery I would say, that, having spent several months at the South, I entertain a very deep abhorrence of the system, as based upon injustice and supported by wrong, and as fraught with evils of the most appalling character to the slave and to the master, and I know not but as much to the one as to the other."

The loss of their newly refitted meeting-house was a sore calamity to the parish; and though they voted to borrow the money necessary to pay the contractor, by a delay or neglect on the part of the Committee, who had obtained the money on their own notes, the matter was suffered to remain unsettled till a considerable portion of the claim against the parish became outlawed and the whole loss would have fallen upon the Committee had not individuals contributed freely to relieve them of this onerous burden.

After the death of Mr. Whitman, the society heard several preachers, and on the 19th of March, 1849, gave Mr. Fiske Barrett,¹ then in the Divinity School at Cambridge, a unanimous invitation to become their pastor. Mr. Barrett accepted the invitation, to take effect after the close of his theological course. He was ordained September 5, 1849. Mr. Barrett having tendered his resignation as pastor, the society, at a meeting held June 27, 1852, voted to accept it. His ministry was short and terminated by his own request.

After being destitute of a settled minister for two years, the society extended an invitation to Mr. Nahor A. Staples, a graduate from the Theological School at Meadville, Pennsylvania, to become their pastor, with a salary of twelve hundred dollars. Mr. Staples accepting the invitation, September 20, 1854, was fixed on for the ordination. After laboring with the parish about two years and two months, Mr. Staples requested to be dismissed, that he might take pastoral charge of a new society being formed in Milwaukee, Wisconsin. The society at a meeting held November 10, 1856, —

"*Voted*, That we accept the communication of Rev. N. A. Staples, and accede to his wishes as therein expressed, and that his connection be dissolved on the last Sabbath of this month.

¹ For view of the family see Genealogy. (Vol. II. Ed.)

"Voted, That the Parish Committee transmit to Rev. N. A. Staples a copy of the above vote, together with an expression of the regret of the Society at the separation, and their ardent prayer for his future prosperity and happiness."

During Mr. Staples's ministry the society was prosperous, and thirty members were added to the church. Mr. Staples was a young man of more than ordinary talents; he was active and indefatigable in his labors, fervent in his eloquence, and had his life been spared would have become one of the leading clergymen of the denomination. He died February, 1864, in Brooklyn, New York, where he had been settled.¹

The society after the close of Mr. Staples's ministry was destitute of a settled minister about a year, when an invitation was given to Rev. Leonard J. Livermore² to become their pastor. He accepted the invitation, and was installed, October 4, 1857. Mr. Livermore remained with the society nine years, when he asked a dismissal. At a meeting of the parish called for that purpose, September 3, 1866, they acceded to his request, expressing at the same time their sincere regret at the separation. They also, by a public vote, bore testimony to the value of his labors, "by which the church had been increased, and the society relieved of a heavy pecuniary burden," and expressed their high appreciation of his fidelity, self-sacrificing spirit, and purity of character.

At the last communion service, held on the first Sunday of November, 1866, the church expressed their regard for Rev. Mr. Livermore, and their regret at his departure, by adopting by a unanimous vote a testimonial, from which the following are extracts:—

"We cannot consistently with our own feelings, or in justice to him, permit this opportunity to pass without some expression of our attachment to him, our appreciation of his Christian character, and our regret at the separation. . . . We therefore take pleasure in saying, as we can in truth and sincerity, that we highly appreciate the industry and fidelity, the zeal and disinterestedness, with which he has discharged all his duties as pastor of this church and society, during the nine years he has labored with us."

After enumerating the fundamental doctrines he had inculcated, they add:—

¹ See Genealogy. (Vol. II. Ed.)

² See illustrations. Ed.

"And we rejoice to say that he has taught these doctrines, not only by precept, but by example, adding to the full force of his teaching a consistent Christian Character; that we have witnessed with high satisfaction, his benevolence and liberality, his kindness to the poor and unfortunate, his Christian sympathy for the sick and afflicted, his respect for the aged, his devotion to the rising generation, his faithful efforts, by word and deed, to promote the temporal and spiritual welfare of the Church and Society, and in general, his readiness to join in any good work to improve the morals and elevate the Christian character of the community."

As a further testimonial of their attachment to him and their regret at his leaving them, two hundred and twenty-nine of his late parishioners, male and female, presented him a briefly written expression of their personal regard and esteem under their own signatures respectively, accompanied by a service of silver plate, as a Christmas gift.

During Mr. Livermore's ministry fifty persons were admitted to the church and a number of children were baptized. It is due to him to say that, though his salary was insufficient to support his family, no member of the parish or town was more liberal or ready to contribute to every public object which presented itself. And among the subjects which engaged his attention, we cannot in justice omit to mention his successful effort to extinguish a heavy claim against the parish, arising from the loss by fire of their meeting-house in 1846.

Two distinct efforts had been made and a considerable sum had been raised to relieve the Committee, who, by the lapse of time, had lost their legal claim upon the parish; and yet forty-five hundred dollars were unpaid. When all further efforts were relinquished, Mr. Livermore took the matter in hand, and by his own liberality and effort succeeded in raising twenty-five hundred and forty-one dollars for the relief of the Committee, who relinquished all further claim. It is due to fact to say that of this sum, Mrs. Cary, widow of the late William H. Cary, of Brooklyn, New York, who had a summer residence in Lexington, her native town, gave one thousand dollars.

During the Rebellion, Mr. Livermore preached two sermons, which were published at the request of his hearers — both of which were fraught with an enlightened and patriotic devotion to the cause of liberty and our free institutions. The first was

delivered August 6, 1863, on the National Thanksgiving, for the successes which had attended our arms. We can hardly find a paragraph which does not breathe an ardent devotion to country and a firm belief that the Ruler of nations is carrying us forward to a higher and more glorious destiny. We will make one or two citations from the discourse:—

“There has never been a time, since the war began, so dark and disastrous as to justify despondency, or regret that the nation chose to fight rather than submit to falsehood and treachery; but rather always there has been reason to feel that we were working out the will of God and our own redemption. . . .

“God works through agents. He makes the heart of the nation throb with His own detestation of pride, perjury, robbery, cruelty, lust, anarchy and treason, the seven deadly sins of the enemies of our national life. He uses the strong right arm of the nation to smite the blows of His heavy retribution. He uses the folly of the foolish, and the passions of the violent, like irritating medicines, to do good in a diseased body politic; but it is a far grander and more obvious truth, that He uses the whole force of men’s just and generous sentiments, of man’s sincerity, self-sacrifice, patriotism and courage, to build up the solid pillars and walls of His kingdom of right and mercy.”

The other discourse of Mr. Livermore, delivered September 11, 1864, was entitled, *Perseverance in the War, the Interest and Duty of the Nation*. The title of the discourse shows its design, and the following extracts will show its spirit:—

“With those who cry out for peace, because they are at heart friends of the traitors, and who are ready to put arms into the hands of their partisans here to inaugurate civil war in the now peaceful North, I have no shadow of sympathy. A class more worthy of the detestation of all good people I do not know in the wide world. They are baser than the rebels themselves, as much as disguised and renegade traitors are worse than open foes. With those who are chiefly moved to their outcry for peace by the dread of pecuniary loss, I have not much sympathy. I never learned to admire Esau, who sold his birthright for a mess of pottage; and there is certainly no more reason to admire those who would chaffer with malignant traitors in arms, and take the steps which go straight to the destruction of our glorious heritage, and the shameful extinction of our national unity, to save their dividends or escape their share of the cost of saving the nation. . . . There can be nothing but eternal dishonor, and the just judgment of God,

awaiting us, if the love of money or the fear of its loss controls our settlement of such questions as those involved in this war.

"Bad as the war is, a wretched, dishonorable peace would be worse. It would, I truly believe, be a sin against God, and a crime against man to hold any parley with these enemies of all that is good, except on the terms constantly held out to them, by our Government; submission to the authority of the nation, and the reference of all disputed points to the proper legal tribunals, *after* peace is reestablished."

Mr. Livermore came to Lexington from Clinton, where he had labored in the ministry six years — having previously been settled in East Boston, where he remained the same length of time. While in Lexington, he was on the School Committee during the greater part of his ministry, and had the principal charge of the schools. He was a native of Milford, New Hampshire.¹

Rev. Henry Westcott² succeeded Mr. Livermore as pastor of the society in Lexington, and was installed June 26, 1867. He had previously been settled in Barre, and had subsequently preached a year at West Dedham. He was a native of Warwick, Rhode Island.³

THE SECOND CONGREGATIONAL SOCIETY. — The origin of this society being a little peculiar, it is not easy to say when it first had a real existence. It seems by its records that it was duly incorporated *according to law*, April 18, 1845; though it had an organization ten or twelve years before, and had supported public worship for at least a portion of that time. It had also, under the designation of the Christian Association, erected a meeting-house, and disposed of its pews. And though it was probably a legal body before the action taken April 18, 1845, it was at that time organized as proprietor of the meeting-house rather than as a parish. A considerable portion of the records of this society is comprised in the details of the doings of the town in relation to a division of the Ministerial Fund; but as that matter has been treated of in another place, it need not be repeated here.

As far as appears from the record, which is very meagre, Rev. Charles Follen was employed a portion of the time from

¹ For an account of the family see *Genealogy*. (Vol. II. *Ed.*)

² See *Genealogy*. (Vol. II. *Ed.*)

³ For an account of his pastorate see Chap. XVI, *infra*. See also illustrations. *Ed.*

1835 to 1840. In the meantime, Ralph Waldo Emerson, John S. Dwight, and others labored with the society temporarily.

In 1835, the subject of erecting a meeting-house began to be seriously agitated and a subscription for that object was started. In 1839, the Association reëngaged Dr. Follen for six months, and active measures were adopted towards erecting a meeting-house. Being completed, the 15th of January, 1840, was appointed for its dedication; and Dr. Follen, as a matter of course, was designated to preach the dedication sermon. In the language of the society record:—

“Dr. Follen was obliged to visit New York previous to the dedication, and made the necessary arrangements with his brethren in the ministry to assist him in the ceremonies. The Doctor, wife and child, with S. L. Lathrop and lady, who were to assist in the choir at the dedication, left for New York. Soon after their arrival Mrs. Follen was taken ill, and continued so for weeks. On the 3d of January, he wrote to the Committee, requesting that the dedication might be put off for one week, if it could be done without inconvenience to the society, but expressed his willingness, if the Committee thought best, to come without his wife, and return again for her. The Committee, on consultation, thought that as all the arrangements had been made and published, and the pews were advertised to be sold the same day, it would be detrimental to the Association to postpone the dedication, and a letter to that effect was written to Dr. Follen. We expected Dr. Follen; but the evening before the dedication, the Committee met the clergy who had been invited, and it was agreed that Rev. Mr. Pierpont should preach, in case Dr. Follen did not arrive in season. The Doctor not arriving, Mr. Pierpont preached the sermon.

“Thus the house was dedicated January 15, 1840. On the 16th, news reached Boston of the loss of the steamboat Lexington by fire, and that nearly all the passengers and crew had perished, and among them Rev. Dr. Follen, our beloved and much respected pastor. The news cast a gloom over the whole town and country. To the people of his flock it was peculiarly trying. They had a meeting, and agreed to invite Rev. Mr. Stetson, of Medford, to preach a sermon on the melancholy occasion, who, in the spirit of Christian friendship, though at short notice, consented. After the services were over, the people voted that a committee be chosen to communicate to Mrs. Follen the feelings of respect they entertained for her late husband, and to tender her their Christian sympathy under her severe affliction.”

The foregoing account, abridged from the parish records,

REV. CHARLES FOLLEN

tells the sad fate of a worthy and distinguished Christian minister and philanthropist.

Charles Follen¹ was born in Germany, September 4, 1796, and was educated at the University of Giessen. His devotion to the great principles of liberty and his strict adherence to justice and morality, even before he had finished his studies, made him somewhat unpopular with the less scrupulous young men with whom he was associated and excited some suspicion in the faculty, who were deeply imbued with monarchical principles. And after he had finished his course, read law, and become a professor, his lectures were found to be too liberal to suit the taste of the Holy Alliance, which at that time assumed to control the destinies of Europe. He was arrested on frivolous pretences and made to feel the weight of arbitrary and despotic power, so that common prudence induced him to leave his own country. He first visited France, but the unsettled state of things there induced him to seek a more congenial retreat in Switzerland, at that time the freest nation on the Continent.

In Switzerland, he was called to a professorship in the Evangelical Council of Education of the Canton of the Grisons, where his liberal views of Christian doctrines soon became objectionable, and he left, carrying with him a certificate that his "luminous lectures and kind treatment of his pupils had secured their respect, attachment, and confidence, in the highest degree." The University of Basle, learning that Dr. Follen was at liberty, appointed him as a public lecturer at the University, where he taught the natural, civil, and ecclesiastical law, besides some branches of metaphysics, namely, logic, the philosophy of the mind in its application to religion, morals, legislation, and the fine arts.

At Basle, for a period, he dwelt in peace and contentment, being left to the full enjoyment of his religious and political sentiments. Young men from various parts flocked to the University, and all seemed to be prosperous. But while he and the literary friends by whom he was surrounded were rejoicing in their political and religious liberty, the tyrants of Europe were alarmed, when they heard that in Switzerland, the only free state on the Continent, had been erected a new temple of freedom. Prussia forbade her young men to visit the University; and the Holy Alliance, allied for the unholy pur-

¹ See *Proc. Lex. Hist. Soc.*, Vol. III, p. 42. See also illustrations. *Ed.*

pose of suppressing freedom, resolved to break up an institution which they regarded as hostile to their policy. Prussia, Austria, and Russia demanded of the Government of Basle that Dr. Follen and another liberal professor in the University should be given up to the tribunal of inquisition established near Berlin.

Switzerland was averse to yielding to the arbitrary demands of these tyrants, but fearing the power of this combination, at last yielded to their haughty request. Dr. Follen was advised by his friends to leave the country, but he insisted upon a trial there. Failing in this, and being compelled to leave to avoid arrest, he sent to the Government the following note: —

“Whereas the *Republic* of Switzerland, which has protected so many fugitive princes, noblemen, and priests, would not protect him, who like themselves is a Republican, he is compelled to take refuge in the great asylum of liberty, the United States of America. His false accusers he summons before the tribunal of God and public opinion. Laws he has never violated. But the heinous crime of having loved his country has rendered him guilty to such a degree that he feels quite unworthy to be pardoned by the Holy Alliance.”

He asked a testimonial from the University, which was readily granted, stating that he had always demeaned himself as a good and peaceable citizen and had secured the confidence of his associates.

Dr. Follen left Basle secretly for Paris, and from France took passage for New York in company with his friend Dr. Beck. In the autumn of 1825, he was appointed teacher of German in Harvard and took up his abode in Cambridge. His labors thus far had been mostly devoted to the subject of ethics as connected with civil government and the rights of man. But his teaching on these subjects was always based upon the broad principles of Christianity. Feeling more and more the importance of the teachings of Christ, he resolved to enter the ministry; and after studying theology with Dr. Channing, he commenced preaching. Retaining his connection with the College, and being promoted to a professorship which engrossed a good share of his time and attention, he was hardly in a condition to take the pastoral charge of a parish; and hence his clerical labors were not confined to any one locality.

About this time the anti-slavery cause was attracting much attention, and Dr. Follen, deeply imbued with the love of freedom, at once espoused it. This step did not meet the approbation of the cautious and conservative government of the University, which permitted his professorship to expire. Being thus cut off from the pecuniary support of the College, he was thrown upon his other limited resources and was compelled to seek employment as best he could to support himself and family. He conceived the idea of establishing a literary institution in Boston, but the friends of Harvard could hardly be expected to encourage it, and it was given up. About this time he was invited to preach at East Lexington and to assist them in building up a society in that village. We have seen with what success he had commenced his work and what prospect was opened to him and to his devoted people when by a mysterious providence his earthly labors were brought to a speedy termination.

Dr. Follen was no common man. Whether we view him intellectually or morally, we must place him above the ordinary level of our public men. The high and honorable positions he occupied both in Europe and America, the estimation in which he was held by the gifted men in our community, and the able writings he has left, bear ample testimony to his talents. His mind was of the German cast and strongly imbued with the great principles of civil and religious freedom. Though kind and conciliatory, he was conscientious, firm, and self-sacrificing, ever ready to follow his honest convictions, regardless alike of his own individual interest or the frowns of others. As a reformer he was in advance of his age. He was literally a friend of humanity, and his honest sympathy was ever extended to the oppressed and down-trodden. In private life, he was meek and gentle, ardently attached to his family and friends, and ever ready to make any sacrifice for their benefit. In a word, for natural and acquired abilities, for conscientious firmness, for an ardent love of liberty and the rights of man, for sympathy for the poor, afflicted, and down-trodden, he had few equals and no superiors.

Rev. Theodore H. Dorr, having received and accepted a call, was publicly installed pastor of the church and society, July 2, 1845. Mr. Dorr continued his pastoral relations with the parish for four years, when he asked dismissal on the

ground of inadequate support. He closed his labors August 1, 1849.¹

On the 7th of November, 1849, Mr. William F. Bridge was ordained pastor of the society. In 1852, Rev. Mr. Bridge tendered his resignation, and his connection was dissolved. He was a son of Josiah and Eunice (Morse) Bridge, of Lancaster, and grandson of Rev. Josiah Bridge, who was born in Lexington, 1739, and settled at East Sudbury, now Wayland. William F. Bridge was born February 15, 1821, and graduated at Harvard College in 1846. In settling at Lexington he in a manner came back to the parental hearthstone.² After leaving Lexington, he was settled at Dublin, New Hampshire.

Mr. Bridge was their last settled minister. After the close of his ministry, Rev. E. P. Crafts, Rev. Caleb Stetson,³ and others, were employed temporarily. About the commencement of 1863, the Second Congregational Society and the Universalist made an arrangement by which the two societies were to unite for the support of public worship, the desk to be supplied by the joint action of their respective committees. After acting together about two years, they petitioned the Legislature to be united. Their prayer was granted, and by an act passed March 30, 1865, they were made one corporation, under the name of "THE CHURCH OF THE REDEEMER."

The act of the Legislature uniting the two parishes being accepted by them respectively, they at once organized under their charter, disposed of the house formerly occupied by the Universalist Society, and made thorough repairs and an enlargement of the house formerly occupied by the Second Congregational Society. Before the legal union, they had employed Rev. William T. Stowe as their preacher, and he being highly acceptable to them, was continued as pastor of the new organization. Mr. Stowe came to Lexington from Brattleboro, Vermont, where he had been preaching to the Universalist Society.⁴

THE BAPTIST SOCIETY. — The origin of this society is thus given by one of its pastors. For more than half a century there have been a greater or less number of Baptist professors

¹ See Genealogy. (Vol. II. Ed.)

² See Bridge family in the Genealogy. (Vol. II. Ed.)

³ See illustrations. Ed.

⁴ See Genealogy. (Vol. II.) For the later history of this church see Chap. XVI., *infra*. Ed.

REV. OLIVER A. DODGE

REV. CHARLES M. BOWERS, D.D.

REV. IRA LELAND

REV. JOHN PEYOR, D.D.

REV. LEONARD B. HATCH

Past Pastors of the Baptist Church



in Lexington; in 1781, most of them became connected with a Baptist church formed in West Cambridge. But little interest was manifested till 1817, when several united with churches in other towns. In 1824, the ordinance of baptism by immersion was first administered in Lexington. In 1830, meetings were commenced in town. In 1833, Rev. T. P. Ropes removed to the place and performed the duties of pastor. During the same year their meeting-house was erected and a church constituted, consisting of twenty-one members. In January, 1835, Rev. O. A. Dodge,¹ having previously received and accepted a call, was publicly ordained and set over the society. Under his ministry the society was prosperous and a considerable accession was made to the church. Mr. Dodge died May 18, 1840. The church records contain this tribute to his memory: "To a mind naturally shrewd, penetrating, and highly cultivated, he added a warm-hearted piety and an unwavering activity. Beloved by the church and respected by all, he died universally lamented."

After the death of Mr. Dodge, Mr. C. M. Bowers¹ accepted a call, and was ordained, September 9, 1841. Some dissension arising in the society, in February, 1846, Rev. Mr. Bowers resigned his pastoral care, and was succeeded by Rev. Ira Leland,¹ who commenced his labors for the parish in the autumn of 1847. Mr. Leland's connection with the society continued ten years, when it closed at his own request. He was a faithful pastor and a valuable citizen, having for several years the principal charge of the schools in the town. Before the settlement of Mr. Dodge and at several intervals between their settled ministers, Rev. T. P. Ropes had supplied their pulpit. Since the close of Mr. Leland's ministry they have had no permanent pastor, Rev. Mr. Clark and Rev. Mr. Savage laboring with the parish, each for a short time only.²

THE FIRST UNIVERSALIST SOCIETY.—It appears from their records that the constitution or by-laws of this society were adopted, April 20, 1845. But it is obvious that they had a partial organization at an earlier period and had for years supported public worship, at least a portion of the time.

¹ See illustrations. *Ed.*

² See Proc. Lex. Hist. Soc., Vol. iv, pp. 158 and 164. Two papers read at the seventy-fifth anniversary of the founding of the church October 4, 1909. For the later history of this church see Chap. xvi, *infra*. *Ed.*

Their meeting-house was erected as early as 1840. Rev. James M. Usher commenced preaching for them before their meeting-house was erected and continued their pastor about five years. After leaving Lexington he became engaged in business in Boston as a bookseller and publisher. His residence was in Medford. He was considerably in public life, and occupied a seat in the State Senate several years.

After Mr. Usher closed his labors with the society, Rev. C. H. Webster became their pastor and remained with them about two years. He was succeeded by Rev. W. B. Randolph, whose ministry lasted about three years. In 1849, Rev. J. A. Cooledge was settled over the society and remained with them about four years.¹ The parish being feeble, their house was closed the greater part of the time from 1859 to 1865. In 1865 this society united with the Unitarian Society in the East Village, and employed preachers of each sect, till they agreed upon Rev. Mr. Stowe. Being united upon him and finding themselves more nearly allied in doctrinal views than they had formerly imagined, these societies took the wise step of giving up their former organizations, became one body, and secured the labors of Rev. Mr. Stowe, as we have already seen.

¹ See Genealogy. (Vol. II. Ed.)

CHAPTER XVI

ECCLESIASTICAL AFFAIRS (*continued*)

First Congregational Society — Pastorate of Rev. Henry Westcott — Rev. C. A. Staples's Ministry of Twenty-three Years — Installation of Rev. J. M. Wilson — Changes in the Church Building — Church Organizations — First Baptist Church — Ministry of Rev. John Pryor — Colonel Conwell's Pastorate — His Successors — New Edifice — Church Organizations — Second Congregational (Follen) Church — Ministry of Rev. W. C. Gannett — Succeeding Ministers — The Roman Catholic (Saint Bridget's) Church — Early Days — Pastorate of Rev. P. J. Canny — Succeeding Priests — Church Building — Father Harkins and his Successors — Hancock Congregational Church — The Founding — Ministry of Rev. E. G. Porter — Erection of a New Church — Pastorate of Rev. Irving Meredith — Installation and Ministry of Rev. C. F. Carter — Church Organizations — Installation of Rev. G. E. Martin — Church of Our Redeemer (Protestant Episcopal) — Founding — Building of the Church — Rectors and Church Officers — Christian Science Society — Organization.

THE FIRST CONGREGATIONAL SOCIETY.¹ — The Rev. Henry Westcott² was installed minister of the First Congregational Society in 1867. He was born at Warwick, Rhode Island, October 30, 1831, and began his education in the schools of Warwick, from which he entered Greenwich Academy, and thence passed to Brown University, and was graduated in 1853. Mr. Westcott was a good student, especially in mathematics and the sciences, and was highly esteemed among his college mates. He was an enthusiastic lover of music and played both the flute and the organ. These accomplishments, with his genial nature, made him a welcome and useful member of every social group with which he became familiar.

His early religious training had been received in the Baptist Church at Warwick, but while he was in college he lived with an uncle who was a Unitarian and a member of the First Church of Providence, whose minister was the eminent Dr. F. H. Hedge. Under these influences young Westcott gradually gave up his first theological beliefs and became a Unitarian before he left college. Directly after graduation he

¹ For the preparation of this material the Committee is under obligation to the Rev. John Mills Wilson. *Ed.*

² See illustrations. *Ed.*

worked for two years as a civil engineer in the building of railroads, and for two years more he taught mathematics in a private school at Cincinnati. Then he decided upon the ministry as his lifework and went to Harvard Divinity School for four years. Thereafter he served successfully as pastor of Unitarian churches at Barre, West Dedham, Lexington, Melrose, and Malden.

Mr. Westcott's ministry in Lexington was eminently useful and important during all its term of fourteen years. During most of this period, besides maintaining the regular Sunday service, he served as Superintendent of the Sunday School, besides having an active share in the management of the choir and in the oversight of the church music. In 1871, he induced the Society to build a vestry and social room adjoining the church building in the rear. This was undertaken and accomplished along with considerable repairs upon the main building itself. These improvements cost six thousand dollars, and not only was this sum soon collected, but in addition a church debt of two thousand dollars that had accumulated in the years preceding Mr. Westcott's settlement was paid.

Upon the approach of the centennial of the Battle of Lexington, April 19, 1875, Mr. Westcott preached several historical sermons which were afterwards printed because of their striking interest and importance. He was chaplain for the exercises on the morning of the centennial observances. He was greatly interested in the project of establishing a public library in Lexington and was chief among those who gathered the first collection of books for public distribution. This small collection was the basis of the Cary Library. Mr. Westcott was the first Chairman of the Board of Trustees of Cary Library and held this position until he left Lexington. It was largely due to his interest in books and his sound, educated judgment through those earlier years of the library that a well-balanced and intelligently chosen collection was satisfactorily begun.

As a preacher he was apt and timely in his themes, and his sermons show a wise understanding of life and a genuine concern for contemporary affairs. They are characterized by simplicity and clearness of thought and expression; and his style is pervaded by a quiet elevation of feeling, not rising into eloquence, but giving the impression of sincerity. His influence was genuinely quickening to the better life of the

FIRST PARISH CHURCH (Unitarian)



people, and his work in the pulpit was efficiently supplemented by his services as pastor which disclosed his broad, tender, and sympathetic nature. He resigned his pastorate July 1, 1881, to assume the care of two parishes, Malden and Melrose, and died in Melrose, July 14, 1883.

The Rev. Carlton A. Staples¹ followed Mr. Westcott and was installed October 31, 1881. Mr. Staples was born at Mendon, Massachusetts, March 30, 1827, and was educated in the public schools of Mendon, at Worcester and Uxbridge Academies, and at the Bridgewater Normal School. He was a teacher for three years in the grammar school of Watertown. He prepared for the ministry at Meadville Theological School, where he was graduated in 1854. He was ordained and installed as minister of the Meadville Unitarian Church, where he remained until 1857. From 1857 to 1861 he was the colleague of Rev. W. G. Eliot at St. Louis; during 1861-62 he was chaplain in the Union Army. Thereafter followed pastorates at Milwaukee, 1862-68; over the Third Unitarian Society, Chicago, 1868-72; over the First Church, Providence, Rhode Island, 1872-81.

Mr. Staples's ministry of twenty-three years, ending with his death in 1904, was the third longest term of service in the history of the First Congregational Society, standing next to that of the Rev. Jonas Clarke, 1755-1805. This long pastorate of Mr. Staples had the advantage of coming at the period of his life when his whole nature had been enriched and matured by twenty-seven years of varied experience in five churches and one year as an army chaplain. So that from the start almost to the end he was able to give the best of himself, in the wisdom of counsel and of religious faith well tried by the uses and demands of actual human needs. His influence in the church was deeply and widely felt and gratefully and affectionately recognized.²

The years of his ministry were coincident with marked social changes in the town life, which was passing gradually from the condition of an old-fashioned rural New England village to that of the more self-conscious and ambitious style of a metropolitan suburb. Through this inevitable alteration of outward life his presence and influence were steadily en-

¹ See illustrations. *Ed.*

² See *The Voice of the Parish*, a pamphlet published by the Society after Mr. Staples's death. *Ed.*

gaged in teaching and enforcing simplicity. He was sturdy and outspoken in all his preaching and in his criticism of the needless artificialities and luxury of modern life, and urgent in his appeals for benevolent enterprises. He was especially concerned for practical church unity, for as much fellowship between the churches of the town as could be happily realized; and because of his cordial recognition of the work of other religious bodies, he won general regard and affection.

In the town life aside from church activities, Mr. Staples also left enduring traces of himself, as, for example, through his exceptional interest in the history of Lexington. This is amply shown on the records of the town and in the printed proceedings of the local Historical Society, where the gathering and preservation of many significant facts of early local history are seen to have been a foremost activity of his life. The Hancock-Clarke House has been rightly called his monument, so largely was it due to him that it stands near its original site, restored and filled with things closely associated with the American Revolution. As preacher, townsman, local historian, warm-hearted supporter of all charities, and friend of all good causes, the Rev. Carlton A. Staples surely made a most notable success of his life; and a rich share of all that he was and did is inwrought with the welfare of the First Congregational Society.

After an interval of eight months from the death of Mr. Staples, his successor, the Rev. John M. Wilson, was installed May 10, 1905. Mr. Wilson was called from the First Unitarian Society of Fall River, Massachusetts. The seven years of his Lexington pastorate, by the generous and hearty support and appreciation of his people, have been happy and fruitful. The chief event in this ministry has been the enlargement and complete renovation of the vestry and supper room to make the many social activities of the church life easier and pleasanter. The greatly increased social uses of the church in recent years may be measured by observing that the society has five active auxiliary organizations, the Sunday School, the Women's Alliance, the Fraternity of Young People, and two Lend-a-Hand Societies, each with its own meetings, luncheons, and general social gatherings.

To meet satisfactorily this growing social resort to the church, the need of better conveniences and accommodations

was recognized. At the annual parish meeting of April, 1908, plans were presented for increasing the size of the vestry and supper room some twenty feet by extending the building. This was to secure greater floor space in vestry and supper room, and a new and larger platform in the vestry with two anterooms leading from it. The plans included also a new kitchen and pantry, with the best conveniences, enlarged staircases and vestibule, a heating apparatus to serve both the church and vestry, and an entrance protected by a *porte-cochère*. It is surely a noteworthy sign of the vigor of the society that this work was determined upon, all the plans made, accepted, and carried out more extensively than at first was considered necessary, all in less than a year. Best of all, although the total cost exceeded twelve thousand dollars, the greater part of this was raised before the annual meeting of April, 1909, and at this date, April, 1912, the balance of debt incurred for these improvements has been fully paid.

The new vestry and supper room were formally opened and dedicated Thursday evening, October 29, 1908, with exercises conducted by the minister; and addresses were made by Mr. George O. Whiting, for the Building Committee, and Mr. Alonzo E. Locke, for the Parish Committee. The Sunday School met for the first time in the new vestry on Sunday, November 1, 1908.

These alterations and enlargements were the third considerable improvements in the meeting-house of the First Congregational Society. The building was erected in 1847 and was finished and dedicated February, 1848. In the early part of Rev. Henry Westcott's ministry, 1871, a vestry was added to the main structure. Again in 1897-98, during Mr. Staples's pastorate, a new three-manual organ was installed, no longer in the gallery in the rear of the auditorium, where the organ had hitherto been, but at the opposite end of the church behind the pulpit. This organ gave beauty to the interior of the church, and has been a delight by its sweetness and impressiveness of tone. This change compelled the removal of some front pews, since the pulpit had to be moved forward into the audience room to provide a place for the choir. Finally, in 1908, the enlargements and renovations already described have so fitted the meeting-house for worship and social service and so completed its outward attractiveness that it is commonly spoken of as a fine example

of New England church architecture, charming in its simplicity and modest beauty.

Nine ministers of this church were graduated at Harvard in the years given, as follows: Benjamin Estabrook, 1690; John Hancock, 1689; Ebenezer Hancock, 1728; Jonas Clarke, 1752; Charles Briggs, 1815; William G. Swett, 1828; Jason Whitman, 1825; Leonard J. Livermore, 1842; John M. Wilson, 1890, exactly two hundred years after the first minister. Avery Williams was graduated at Dartmouth in 1804, and afterwards studied Theology at Princeton Theological Seminary. Henry Westcott was graduated from Brown in 1853, and from Harvard Divinity School, 1860. Nahor A. Staples and Carlton A. Staples were both graduates of Meadville Theological School. This record clearly shows that this society has always strongly favored a well-trained and broadly educated ministry.

The first Sunday School in Lexington was established in connection with this parish by Rev. Charles Briggs in 1829. It has had a continuous and vigorous existence since that time and has been always an important reinforcement to the church life. Its work has been for twenty years past supplemented and extended into the years of young manhood and womanhood by the Guild, or Young People's Society. This society has done excellent service, in spite of unavoidable fluctuations of interest, and has actively aided in maintaining loyalty to the church among the young people and inspiring attachment to the principles and practice of the good life. The present successor to the Guild is known as the First Parish Fraternity, and is affording a welcome means for the expression of social and idealistic interests among the young people.

Another active auxiliary society which steadily gains in strength and usefulness every year is the Lexington Branch of the Women's Alliance. It is the successor of a former organization called the Sewing Circle. Its activities are both local and denominational in their scope. It endeavors to serve the interests of the local church in whatever way may offer, to help in raising funds for special needs, as well as to further the liberal movement in religion by contributions of money to struggling churches and by other effective coöperation.

A quite remarkable story of benevolent service is to be found in the secretary's report at the twenty-fifth anniver-

sary of the Lexington Lend-a-Hand Society. In a wide variety of ways this useful society of women has devoted itself for a quarter of a century to gathering many thousands of dollars and distributing them in private, unrecognized beneficences, as well as to numerous institutions, educational and benevolent, and also to meet the special exigencies of great disasters, like the earthquakes at Charleston and San Francisco. Associated with this, a second group of younger women called the Unity Lend-a-Hand Society has for some years done a similar work, increasing the charitable and practical influences centred in the church, and giving youthful energy and womanly interest to remedy and lessen personal and social misfortune. Indeed, it has long been a chief trait of the First Congregational Society to concern itself with active benevolence in the town and beyond its limits.¹ The constancy of its high religious influence for the two hundred and twenty years of its history, with its successive forms of practical effort to diminish suffering, poverty, and disease, make a noble record of serviceableness to the community highly honorable to its many faithful adherents of the past and present and to the spiritual and moral leadership of its ministers. Especially notable among much devoted service

¹ The church possesses a valuable collection of Communion Silver presented by or in memory of the following persons on the dates affixed: —

One cup by Deacon Samuel Stone, 1715.

One cup by Mr. William Reed, Jun., 1716.

One cup by Mr. Samuel Haugh, 1727.

One cup by Messrs. David Fiske and Philip Russell, 1732.

One cup in memory of Rev. Ebenezer Hancock.

One cup by Messrs. Matthew Bridge and Thomas Meriam, 1745.

One cup by Capt. Samuel Stone, 1752.

One cup in memory of Joseph Bowman, Esq., 1755.

One cup by Deacon Joseph Brown, 1759.

One cup by Mr. Richard Arms, 1763.

Two cups by Thomas Hancock, Esq., 1764.

One cup by Mr. Isaac Stone, 1765.

One cup by Francis Bowman, Esq.

One tankard in memory of Mrs. Rachel Butterfield.

On the 10th of May, 1846, the silver having been brought before the parish, it was voted to give to Follen Church of E. Lexington five cups, including those presented by Joseph Brown, Samuel Haugh, and Samuel Stone, and two cups marked "L. C."

March 3, 1859, some new silver was purchased and three unused cups were made into a tankard.

September 19, 1719, two cups were purchased.

This silver was exhibited in the great display of old New England Church Silver at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 1911-12.

from members of the parish is that of Mr. George O. Davis, with a record of thirty-seven years as Parish Clerk.

THE FIRST BAPTIST CHURCH. — As already noted, the pulpit for a number of years after the resignation of Rev. Mr. Leland was supplied by ministers temporarily engaged. In the early '70's, however, the Rev. John Pryor, D.D.,¹ was settled over the society and remained with them for a period of about ten years, when he resigned. During his pastorate a notable fair was held, in June, 1875, by means of which an onerous debt was discharged and necessary repairs to the church building made.

In 1880, a committee appointed to fill the vacancy left by the resignation of Dr. Pryor invited Colonel Russell H. Conwell, noted as a lawyer and lecturer, to preach for a single Sunday. So successful was he that he determined to give up the law and to embrace the ministry, to which he had been ordained in 1879. In the following year he was regularly installed over the society. Not only did Colonel Conwell fill the pews every Sunday with his unusual eloquence, but he brought many into the church, by letter and by baptism. Moreover, he began at once to urge important and extensive repairs and improvements, he himself taking active personal part in the digging and the joinery. During eighteen months over \$8000 was raised. In 1882, Colonel Conwell received a call to the Grace Baptist Church, Philadelphia, and six years after going there he established Temple College, of which he has been president, as well as pastor of the Baptist Temple, ever since.² Following Colonel Conwell, the successive pastors have been: Revs. C. L. Rhoades (1883), M. Bartlett (1884-85), L. B. Hatch, D.D.³ (1886-91), A. E. Woodsum (1892-95), J. H. Cox (1895-1901), F. A. Macdonald (1902-07), and Samuel Knowles (1907-). May 15, 1901, the old edifice was burned and in the following year the present building was erected. Beginning in 1897, afternoon services have been held — with occasional cessations — in various halls in East Lexington.

¹ See illustrations. *Ed.*

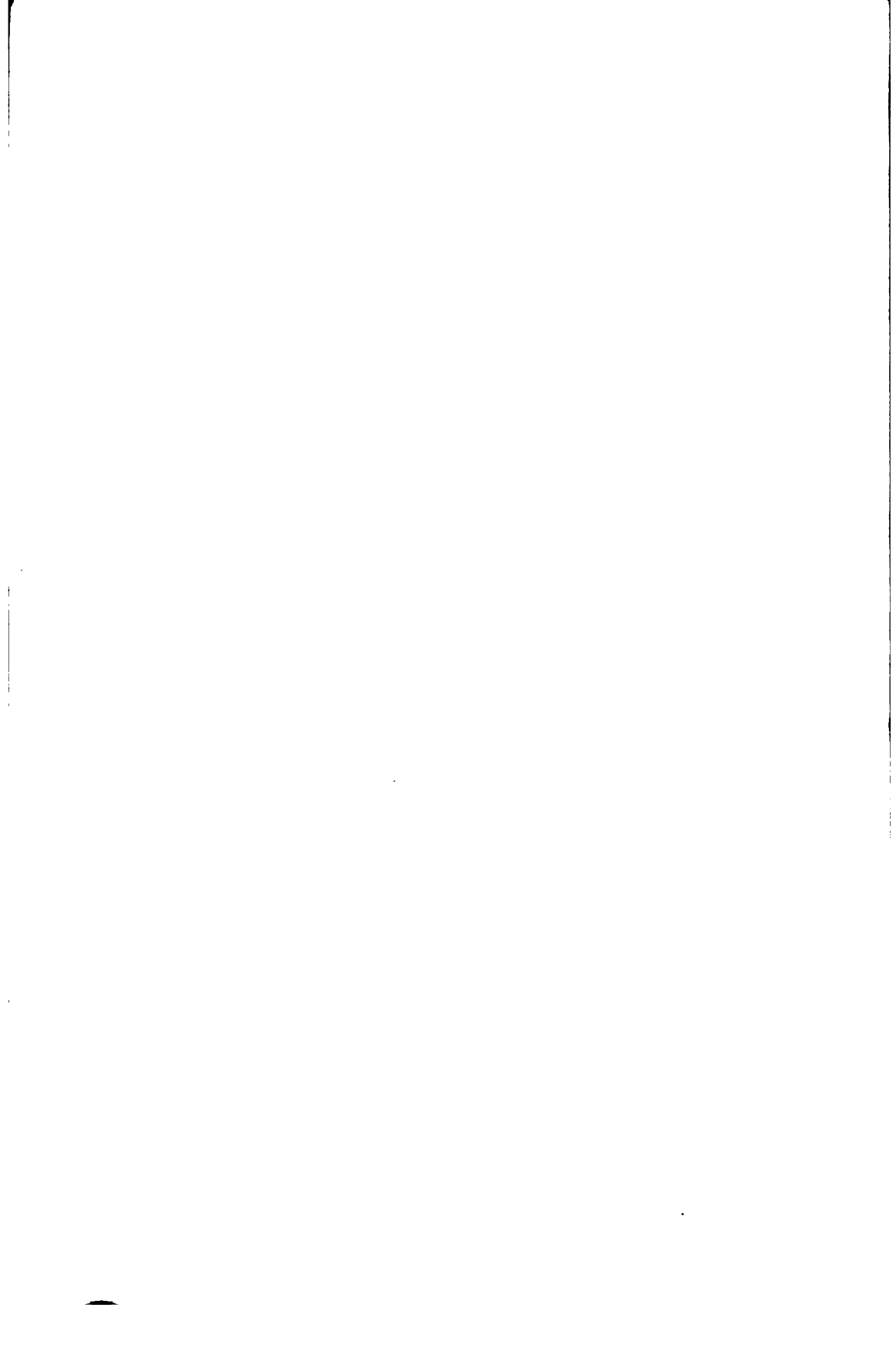
² R. H. Conwell was born in Worthington, Massachusetts, February 15, 1842. He served in the Union Army, being promoted Lieutenant-Colonel in 1865. He practised law in Minneapolis, 1865-67 and in Boston, 1870-79. He has lectured extensively and is the author of many books. *Ed.*

³ See illustrations. *Ed.*

FOLLEN CHURCH
(Unitarian)

BAPTIST CHURCH

CHURCH OF OUR REDEEMER
(Episcopal)



The church has one hundred and fifty members, with one hundred and fifty-four in the Sunday School. It has a board of six deacons and a Standing, a Prudential, and a Benevolent Committee. The organization is supported by voluntary offerings given weekly. The benevolences are contributed in the same way and are distributed quarterly among eight or ten different organizations. A separate fund is maintained for local charities. There are a Ladies' Social Circle, two missionary organizations, and several classes for the study of special subjects. October 3, 4, and 5, 1909, the church celebrated its seventy-fifth anniversary with special religious exercises, with a banquet, at which personal reminiscences were given by a number of members, and with a lecture by Dr. Conwell.

THE SECOND CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH. — As already stated, the Second Congregational and the First Universalist Churches united, under an act of incorporation accepted April 19, 1865, as the Church of the Redeemer. In 1885, however, an act was secured and accepted by the society, changing the name to Follen Church. Meanwhile the name, "Church of our Redeemer," had been adopted by the recently formed Society of the Protestant Episcopal Church (which see p. 375).

Rev. William T. Stowe, who was made pastor of the Second Congregational Society, in January, 1865, resigned, in November, 1869, to go to New Orleans, Louisiana. He was succeeded, in 1871, by Rev. William C. Gannett, son of the distinguished minister of the Arlington Street Church, in Boston, who remained until 1873, when he accepted a call to Rochester, New York, where he still remains. During this period, 1865 to 1873, much was made of the musical service under the direction of Mr. J. P. Weston.

From 1873 to 1880, Rev. Edwin S. Elder was the settled minister. In the latter year he received a call to Keokuk, Iowa. Following his pastorate there were five years during which the pulpit was supplied temporarily by a number of ministers. October 14, 1885, Rev. William H. Branigan was installed, and remained until July, 1887, when he resigned. From that year until October 16, 1890, the church was ministered to by Rev. Thomas Thompson,¹ and in the following

¹ See the *Genealogical Register*, Vol. II. *Ed.*

year came the Rev. George Willis Cooke, well known as a writer and lecturer. His pastorate extended to July 1, 1897, when he resigned to undertake other duties.

From February, 1898, to April, 1905, the settled minister was the Rev. Lorenzo D. Cochrane. During May and June of the latter year, services were conducted by the Rev. Jabez T. Sunderland. In the following year the society called the Rev. Howard A. MacDonald, a graduate, in that year, of the Meadville Theological School. He was ordained in King's Chapel, June 26, 1906, and was installed at Follen Church, October 16 of the same year. In December, 1909, he resigned to accept a call from Hood River, Oregon. Since that time the pastoral duties have been fulfilled by the Rev. I. P. Quimby, a non-resident.

Within a few years the church building has been greatly improved by extensive repairs and by providing in the basement commodious rooms for social meetings.

Mr. George O. Smith (referred to at some length in connection with the account of the Lexington Historical Society, of which he was a generous benefactor) was for twenty-seven years Parish Clerk of this society.

SAINT BRIDGET'S CHURCH: ROMAN CATHOLIC.¹—There is a tradition that Mass was said a few times in a house on Concord Hill in the early fifties; but the first service held by the Catholics in the town of Lexington, so far as there are records to prove it, was early in the year 1852, for in the ledger of the Town Treasurer, under date of March 5, 1852, there is the entry: "Rent of Town Hall to the Catholics, \$7.00." This is where Mass was said occasionally by the Rev. Manasses P. Dougherty, pastor of St. Peter's Church, Cambridge.

Afterwards, in 1853 or 1854, the use of Robinson Hall, which is now occupied by the Knights of Columbus, was secured for services. One reason given for the change was that the rent was less. This, naturally, was a consideration, since the number of the congregation was small and their means scanty. Father Dougherty continued his attendance for a short while and was succeeded by the Rev. John McCarthy, and later by the Rev. John Qualey, both of Woburn.

This arrangement continued until August, 1865, when the

¹ For this material the Committee is under obligation to the Rev. Michael J. Owens. *Ed.*

Rev. P. J. Canny, who had been stationed at St. Joseph's Church, Chambers Street, Boston, was appointed pastor of the Catholics in the towns of Lexington, Concord, and Assabet, now Maynard, and took up his residence in a house on the corner of Massachusetts Avenue and Curve Street, East Lexington. This was while the Rt. Rev. John B. Fitzpatrick was Bishop of Boston, and as Bishop of Boston the Church of the First Universalist Society (now Village Hall) was sold to him, November 6, 1865.

Father Canny remained as pastor until August, 1870, when the Rt. Rev. John J. Williams, Bishop of Boston at that time, sent the Rev. Matthew Harkins, now Bishop of Providence, Rhode Island, to take Father Canny's place. Father Harkins was a young priest who had just returned from his theological studies in Paris and Rome; and when he looked over the territory he had to cover he thought Concord a more convenient place of residence. He resided there until October, 1870, and was succeeded by the Rev. John Delahunty, who was assisted by the Rev. Michael T. McManus, now pastor of the Church of the Assumption, Brookline. These two priests lived in Concord until January, 1871, and attended the Lexington Catholics, as did their successor, the Rev. John O'Brien, now the Rt. Rev. Monsignor O'Brien, of the Sacred Heart Church, East Cambridge.

Father O'Brien remained until March, 1873, when, at his departure from Concord, the Bishop assigned the Catholics of Lexington and part of Bedford to the care of the pastor of the Catholic Church in Arlington. The Rev. Joseph M. Finotti was then pastor of Arlington, having been transferred from Brookline in January of the same year.

At this time it was deemed advisable to have a larger church which would be more centrally located; therefore the present site of Saint Bridget's Church was secured in the summer of 1875 and Bishop Williams sold to "The Inhabitants of the Town of Lexington" the East Lexington Church, March 23, 1874. "The Lexington Minute-Man" of August 2, 1873, notices the purchase of the Davis Estate on Monument Street for \$6000 cash, by the Catholics.

There was a house on the land; and again in the "Minute-Man" of September 13, 1873, there is a note to the effect that Mr. A. Ball commenced the work of tearing out the interior of the Davis House, lately purchased by the Catholics; and

again in the issue of the same paper October 25, 1873, we are told: "Last Sunday the Catholics held service in the building lately purchased of the Davis Estate on Monument Street, for the second time." This temporary structure was used for a couple of years, when the basement of the present church was completed and the cornerstone laid in November, 1875, by Archbishop Williams.

Father Finotti remained in Arlington until April, 1876, and was succeeded by the Rev. Matthew Harkins, who had come from the parish of the Immaculate Conception, Salem, thus making him pastor of the Lexington parish for the second time. It was during his pastorate that the superstructure of the present church was built. He remained as pastor until March, 1884, when he was appointed pastor of Saint James's Church, Boston, and the Rev. Thomas H. Shahan took the place vacated by Father Harkins. While Father Shahan was pastor, the rectory in Lexington and the church in Bedford were constructed.

During the years 1873 to 1886 the following priests assisted the different pastors in ministering to the Catholics of Lexington: Rev. John B. Galvin, Rev. Michael D. Murphy, Rev. James J. O'Brien, Rev. John M. Gallagher, Rev. Thomas I. Coghlan, Rev. Patrick H. Billings, and Rev. Martin S. Kelley.

In April, 1866, Bishop Williams made Lexington and Bedford a parish, and appointed the Rev. Patrick J. Kavanagh, of Saint Rose's Parish, Chelsea, pastor. Father Kavanagh took up his residence in the rectory newly erected and began to make arrangements for the completion of the interior of Saint Bridget's Church, which was dedicated Sunday, May 3, 1891, by Archbishop Williams. On that occasion the Rev. Lawrence J. O'Toole, of West Newton, was celebrant of the Mass. He was assisted by the Rev. John Murphy, of Hopkinton, as deacon, the Rev. Michael Gilligan, of Medford, as sub-deacon, and the Rev. John Donovan, of Charlestown (a native of Lexington), as master of ceremonies. The Rev. William D. Joyce, O.M.I., of Lowell, preached the dedicatory sermon. The other priests who assisted at the ceremony were Rev. John Flatley, Cambridge; Rev. Timothy Brosnahan, Waltham; Rev. Robert Stack, Watertown; Rev. B. H. Billings and Rev. J. J. O'Brien, St. James's Church, Boston; Rev. James McGlew, Chelsea; Rev.

HANCOCK CHURCH (Congregational)
ST. BRIDGET'S CHURCH (Roman Catholic)

Michael McCall, Concord; Rev. John Qualey and Rev. James Gilday, Woburn; and the Rev. Richard Nagle, of the Cathedral of the Holy Cross, Boston.

During a part of his pastorate, Father Kavanagh was assisted successively by the Rev. William J. Fennessy and the Rev. Joseph J. Fitzgerald. Father Kavanagh remained in Lexington, as pastor, until May, 1904, when the Rev. Michael J. Owens, of St. Catherine's Parish, Charlestown, was appointed his successor. During Father Owens's pastorate, he has been assisted, successively, by the Rev. William J. Farrell, the Rev. Joseph E. Connelly, and the Rev. Henry J. Ryan.

The Catholic population of Lexington, in 1912, is about 1200. The increase has been slow but constant, as may be seen by consulting the parish baptismal records. During the first full year after Lexington had become a separate parish, in 1887, there were eighteen infants baptized; in 1888, there were twenty-one, and in 1911, there were fifty-three.

The church property, buildings and grounds, have been much improved in recent years and a new Hook and Hastings's pipe organ was installed in the church in 1909. The organ was first heard at a public concert December 1, 1909.

THE HANCOCK CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH¹ was organized in the spring of the year 1868. In the main village two other churches were already established. One was the First Parish Church, with its long and honorable history. At the time of the theological controversy, in the early part of the nineteenth century, this body, unlike many of the neighboring churches, which were split into two sections, went over entirely to the Unitarian side. This departure accordingly left among the Congregationalists no church to represent those of the Trinitarian persuasion. This lack was felt by a group of earnest men and women, many of whom for a considerable time had attended the Baptist Church, whose organization dated from the year 1833. The doctrinal emphasis of this body, though in the main congenial, was felt to be somewhat unduly restrictive, especially in regard to participation in the Communion Service, from which those were excluded who had not been baptized by immersion. The situation thus

¹ The account of Hancock Church was prepared by Rev. Charles F. Carter, a member of the Committee. *Ed.*

viewed in its doctrinal aspect suggests part of the motive that, coupled with other considerations, led to the formation of a new ecclesiastical society.

The desire of the founders met peculiarly sympathetic consideration and practical aid among the churches of the Woburn Conference. The moral support of these neighboring bodies and their generous aid in providing a meeting-house, and in other financial assistance which was continued for several years, made possible what could not have been undertaken solely in reliance on local resources. This marked instance of wise and far-seeing fraternal helpfulness entitles Hancock Church always to be regarded as a child of the Woburn Conference.

For a house of worship, a building was made available that bore an interesting history. At the junction of Bedford Road and Hancock Street, an academy had been established in 1822, duly incorporated by some of the leading citizens of that time. Seventeen years later this building became the birthplace of the first state normal school in America, receiving the impress of the genius of Horace Mann. Here, also, Frederick Douglass made his first public speech. After some years of varied history, this property was purchased at a cost of about eight thousand dollars and, adapted to the uses of public worship, became the first home of Hancock Church. On May 20, 1868, it was dedicated to religious uses by a council from the Woburn Conference, which also assisted in organizing a church of twenty-three members. For more than twenty years the congregation worshipped here, while the church grew steadily in numbers and influence. The experiment, which by many had been regarded as a doubtful one, justified itself and advanced in public esteem.

On August 17, 1868, the final steps were taken, legally constituting the Hancock Congregational Society. Under Charles Hudson, Esq., as presiding justice, Deacon Walter W. Baker was elected Clerk and Matthew H. Merriam was chosen Moderator. John Davis was elected Treasurer and Collector. The basis of association was adopted, affirming "that this society is to be founded and ever to be continued on an orthodox Congregational basis, according to the creed and principles of the Hancock Congregational Church herewith to be connected and corresponding in doctrine and polity with the churches composing the Woburn Conference and with

other churches of like faith." Provision for harmonious action in calling a pastor was made by the adoption of the following article: —

"The church shall have the right in all cases to select a pastor to be proposed to the society for its concurrence. If it shall concur in said selection . . . a call shall be given by the church and society jointly; but if the society do not concur, the church shall select again, and so again, from time to time, until the church and society shall agree in a choice and when so agreed a call shall be given to the person so selected by the church and society as stated above, that is, jointly."

Under this provision, so carefully framed to secure harmony of action, a call was extended to Edward Griffin Porter¹ to become the pastor of the newly formed church and on October 1, 1868, he was ordained to that office. With twenty-four pioneer members and with twelve scholars in the Sunday School it was a day of small beginnings. Yet there were men and women who were earnestly devoted to this new enterprise with a seriousness befitting its character. Notable among them were Deacon John Davis and Mary Forbes Phelps, his wife, who are entitled to be regarded as the founders of the church and who are so commemorated by a window placed to their honor in the later edifice. With them others of like spirit were associated: Dr. and Mrs. Adams, Deacon and Mrs. Walter W. Baker, Mr. and Mrs. George F. Chapman, Mrs. Alice D. Goodwin, and Mr. and Mrs. Franklin Patch. They were simply a large family of faith, bound closely together by the responsibility of their undertaking and in earnest to secure a genuine success. Into this atmosphere Mr. Porter came and undertook his first and only pastorate. Graduating from Harvard in 1858, he pursued his studies in Berlin, Heidelberg, and Athens for three years, taking the degree of Master of Arts on his return in 1861. He then entered the Andover Theological Seminary, where he graduated in 1864. Service on the Sanitary Commission during the latter part of the Civil War temporarily impaired his health and another journey to Europe became advisable. Thus his entrance upon the active duties of the ministry was delayed, but there were abundant compensations in the breadth of experience gained by travel and in the

¹ See illustrations. *Ed.*

wealth of information which he was always able and ready so happily to impart to others. He threw himself with zest into the life of the new church and by the charm of his personality and his wide-reaching friendliness he at once gave character to this growing community of faith.

Its methods were in harmony with those of the Congregational order in the surrounding towns. The spirit of its pastor was irenic. He laid no undue stress on theological doctrines, but rather gave diligent attention to the development of friendly relations among all the people and especially to the stimulus and instruction of the young. A marked emphasis was given to the importance of missions, and it is doubtful if any church in the country during the later years of his pastorate had so many occasions of personal contact with missionaries and their work as did this inconspicuous, country church. Here it was that Rev. Joseph Hardy Neesima preached his first sermon in English and received the first ten dollars for the founding of the Doshisha in Tokio; while from the Christian Endeavor Society of this church the impulse proceeded inaugurating a similar movement in New Zealand. In the spring of 1887, Mr. Porter, in company with Rev. Dr. Daniel March, of Woburn, entered upon a tour of the countries of the world where the American Board of Foreign Missions was represented by mission stations. This was a voluntary service, undertaken as a tour of inspection, one of the first of its kind, and honorable alike to these broad-minded ministers and to the churches who allowed them thus to go. From such interest in the world-wide spread of God's Kingdom there could not help but come a reflex influence upon the church itself, broadening its conception of the scope of its work.

One of the incidental results of the intimate connection between Mr. Porter and those upon the foreign field was seen in the settlement in Lexington of the veteran missionary, Dr. Cyrus Hamlin, who chose this town for a home during his later years and whose sturdy form and resolute bearing on the street down to his ninetieth year brought to mind the story of his eventful life, with its rare sagacity and practical sense, while his presence in the church always became an occasion of renewed veneration and regard.

In 1891, Mr. Porter resigned his pastorate and was dismissed on March 2 of that year, being honored with the

position of pastor *emeritus* for life. During this period of his active ministry the church had grown to a membership of one hundred and eighty-eight, twenty-four of them at this time being non-residents. Mr. Porter retained his citizenship in the town, to whose interests he was exceptionally devoted. In the wide range of his travels throughout the world, he never forgot that he was a citizen of Lexington, and he did more than any other individual both at home and abroad to awaken the sense and to extend the knowledge of the town's exalted history. Gifted with the keen scent of the antiquary and untiring in research, he brought to light many historic facts that otherwise would have passed into oblivion. The record of his published works, nearly fifty in number, appended to a memoir printed for the New England Historic Genealogical Society, is only a partial indication of the industry and eagerness that kept him constantly on the trail of items pertinent to the early history of men and affairs in New England. While he contributed so freely to its historic consciousness, it is equally true that the town with its rich heritage from the past helped Mr. Porter to discover himself, affording a stimulating field for the exercise of his distinctive talents. The mating between the town and this Christian gentleman was a peculiarly happy one.

After his death by pneumonia on February 5, 1900, the church placed on record its appreciation of his character, holding a memorial service in his honor and later placing in the new building a beautiful window bearing the fitting inscription, —

“Citizen, Minister, Friend.”

“With rare friendliness he gave himself unsparingly to others, drawing out the good in them and helping to confirm it. As a Christian gentleman he was eminent in social virtue, while his purity of heart and singularly unblemished speech commended the gospel he proclaimed. Of distinguished and courtly bearing, he yet had strong individuality, was bold and persuasive in personal address, resolute in his undertakings and efficient in accomplishment. The memory of his character will long remain as an inspiration to those who knew him.”

With the growth of the church it became apparent that more commodious quarters would soon be necessary. Preliminary discussion was begun in the year 1887, which resulted in the circulation of a subscription paper and in the

ually developed a strained relation between the pastor and a number of his people that seriously interfered with effective work and the realization of their ideals. From both sides efforts seem to have been made to restore harmony, but they were largely unavailing. Hence on May 6, 1894, Mr. Meredith offered his resignation, to take effect on June 1. During his brief pastorate twenty-eight new members were added to the church.

With such a cloud hanging over both minister and people, the unfortunate situation suddenly became tragic, for Mr. Meredith fell dead on the street, on the evening of May 8, 1894. This sad event, instead of drawing the people together, intensified the partisan feeling already engendered. It were better to let the veil of silence rest upon this deplorable chapter, and this brief and necessary reference is made only for the purpose of keeping faith with the facts of history. For a church cannot escape the ill effects of inner turmoil; and the personal antipathies that were developed during this period hindered for a considerable time that complete spirit of harmony which is the condition of full success.

During the ensuing summer Rev. Dr. Edward A. Stembridge was engaged to supply the pulpit, and he served as acting pastor for about eighteen months, his preaching being strongly characterized by the evangelistic note.

On March 26, 1896, Rev. Charles Francis Carter was installed as pastor. His previous locations had been in Burlington, Vermont, and in Manchester, New Hampshire, where he began his ministry after leaving Andover Theological Seminary in 1883, a year after his graduation. His class in Yale was that of 1878. The burden of his preaching at the outset laid frequent emphasis on the word "together," and the appeal for loyalty to a higher standard than any human personality found response among the people. This appeared in a growing spirit of conciliation and good-will. Early in the year 1899 a personal canvass entirely without public appeal was made by the pastor to see if it were possible to remove the indebtedness still resting upon the church. By the yearly payment of about five hundred dollars, through the efficiency of the women's organizations, the amount had been reduced to nearly eight thousand dollars. The response was so unanimous and generous that the entire sum was raised and the formal dedication of the church took place on

October 22, 1899, initial services having been held September 3, 1893. Rev. Dr. Cyrus Hamlin offered the dedicatory prayer, the sermon was preached by the pastor from the text 2 Chron. vi, 2, and in the evening an historical address was given by Rev. E. G. Porter, together with greetings from the other churches of the town and from the Woburn Conference. It was an occasion of deep rejoicing and the gain was far more substantial than the financial item alone would indicate, as the removal of the debt carried a pledge of good-will on every hand.

During this year, also, a new form of admission into church membership was adopted. The purpose of this change was to lay the emphasis upon the sincerity of one's personal commitment rather than upon theological requirements, and also to recognize the responsibility toward one's fellow men such as is involved in a social conception of Christianity. The central article, embodying this idea, is the question put for the candidate's response upon entering into the fellowship of the church, "Do you also with us solemnly declare your faith in God, the Father, and in response to his Holy Spirit unreservedly commit yourself to love and obey Him? Do you engage to work in Christ's way of love and service and, seeking in all things to be built up in his likeness, do you accept his spirit to be the ruling spirit in your life?"

In a community of homes the Sunday School always is an important department of the church and here it has been no exception. The list of superintendents includes Mr. Edmund C. Whitney, Mr. F. L. Emery, Mr. A. M. Redman, Mr. James P. Prince, Mr. E. P. Nichols, and Mr. W. C. Hill. During Mr. Emery's term, in 1897, a thorough and advanced system of grading was adopted, placing the main body of the school on a progressive course, with subjects adapted to the different classes, the teachers retaining the same subjects from year to year as the classes moved on. This system was maintained for several years, but gradually a return was made to more traditional methods.

During Mr. Carter's ministry it became the custom to hold a pastor's training class during the fall or winter months for those of the young people who were ready to be instructed in the matter of personal religion. From such groups of boys and girls, about fourteen years of age, who formed these classes, came a large proportion of those who entered the church on

confession of faith. From 1896 to 1910 there were received by letter seventy-six and sixty-one on confession of faith. This total gain of one hundred and thirty-seven was modified by deaths and dismissions, so that the steady increase of this period brought the total membership to the number of two hundred and thirty in 1910, with a comparatively small number of absentees.

One of the most efficient organizations of Hancock Church has been the society of women, popularly known as the "Thimble Party." With Mrs. Charles C. Goodwin as trustee of this organization, it has maintained interest in Home and Foreign Missionary work, has rendered much charitable service both in the community and in missionary fields, has promoted the social relations of the parish in an admirable way, and has shown a financial thrift and foresight of most practical and timely value on many occasions of need. It contributed largely to the expenses of the hardwood floor which was laid in the church in 1905 and the carpet provided at that time for church and chapel; it maintains a fund on which it has drawn repeatedly for special objects and which is now being increased with reference to a parish house. Other material improvements had been made with the modification of the chancel and the redecoration of the main auditorium and the chapel in 1901, in connection with the placing of the large window in memory of Mr. Porter. The beautiful copy of Murillo's Immaculate Conception, made by an artist of Paris, was hung in the church through the generosity of Mr. Edward P. Bliss, and although this is somewhat of an innovation in Protestant churches, the picture by its own inherent beauty has won a helpful place in the devout feeling of the congregation.

In the winter of 1907, the men's club of Hancock Church was organized with Mr. Edward P. Nichols as its first President. He brought characteristic vigor and enthusiasm to this new project, which at once took its place as a helpful agency in the life of the church. In addition to the usual features it has a benefit fund, which has proven of distinct value in giving tangible expression to the feeling of Christian sympathy and fellowship when some member is in need.

The broad catholic spirit of the church has been shown in the annual custom since 1890 of holding union services during the summer in association with the congregation of the First

Parish Church. These were instituted when Rev. C. A. Staples, of the Unitarian Church, was still alive. He found in them a welcome channel for his tolerant and genial soul, while the spirit of fellowship which they had developed found expression in the farewell union service held in Hancock Church at the close of Mr. Carter's ministry there.

In the spring of 1910, Mr. Carter, being called to the Park Congregational Church of Hartford, Connecticut, tendered his resignation, which took effect on June 1. After fourteen years of service the associations with the people had grown very close, and Mr. and Mrs. Carter bore to their new field abundant evidence of friendly regard.

Resolutions adopted by the church were in part as follows:—

"It is with no ordinary regret that this church parts with one whose service has been so long, so faithful, and so efficient. He has brought to us a mind and heart of unusual capacity, and the storehouses of both have been freely opened to our lasting benefit. . . . We are deeply conscious of the fact that the loss which we face is one that will be shared by the whole community, for his humanity has been of the sort which ignores all boundaries."

In similar vein were resolutions from the Ecclesiastical Society:—

"We, the Hancock Congregational Parish, desire to put on record our deep regret, our sincere sorrow, and our sense of loss. We submit he has no 'call' to *leave* Lexington. He came to a church divided and rent by factions. He leaves a church united and harmonious, its various activities thoroughly organized and in efficient operation. The work he has accomplished cannot be adequately stated in terms. His pulpit service has been of the highest order. To unusual mental equipment he has added deep research and ripe scholarship. He has not preached Theology, but righteousness as portrayed in the life and character of Jesus Christ. He has been liberal and catholic in the highest degree, but never loose. He has taught that the religion of Jesus Christ squares with reason, and that between earnest thinking and spiritual living there is no divorce. He has addressed himself to earnest, thoughtful men and women and 'they have heard him gladly.' The full results of his preaching will be known only in the eternal years. In the parish and in the community he has been a 'man among men.' His high personal character, his unfailing courtesy, his deep and tender sympathy have won the respect and affection of all who appreciate the highest qualities of Christian manhood."

"Mrs. Carter has by her womanly traits, her Christian zeal, her faithful labors and in all social and charitable duties given an example by which all should profit. While all have felt the cheer and inspiration of her ever welcome presence in the social circle, there are many among us who cherish tender memories of her gentle ministrations in times of sorrow, and of loving, hopeful words fitly spoken to hearts bleeding from the wounds of sore affliction."

After a considerable period of careful search for a new pastor the committee appointed for that purpose reported favorably on the name of Rev. George E. Martin, D.D., recently the pastor of the Kirk Street Church in Lowell, Massachusetts. Responding favorably to the call, he undertook the work in January, 1911, and was installed on May 26 of that year. A graduate of Yale College in 1872 and of the Yale Divinity School in 1878, with his first pastorate in Brattleboro, Vermont, and the charge of two important Presbyterian churches, the First Presbyterian in St. Louis and the Holland Memorial in Philadelphia, he has come to Lexington with the treasure of a wide and mature experience and has entered earnestly upon his ministry in Hancock Church, which already feels the resourcefulness and stimulus of his touch.

The wisdom and devotion of the founders have found abundant justification in this church which during the forty-four years of its existence has grown to a position of recognized strength and influence in this historic community.

During the forty-four years of the church's life, six members have served as Clerk, three of whom have covered thirty-nine years, viz: William R. Cutter, ten years, George E. Muzzey, fourteen years, and James P. Prince, the present Clerk, fifteen years.

THE CHURCH OF OUR REDEEMER.¹ The first service in Lexington according to the Use of the Protestant Episcopal Church was held at the home of Dr. R. M. Lawrence on Waltham Street, on Sunday, March 4, 1883, Dr. Lawrence officiating as lay-reader. Services were held at different private houses until April 8, when, by permission of the Selectmen, their room in the Town Hall served as the place of meeting, the Rev. Mr. Rand, of Watertown, officiating. On Sunday,

¹ For this material the Committee is indebted to the Rev. George Grey Ballard, Jr. Ed.

REV. EDWARD GRIFFIN PORTER

May 27, the first service was held in the "Episcopal Chapel," a building on Main Street, owned by Horace B. Davis, and rented by members of the congregation for a term of one year. It had been used as a carpenter's shop. Furnishings were given by St. John's Church, Jamaica Plain, by St. Paul's, Boston, and by private individuals.

From this date until January 6, 1884, services were held regularly in charge of students of the Episcopal Theological School, Cambridge, and of visiting clergymen. Mr. Wilford L. Robbins, of the above school, then began his connection with the incipient parish, which lasted until the close of his rectorship which began June 22, 1884. In the meantime, organization as a congregation was effected on Good Friday, April 11. The following officers were elected: Warden, Dr. R. M. Lawrence; Clerk, Albert Griffiths; Treasurer, George S. Jackson. On the following Easter Monday, April 14, it was voted at a parish meeting to adopt the name of "Church of Our Redeemer." E. I. Garfield, F. G. Davis, and John Morrow were elected Vestrymen.

At a meeting of the Vestry held October 20, it was voted that the Treasurer be authorized to purchase a lot, one hundred feet square, at the corner of Oakland and Meriam Streets, the same to be held by Dr. R. M. Lawrence for the Church of Our Redeemer until such time as the latter should be incorporated. An extra twenty-five feet of land fronting on Oakland Street was bought at the same time by the advice of Bishop Paddock.

On October 15, 1885, the parish was incorporated. Directly thereafter Messrs. Robbins, Griffiths, Clarke, Lawrence, and Jackson were elected a Building Committee. Plans for a church building were drawn by Mr. E. A. P. Newcomb, of Boston. The first services were held in the church, St. John Baptist's Day, June 24, 1886: Holy Communion at 7 A.M., Morning Prayer at 10.45; Evening Prayer at 7.45 P.M., the Rev. A. C. A. Hall, now Bishop of Vermont, being the preacher at the last service.

During its short life the parish has passed through the ordinary vicissitudes generally experienced by most organizations of the kind. Though they have been few in number, strong and devoted men and women have always been found within it. In June, 1910, ground was broken for a small parish house. The architect is Mr. Edward Reed, a communi-

cant of the parish. The contractor is Mr. John McKay, of whose faithfulness too much cannot be said. The Building Committee is composed of Messrs. Ballard, Francis S. Dane, and W. T. Crowther.

Since the resignation of the Rev. W. L. Robbins, the parish has been served by the following:—

From March 25, 1888, to April 1, 1889, Rev. Gustavus Nicolls, rector.

From April, 1889, to June, 1892, lay-readers in charge.

From June 1, 1892, to September 1, 1893, Rev. A. B. Nichols, minister in charge.

From March 4, 1894, to May 1, 1895, Rev. J. W. Suter in charge.

From May 1, 1895, to October, 1900, Rev. J. Benton Werner, rector.

From September 1, 1901, Rev. H. H. Ryder in charge.

From October 18, 1901, to June 1, 1902, Mr. F. B. Blodgett, lay-reader.

From June 1, 1902, to May 18, 1903, Rev. F. B. Blodgett, minister in charge.

From May 18, 1903, to February 14, 1904, Rev. F. B. Blodgett, rector.

From May 1, 1904, to June 11, 1905, Rev. J. Cullen Ayer, rector.

From October 1, 1905, to July 15, 1908, Rev. W. H. P. Hatch, rector.

From October 1, 1908, to September 1, 1911, Rev. George Grey Ballard, Jr., rector.

From February 2, 1912, Rev. Arthur B. Crichton.

The Corporation as at present constituted consists of the present rector, Rev. Arthur B. Crichton; Senior Warden, Mr. Francis S. Dane; Junior Warden, Mr. W. R. Crowther; Treasurer, Mr. Irving P. Fox; Clerk, Mr. George A. Woods; Vestrymen, Mr. Daniel G. Tyler, Mr. Charles H. Miles.

THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE SOCIETY¹ was organized on the 4th of October, 1903. Sixteen Christian Scientists, resident in Lexington, met on the above date at the home of Mr. and Mrs. Leland T. Powers, on Massachusetts Avenue, and perfected the necessary organization to enable them to hold regular religious services in the town. Mr. Frederick L.

¹ The Committee is indebted to Mr. F. L. Emery for this information. Ed.

Emery and Mrs. Ada Holt Rowse were elected First and Second Readers, respectively, and Kindergarten Hall, on Forest Street, opposite Muzzey, was leased for a meeting-place.

During the first year Sunday services were held in the afternoon, but since that time in the forenoon.

Regular Wednesday evening meetings for testimonies of Christian Science Healing were established during the year 1907.

The society incorporated as a church on the 21st of April, 1910, and then opened a Free Public Reading-Room in the Bank Building, Massachusetts Avenue, where Christian Science literature may be read and purchased.

A free public lecture on Christian Science is given in the Town Hall every year, under the auspices of the church, the lecturer being a member of the Board of Lectureship of the Mother Church in Boston.

The readers of the church serve for terms not exceeding three years each.

CHAPTER XVII

EDUCATION

Interest felt in Education — A School-house built, and Schools established — Grammar School — Sometimes a Moving School — Second School-house built — An Academy established in Lexington — The First Normal School located there — Increased Interest in Education — High School established — Present Condition of the Schools — Dr. Lewis's Female Seminary.

It is worthy of observation that the love of country and the love of learning were always regarded by our fathers as kindred affections, — originating in the same general cause and seeking the same great end. They regarded these affections as the offspring of religion and the fruits of an active faith; and they urged a good education and literary and scientific attainments as among the most efficient means of securing piety to God and good-will to his creatures. In their earliest efforts to set up schools and endow the University, they recognized the service of God as the great end to be promoted. In relation to these institutions, they say, —

“We cannot but acknowledge the great goodness of God towards his people in this wilderness, in raising up schools of learning, and especially the College, from which there hath sprung many instruments, both in church and state; and we feel that we should show ourselves ungrateful to God, or unfaithful to posterity, if so good a seminary of knowledge and virtue should fall to the ground through any neglect of ours.”¹

And in establishing the common school system in 1647, they, in language expressive of their distinctive theological tenets, say, —

“It being one chief project of Satan to keep men from the knowledge of the Scriptures, as in former times keeping them in unknown tongues, so in these latter times by persuading from the use of tongues, that so at least the true sense and meaning of the original might be clouded and corrupted by false glosses of deceivers; to the end that learning may not be buried in the graves of our fathers, in church and commonwealth, the Lord assisting our endeavors. It is

¹ Colonial Laws, p. 80.

therefore ordered by this Court and the authority thereof, — that every township within this jurisdiction, after the Lord hath increased them to the number of fifty householders, shall thence forthwith appoint one within their towns, to teach all such children as shall resort to him to write and read.”¹

The early inhabitants of Lexington appear to have had a realizing sense of the importance of learning, and of the necessity of establishing schools as the best means of obtaining it. While united with Cambridge, they petitioned the town to grant a certain sum which they might apply to the support of schools in their midst; and when, by an act of the General Court, they were clothed with power to raise money themselves for schooling, they were not backward in the good cause. In 1714, the year after the town was incorporated, they voted to “eract” a school-house, and provided that it should be “twenty-eight foot long, twenty foot wide, and eight or nine foot stud.”² This house was situated near the Monument on the Common. In 1715, they voted to open a free grammar school and devoted fifteen pounds to its support. At a meeting, May 14, 1716, the following vote was passed, which shows that the schoolmaster, at that time, must have been abroad: —

“*Voted*, that all scollers that Cum to school; to pai two pens per week: for Reeding, and: 3: pens per week for righting and siphering and what that amounts to at the years End: so much of the fifteen pounds to be deducted and stopt in the Town Treasury whilst the next year.”

Captain Joseph Estabrook was employed as a teacher, and continued his school five months, for which fifteen pounds were paid him from the town treasury. By this time the principle seems to have been settled that a man's school should be kept five months in the year. But although this furnished a pretty good opportunity for the larger scholars, the people could not but perceive that there were wants which this arrangement did not meet. The smaller children in the distant parts of the township could not be accommodated by a school kept in the centre. To remove this difficulty, it was agreed by the selectmen, at a meeting held July 21, 1717,

¹ Colonial Laws, p. 186.

² See Early Schools of Lexington, by A. E. Locke. Proc. Lex. Hist. Soc., Vol. iv, p. 5. Ed.

"yt Clerk Laurances wife and Epheram Winships wife keep Schools; from ye day of ye Date hereof; until ye Last day of October next following; and if they have not Scholers Sufficient as to number: to amount to 5 Shillings $\text{\textit{s}}$ week; at 3 pence $\text{\textit{s}}$ Scholer $\text{\textit{s}}$ week; Dureing ye Terme aboveSd; Then ye Town to make up what Shall be wanting of ye 5 Shillings $\text{\textit{s}}$ week."

The next year, they voted

"Yt ye select men set up 5 small schools; one of them at ye school house or center of Sd Town; and four more in ye other Quart's of ye Town; as Conveniently placed as may be to accomodate ye Child' in to Quarters; Sd Schools to be Regulated; by ye same rule as they were ye Last year."

From this time the system of supporting the schools so as to meet the wants of the people may be considered as permanently established. The changes which were made from time to time were designed to make the system more efficient and useful and to extend rather than curtail the privileges of schooling. And the town was careful to employ instructors of character. The male teachers, when selected from those living in the town, were from the most substantial citizens, and the female teachers were the wives and daughters of some of the first families.

In 1728, the town employed Mr. Ebenezer Hancock, son of their reverend pastor, to teach the grammar school through the year. Mr. Hancock was a graduate of Harvard, and appears to have been a favorite with the people. Subsequently, when he was settled as a colleague with his father, it was with the understanding that he should continue his school.

In 1714, the first school-house was built and was situated on the Common.¹ Here the grammar school was usually kept.

¹ See Early Schools and Schoolmasters, by Rev. C. A. Staples. Proc. Lex. Hist. Soc., Vol. II, p. 158. This supplements so admirably Mr. Hudson's account that it is here reproduced substantially in full. *Ed.*

"The first mention of schools upon our town records is in the year following the incorporation of Lexington, viz.: 1714, when, under date of November 2d, it was voted 'to Erect' a school, to be placed 'upon the ground lately bought of Mr. Mussey,' meaning, of course, what is now the Common. It was to be twenty-eight feet by twenty, and, as the record says, 'eight or nine feet stud,' and finished by October, 1715. The timber used in its construction was to be taken from the town's land.

"But it is hardly probable that there had been no school within our borders up to this date, when there must have been at least thirty families living in Lexington. The place had been settled more than sixty years, a parish had been organised twenty-two years, and a church, with its minister, maintained for eighteen years. It is improbable that the children, during this period, were growing up to manhood and womanhood without schools giving them some sort of education. But they must have been private schools, kept in private houses, and maintained by subscription or charges for tuition; though, not unlikely, the older children may have attended school at Cambridge, of which our territory had formed a part. . . .

But as generally happens in such cases, the people in the remoter parts of the town complained that the benefits of the school were not equally enjoyed by all the families in the

"Where was the first school-house located? I have no hesitation in saying on the Common, on the spot where the old monument now stands. Of this I think there is indubitable proof in the fact that, when the monument was to be erected, the town voted that it should be placed on 'School-house Hill.' Probably the elevation on which it stands was, originally, much larger and higher than now, and graded down to its present proportions when the monument was built in 1799. The school-house was a humble frame building, with a huge stone chimney and fire-place at one end, and a turret at the other end, built in 1733, to hang the meeting-house bell in. Near the school-house was the well, dug and stoned up in 1732, with curb and sweep, as the record says, 'for the school and town people on Sundays to drink at.' On the other side of the school-house, in front of Hancock Church, stood the stocks, built the year before the school-house, a terror to Sabbath breakers, and other evil-doers. The school-house appears to have been finished in 1715, but the school was not opened until the autumn of the next year, though the town had voted, in August, to have a school this year, and chose a committee 'to procure a school-master that will answer the law.' In May, 1716, the town votes £15 for the school, and also that 'each scholar that comes to it shall pay two pence per week for Reading and three pence for righting and siphering, and, what that amounts to at the end of the year, to be deducted from the £15, and kept in the town treasury for next year.' The 'righting' was, evidently, the perpendicular hand now so much talked of, a most difficult kind to teach. The selectmen resolve to pay Capt. Joseph Estabrook, our first school-master, £15 for five months' teaching, extending from Nov. 1st, 1716, to April 1st, 1717.

"... In 1717 the selectmen resolve to establish two female schools, one at the north, and the other at the south end of the town. These were schools taught by women for the younger children and for 'gairls,' and kept in private houses. So well did the experiment succeed that the next year the town voted to have five women schools, 'to be set up, one at the Center, and the others convenient.' That at the Center was taught by Mrs. Clapp, in the school-house, probably during the spring and summer, while Capt. Estabrook followed in the autumn and winter, making eight or ten months of school during the year. But in 1719 there was a spasm of economical reform in the town, and it was voted to give up the women schools and 'have a moving school, to be kept a quarter of a year in each of four places.' This vote was finally rescinded, and it was voted to have it kept the whole year at the school-house. It was a triumph of the Center over the 'outskirts,' as they are called, the beginning of a jealousy and strife between village and country, which continued with varying results for more than twenty years, or until the district school-houses were built in 1795-'96.

"During all this period, there was but one school-house in Lexington, that at the Center. When the outskirts were strong enough in town meeting to vote down the Center, they had a 'moving' or a 'running' school, as they sometimes called it. The school was taken from the center, and carried around from one quarter to another, staying two months, or sometimes but one month in a place, and so making the circuit of the town two, three or four times in the year. But when the Center out-voted the outskirts, then the school was kept in the school-house, and the outskirts had women schools. It was a continual contest over the whereabouts of the schools. There are about twenty of these changes from a stationary to a 'running school,' and back again, recorded in our annals. In 1719 'Sir' John Hancock was employed to teach the school for a year, at £40. He was the minister of Lexington and grandfather of President John Hancock of the Continental Congress. This is the only instance of his being called Sir John. . . .

"In 1724 the town was complained of for not keeping a Grammar School. Probably it had been voted down by the outskirts, but it was soon re-opened, with Capt. Estabrook for teacher, who remained in charge until he had completed eight years of service. Joseph Estabrook was the son of Rev. Joseph, of Concord, and brother of Rev. Benjamin, the first minister of Lexington. He is spoken of as a man of more than ordinary education for that period, a land surveyor, deacon of the church, captain of the military company, assessor, town clerk, selectman, representative to the General Court, and school-master. . . .

"In 1725-'26, the Grammar School was taught by Jonathan Bowman, who had graduated the year before from Harvard, and who took the school, it is not unlikely, that he might take the minister's fair daughter, Elisabeth Hancock, whom he subsequently married. The school opened on the first of August each year, and continued until the middle of March, seven and a half months, for which he received £26. . . .

"Up to this time the Grammar School of Lexington was supported partially by tuition fees and partially by town appropriation, varying in amount from year to year. But in May, 1727, it was voted that the school should be free; and the next year it was voted that it should be a 'running school' at the school-house, and in the four quarters of the town, the school to move once a month, £45 being appropriated for it. Ebenezer Hancock, who graduated the same year, 1728, from Harvard, now took charge of it, and continued to be the teacher until he became his father's colleague in 1734. He received £40 per annum, and had the Saturdays to himself, his father, the minister, making the contract with the town.

"It was now called the 'Grammar and English School,' which probably means that a classical

place. To meet this objection, the grammar school was converted into what was denominated a "moving school," and was kept in different sections of the town in rotation. But

course was given fitting boys for college, in addition to the English branches. During this period it was a running school, and ran on this plan, viz.: '1st, thirty-one days in the Center; 2d, South Easterly; 3d, South Westerly; 4th, North Westerly; 5th, North Easterly, and so round twice,' giving ten months' schooling. Thus it continued running for six years, and with no mention of women schools. In 1737 the teacher, William Fessenden, has a salary of £45, and the town agrees to pay for his entertainment above ten shillings a week.

"The next year another plan for a running school was adopted. It was to be eight weeks at the school-house, then to move to the North West Corner for seven weeks, then to the South East Corner for seven weeks, then to the South West Corner for seven weeks, then to the East Corner for seven weeks. 'If any corner neglects to provide a place and board for the school-master, it is to be kept at the school-house.' This year, 1738, seems to have been an A. P. A. year, for it was voted to warn all the Irish to leave the town — five families. The salary is now advanced to £80, and Josiah Pearce keeps the school for three years, followed by Matthew Bridge. It was voted that 'he should have a contribution, by reason of his giving so unusually dear for his board.' In 1742 the salary had been advanced to £90 and the next year the running school was stopped at the school-house, and five women schools were opened in the outskirts. . . . While the Grammar School-master received £90 and board, the five women teachers received but £25 altogether, or, £5 apiece, the sum actually voted them by the town, and boarded themselves! Each Grammar School pupil was, now, required to bring two feet of wood for the fire.

"Rev. Timothy Harrington was installed over the school in 1747-48, on these conditions, viz.: 'The school to be dismissed on public occasions, but, if the time is lost, it is to be taken out of his pay, five hours in winter and six hours in summer to be a school-day. Lecture days in town, half a day at funerals, raisings, ordinations in the neighborhood, and training days to be respected as holidays.' . . .

" . . . £16 for women schools or writing schools is appropriated in 1766, but no child living within $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles of the school-house may attend them.

"We come, now, to the end of the first school-house. It had been in use forty-five years and was so worn, hacked and battered that it was past being repaired, and was, accordingly, torn down and a new one erected on the same spot. (A much smaller and humbler building, but 20 ft. square and $6\frac{1}{2}$ ft. between joists, costing £43 13s. 6d.) This, the second school-house, remained thirty-five years and until 1796, when it was sold to Nathan Kelley for \$48.50 and moved away, history does not inform us where, leaving the Center without a school-house for eight years, thereafter. This was, no doubt, a triumph for the outskirts. But, to give an idea of the persistency and fierceness of this contest between village and country, I will give you some of the changes in town votes during a few years. In 1762, voted that the Grammar School remain at the school-house and £16 be used for women schools. In 1764, voted to have a 'running school and decide by lot, where it should stop first, second and so on.' In 1765-66, voted not to move it, and have six women schools. But, in 1767, they set it going again, and had it kept eleven months. In 1768-69-70, voted not to move it and have women schools. In 1773, voted that the town be divided into '7 squadrons for women schools,' and in 1775, voted to have no Grammar School this year, on account of the heavy charges, but to have women schools in each quarter and that they be free, appropriating £20 for them. Thus, it would appear that, up to this time, the women schools had not been wholly free, but the new spirit awakened by the principles of Liberty, opened the school doors to every child in the town, never to be closed again.

"After the first year of the great Struggle for Independence, the Grammar School appears to have been continued until 1780, when the town was divided into five parts for women schools; but two years after the Grammar School was again opened for four months and the women schools kept open also. In 1784 and '85, Benjamin Green, another graduate of Harvard, was the teacher at \$10 a month, probably with board, which was with Rev. Jonas Clarke, where he pursued his studies for the ministry. The compensation, \$10 a month, seems miserably small for a college-bred man, but not when we remember that he won a wife at the same time, Lydia Clarke, the minister's daughter, said to have been the most beautiful and accomplished girl in the town.

"Benjamin Green succeeded so well that another Harvard graduate, Thaddeus Fiske, followed him in 1786, who was equally successful, if not in school, at least in winning the hand of another of the minister's six daughters, Lucy Clarke. Then followed in succession, Pitt Clarke, John Piper, and Abiel Abbot, as teachers, and all college graduates. The last one at \$9 a month. They were, also, studying for the ministry, but they did not succeed in capturing more of the Clarke girls, four having already been caught in the matrimonial net, and the others proving invulnerable to Cupid's shafts.

"In 1792, it was voted not to have the Grammar School at the Center, but to have a Grammar School in each of the divisions of the town, and this policy seems to have been carried out for three years, the village being left, apparently, without a school. Probably the children went to the North, West and East Schools. Thus the outskirts had gained complete ascendancy over the village and blotted out the school which had been maintained here for more than twenty years.

this being attended with inconveniences, other expedients were adopted. At one time it was provided that all who lived within a certain distance of the school-house on the Common should furnish all the fuel necessary for the school free of expense; while those who lived more remote should be exempted altogether. But still there was a lurking disposition to complain of inequality, — forgetting the fact that, though the inhabitants of the village enjoy greater privileges than those who live remote from the centre, they have to pay for those privileges. For one acre of land in a village is often valued in the assessment list ten times as high as an acre of the same intrinsic worth, situated remote from the centre.

The school-house in the centre becoming somewhat dilapidated, a new house was erected in its stead in 1761. It was twenty feet square, and six and a half feet between the floors, and cost £42. During the Revolution there was no particular change in the schools. The grammar school in the school-house was kept nine or ten months each year, and was furnished with teachers competent to instruct in every branch necessary to be taught. At the same time schools, generally taught by females, were supported in the different sections of the town.

After a contest of one or two years on the subject, the town voted in 1795 to build three school-houses, and chose a committee to select sites. In 1796, it was "Voted, To

"We come, now, to the time when these out-lying schools were given a local habitation and a name. Up to 1795 they had been kept in private houses, each quarter furnishing a room for the school, at the expense of the people patronizing it. But in May, 1795, the town voted to build three school-houses, East, South and North, and they were completed and occupied the following year, viz.: 1796, one of these, probably the East, on the hill just beyond the Munroe Tavern, called Mason's Hill, built there, I suppose, with the idea of accommodating both villages. In the year 1800 it was voted that teachers must bring certificates of their qualifications. It does not say from whom, or what the qualifications should be. The Selectmen, also, are requested to visit the schools to see that they are properly conducted, the first action of the town looking to any oversight of them, though the minister was accustomed to visit them once a year and catechise the children in Bible history and religious doctrines.

"The Scotland district was denied a school-house by vote of the town in 1801, and was obliged to continue to use a private house. But three years later, in 1804, a vote was passed to build three more new school-houses, of which one should be in Scotland, one in Smith End, each eighteen feet by twenty-three, and one in the Center. Thus, after being eight years without a school-house in this village, the people secured one, probably by uniting with Scotland and Smith End, and so out-voting the opposition. The new school-house was located on the Common, the third built there, and was placed forty feet beyond the Monument towards Elm Avenue, in range with the rear of the Monument. This house is remembered by some of our oldest people who went to school there. It had what is called a hip roof, and the seats were arranged in rows, one above the other on each side from an open space in the middle. This building was afterwards moved down Main Street, just across Vine Brook, where it was used for the school until a new house was built on the same site. The frame was taken down to the Tufts place, near Bloomfield Street, where it still holds duty as a stable. The one built in its stead was soon outgrown and moved up to Waltham Street, where it forms the house now occupied by Mr. Flood [19 Waltham Street. *Ed.*], and a new and larger one two stories in height was erected on the same spot. This was finally converted into a dwelling house by Mr. Horace Davis, and was succeeded by the old Hancock school-house on Waltham Street, destroyed by fire in 1890."

raise \$333.33.3 for Schooling the children the present year voted, to take \$100 out of the above sum for a womens schools." Some feeling was excited not favorable to the harmony of the schools by the inhabitants in the part of the town known as "Scotland" persistently demanding, as their share of the school grant, a sum in proportion to the tax they paid.

In 1799, the town appropriated \$333.33.7 for the support of men's schools, and \$166.66.3 for women's schools. In 1800, the school grant was raised to five hundred dollars, and the committee chosen to employ teachers were directed to employ none unless qualified according to the provisions of law. In 1804, the town took a decided step towards improving the condition of their schools. They made the usual grant of five hundred dollars for schooling, and appropriated one thousand dollars to build three additional school-houses and to remove two others, so as to accommodate all parts of the town. Of the three new houses, one was to be located in the centre of the town, one in "Scotland," so called, and one in "Smith's End," so called.

Having supplied themselves with school-houses, the town wisely decided that a larger sum of money should be appropriated to support these invaluable institutions. Accordingly, in 1806, the school appropriation was increased to eight hundred dollars, six hundred dollars of which was to be expended for schools taught by males, and two hundred dollars for schools taught by females. This arrangement relative to the appropriation and the division of the money was continued for several years.

May 3, 1813, "Voted to grant \$50 dollars to encourage Vocal Music in this town."

In 1819, the town appropriated nine hundred dollars for the support of their schools, being an increase of one hundred dollars over past appropriations.

At the May meeting in 1821, a Committee, consisting of Amos Muzzey, Jr., Ambrose Morrell, Isaac Reed, Joseph Underwood, Jr., John Hastings, and Charles Reed, who had been chosen at a previous meeting, submitted a detailed report to the town on the general subject of the schools, which the town accepted. The report was able and well considered; and to the honor of the Committee it should be stated that the changes they recommended in the school system were,

six years after, substantially adopted by the Legislature, for the government of the schools in the Commonwealth.

In 1827, the Legislature passed a general law regulating the schools throughout the State, and requiring towns to choose a General Committee to superintend and manage them. This law made quite a change in the condition of the schools in some towns. But as Lexington had adopted the same system, substantially, several years before, the change here was not immediately perceptible. There was, however, an increased interest manifest on the subject of common-school education. Two school-houses were built in 1830, and the other houses were repaired. The school appropriation also was increased to one thousand dollars.

In 1837, the school appropriation was increased to fourteen hundred dollars; and the town voted to erect two new school-houses, — one in each village, — said houses to be two stories high, so as to accommodate two schools.

The subject of common-school education in Lexington, as in almost every other town in the Commonwealth, was in a manner neglected; or in other words, our district schools did not meet the wants of the people. There were men in every town who were in favor of bringing them to a higher standard. But the mass of the voters, mistaking their true interest, were unwilling to increase the appropriation for their support. One fatal error had been imbibed by a portion of the people, namely, that the common schools were designed for the common people alone; and that those who wished to give their children suitable advantages must send them to select schools. They also feared that their children would be corrupted in their manners and morals by associating with the children of the masses. Some of this class were willing to raise money for the support of the district schools; but they would not suffer their children to attend them, but sent them to private schools and academies. By this means they were able to give their children a better education than their neighbors could give theirs. But this was a mistaken and short-sighted policy. In the first place, it was contrary to the spirit of our free institutions, which open the door of improvement to all alike, that the poor man's son might have equal advantages with the son of his more wealthy neighbor.

This withdrawing children from the common schools tended to degrade and keep down the standard of education

in them. Those wealthy or influential families, which patronized private schools and academies, would, as a matter of course, feel less interest in the common schools than they would have done if their own children had been in them; and their example would also have an influence upon others; and so tend to reduce in the community the estimate of these little democratic institutions, which should be the pride and boast of our country. Moreover, an injury rather than a benefit was done to the children educated in these select schools; for they came from them more ignorant of human nature than they would have been if they had mixed with the masses, and seen more of the rough side of that world in which they were destined to live. Their private education would naturally induce them to look down upon those who were educated in the town schools, with whom they must associate in after life, and upon whom they must in a great degree depend for support in almost any business in which they might be engaged.

This state of things did not apply particularly to Lexington, but to the Commonwealth at large. But while these academies were increasing, and a comparatively small part of the rising generation were obtaining a better education than before, the common schools were either declining or suffered to remain stationary. This state of things created an alarm in the public mind, and the philanthropist and the statesman sought to call public attention to the importance of raising the standard of the town schools, so as to meet the wants of the people. And after years of effort, this important reform was commenced, and has so far progressed that academies have, to a great extent, been superseded by public schools open to all classes of our population.

In 1821, a number of Lexington gentlemen, feeling the want of a higher standard of education than the town schools afforded, established an academy within the town.¹ A commodious house was erected for the purpose, and a school was opened in 1822, under the charge of Mr. Caleb Stetson, who had just graduated from Cambridge. And though the school was small at its opening, under the successful instruction of Mr. Stetson it became a flourishing institution, numbering from seventy-five to eighty-five pupils. He remained as principal of the academy till the autumn of 1825, when he

¹ See Lexington Academy, by A. E. Scott. Proc. Lex. Hist. Soc., Vol. 1, p. 88.

was succeeded by Mr. William P. Huntington. In a few years this school began to languish and was finally given up.

While the academy was in active operation, and, viewed from that standpoint, the cause of education would seem to be progressing, the condition of the district schools was by no means flattering, — less so undoubtedly in consequence of the existence of the academy. Nor was this peculiar to this town. The same cause had produced the same effect in every part of the Commonwealth. A few years later, when specific returns were made from every town of the condition of its schools, the fact became apparent that in those towns where academies and select schools were maintained, the district schools were more or less neglected, and were in point of support below the schools in towns where no such academies existed.

It should not, however, be inferred from these facts that academies were useless, or that parents did wrong in all cases in sending their children to select schools. Academies were valuable as intermediate institutions between the common schools and the colleges, and were necessary to fit scholars to enter the colleges. Nor were parents at fault in all cases in taking their children from district schools. Every intelligent parent desires to give his children a good education; and for this purpose and for the good of all classes he should use his influence to improve the condition of the public schools, where his own children and the children of those around him may have opportunities for an education. But if he fails in bringing the town schools up to a proper standard, or if he wishes to have his children pursue studies not taught in the town schools or taught only imperfectly, then it is right and it becomes his duty to send them where they can enjoy these opportunities.

The law of 1827, requiring a Town Committee, was the first step in the improvement of our schools. But the measure which has done more for the cause of common-school education than any other was the creation of a State Board of Education in 1837. Three years previous, a school fund was created; and although the sum to be divided among the schools was a mere pittance, the subsequent laws made it a condition precedent to receiving its share of this fund that the Town Committees should make a return to the Secretary of State of the number of scholars in their respective towns,

the number attending school, the amount of money raised, and the general condition of the schools.

It was the first time in the history of the Commonwealth that the true condition of the schools was known to the public. After the Board of Education was created, the Secretary, by carefully prepared tables, presented to every town in the State the condition of the schools in every other town, so that all could see the standing of his own town as compared with every other. The abstract of the reports of different Committees showed the improvements that were adopted in different parts of the State; and the reports of the Secretary of the Board soon excited a general interest throughout the Commonwealth; and the creation of normal schools for the education of teachers gave an impulse to the cause of common-school education which has placed Massachusetts ahead of any of her sister States. In this general improvement Lexington has participated. We have seen that in 1837, her school appropriation was carried from one thousand up to fourteen hundred dollars, and that two new school-houses were erected and so constructed as to admit of a grading of the schools.

Soon after the Board was established, Hon. Edmund Dwight, of Boston, generously offered the sum of ten thousand dollars, on condition that the Commonwealth would appropriate the same amount, to be expended under the direction of the Board in qualifying teachers for common schools. The Board resolved to establish two normal schools, one in the easterly and the other in the westerly part of the State; and to enable them to continue these schools for the period of three years, so that the experiment might be fully tried, they required the people of the place where the schools should be located to furnish the necessary buildings and a certain amount of funds, to procure a library and apparatus. And though the applications for the school were numerous, Lexington was deemed by the Board to be the most favorable place, and one of the schools was here established.¹ This was the first normal school in the country. The school was put in operation under the care of Mr. Cyrus Pierce,² an able and

¹ See the interesting volume, *Records of the First Class of the First State Normal School in America*. Privately printed; 1903. Also *Lexington Normal School*, by Miss Rebecca Viles. *Proc. Lex. Hist. Soc.*, Vol. 1, p. 95. *Ed.*

² See *Memoir of Cyrus Pierce, First Principal of First State Normal School in the*

REV. SAMUEL J. MAY
HOSEA E. HOLT

DR. DIO LEWIS

CYRUS PIERCE
CHARLES TIDD

experienced teacher, who continued his connection with the school three years, when he retired, and was succeeded by Rev. S. J. May. Shortly after, the school was removed to Newton — simply on local and sectarian grounds. The school was a decided success, and the experiment tried here has given rise to four normal schools, which send out annually several hundred teachers, well qualified to instruct in all the rudiments of a good English education.

The effect of these schools and the other measures of the Board of Education has been felt in every part of the State. In Lexington, from 1837 to 1846, the appropriation remained at fourteen hundred dollars. In the year following, one hundred dollars was added, and in 1848 it was increased to twenty-five hundred dollars. In 1851, after a considerable effort, the town voted to build two new school-houses on the most improved plan; one in the centre and the other in the south dis-

United States, by Rev. Samuel J. May, from which the following extracts are taken:—

"On the 3d of July, 1839, he entered upon his labors at Lexington, as principal of the first Normal School on this continent. . . .

"At the opening of the school, only three offered themselves to become his pupils. The contrast between the full, flourishing establishment he had just left at Nantucket, and the 'beggarly account of empty boxes,' which were daily before him for the first three months, was very disheartening. . . . However, he had put his hand to the plough, and of course the furrow must be driven through, aye, and the whole field turned over, before he would relinquish his effort. . . . He soon made his three pupils conscious that there was more to be known about even the primary branches of education than they had dreamed of; and better methods of teaching reading, spelling, grammar, arithmetic, and geography than were practised in the schools. Their reports of the searching thoroughness and other excellent peculiarities of the Normal Teacher attracted others to him. The number of his pupils steadily increased from term to term, until, at the expiration of his first three years of service, there were forty-two. In the course of those years, more than fifty went out from under his training, to teach, with certificates of his approbation; and the obvious improvement in their methods of governing children, and giving them instruction, demonstrated the utility of Normal Schools. . . .

"As soon as practicable, after opening the Normal School at Lexington, Mr. Pierce instituted the Model Department, — a school composed of the children of the neighborhood, just such as would be found in most of our country district schools. In that he led his normal pupils, seriatim, by turns, to apply and test for themselves, the correctness, the excellence of the principles of teaching, which he was laboring to instil into them. This was the most peculiar part of the institution. In the management of it, he evinced great adroitness as well as indomitable perseverance, and untiring patience. . . .

"In 1842, at the end of three years, he was obliged to resign his charge. 'It was,' we quote from the Sixth Annual Report of the Board of Education, 'the ardent desire of the Board to secure the further services of that gentleman in a place which he has filled with such honor to himself and such usefulness to the community; but owing to the state of his health and to other circumstances, he felt obliged to tender his resignation, which the Board most reluctantly accepted. Never, perhaps, have greater assiduity and fidelity distinguished and rewarded the labors of any instructor. Mr. Pierce has retired from the employment of teaching; but the models of instruction which he has left, and his power of exciting an enthusiasm in the noble cause of education, will long remain as a blessing to the young.'

" . . . He resumed the charge of the Normal School in August, 1844; — not, however, in Lexington. The number of pupils had so greatly increased that much larger accommodations were needed than could be furnished in Lexington. A building of suitable dimensions, but erected for another purpose, had just then been purchased in West Newton. All arrangements necessary for the school were to be made in it. The devising and superintending of these devolved upon Mr. Pierce; and he soon showed, so far as the limits within which he was required to work would permit, that he knew how a school-room ought to be constructed, arranged, furnished, warmed and ventilated, as well as how those who should be gathered into it, ought to be instructed."

tract. This was the signal for new and improved houses in every section of the town; so that we have now¹ in each district good and commodious houses, with the modern improvements.

Feeling that the district schools did not fully meet the wants of the rising generation, in 1854, the subject of a high school² was brought before the town, and a Committee, consisting of Ira Leland, Charles Hudson, Jonas Gammell, Andrew Wellington, Samuel A. Houghton, Charles Tidd, and Hugh Graham, was chosen to consider the subject, and report at the next meeting. The Committee recommended that a high school be established and that five hundred dollars be added to the school appropriation, carrying it up to three thousand dollars. This report being accepted by the town and the addition to the appropriation made, the School Committee put the school in operation. The next year the appropriation was raised from three thousand dollars to thirty-seven hundred dollars, devoting one thousand dollars to the support of the high school.

There was considerable opposition to the high school when it was first established; but it has so commended itself to the good sense of the people and its effects upon the district schools have been such that the people generally now regard this school not only as a permanent institution, but one which has proved a blessing to the community. It has afforded an opportunity to every parent to give his children a good education at a much less expense than it could have been obtained in any other way; and what is more and better, some parents of limited means have been enabled to give their children such an education as has fitted them for teachers or qualified them for other positions in life, which they never could have given them if this high school had not been established. As an economical arrangement, such a school should be continued. Besides, the maintenance of a high school redounds to the honor of a town and tends to increase the value of property. The town of Lexington has no manufactures to draw population within her borders. Her growth must, to all appearances, depend upon those who are seeking pleasant country residences, and the first question asked by that class more

¹ 1867. *Ed.*

² See *Early Days of the Lexington High School*, by Miss M. E. Hudson. *Proc. Lex. Hist. Soc.*, Vol. III, p. 117. *Ed.*

especially is, "What is the condition of your schools?" If they find that our schools are poor, they will look elsewhere for a residence; but if they find that we have good schools, they might be induced to settle among us.

Fears were entertained by some that the establishment of a high school would operate to the injury of the district schools. But it has been found to produce the opposite effect. A new incentive to effort is thrown into the districts, to qualify their pupils for the high school. A high school also enables the Committee to make a more perfect classification of the pupils and so affords another great advantage to the cause of education.

The time has arrived when the people demand greater opportunities for an education than the common primary or grammar schools afford, and every statesman and philanthropist must see the wisdom and benevolence of supplying this want by the maintenance of schools of a higher grade, open alike to the rich and the poor, where all the youth can meet on one common level, and where there is no distinction but that which merit originates. Our colleges are institutions which should be highly prized—institutions which are demanded by the wants of the community. But at the same time, we know that they are beyond the reach of a vast majority of the young. Not one in a thousand of our population ever enters a college as a student. But a high school meets the wants of the whole people, and the children in a town may enter within its walls and enjoy its privileges, without money and without price. Nowhere, no, not even in the house of worship, is there such perfect equality, such an elevation of the poor to an equal level with the rich, as in the free schools. And the farther this can be extended, the higher in the walks of science this equality can be carried, the better for the community at large and for all classes which compose it.

To indicate the growth of interest felt in the public schools, the following statement of the annual appropriations for schools from 1830 to 1867 is given:—

1830.....\$1,000	1836.....\$1,000	1842.....\$1,400
1831.....1,000	1837.....1,400	1843.....1,400
1832.....1,000	1838.....1,400	1844.....1,400
1833.....1,000	1839.....1,400	1845.....1,400
1834.....1,000	1840.....1,400	1846.....1,600
1835.....1,000	1841.....1,400	1847.....1,600

1848.....	\$2,500	1855.....	\$3,700	1862.....	\$3,400
1849.....	1,600	1856.....	3,700	1863.....	3,400
1850.....	2,400	1857.....	3,800	1864.....	4,400
1851.....	2,500	1858.....	3,700	1865.....	4,200
1852.....	2,500	1859.....	3,700	1866.....	4,700
1853.....	2,500	1860.....	3,400	1867.....	5,000
1854.....	3,000	1861.....	3,400		

The above table shows a commendable increase in the appropriations for schools. And by the graduated tables furnished by the Secretary of the Board of Education, it will be seen that Lexington takes a high rank among her sister towns. In the Report of the Secretary of the Board for 1865, showing the amount expended per head upon all the scholars between the ages of five and fifteen years, it is seen that Lexington stands number 17, in a list of three hundred and thirty-four cities and towns, and that she actually expends \$8.49 on each scholar; while more than half of the towns in the State expended less than half of that sum. The same Report shows that in the County, consisting of fifty-two cities and towns, Lexington stands number 7. In the Report of the Board for 1866, Lexington stands number 11 in the list, having expended \$10.88 upon each scholar, and in the County of Middlesex, she stands number 5.

From the above exhibit, it appears that Lexington will compare favorably with the towns around her.¹

In connection with the subject of education in Lexington, the school for young ladies, established by Dr. Dio Lewis, merits a brief notice.² This school has some characteristics

¹ For the subsequent history of the Lexington public schools see Chap. XVIII, *infra*. Ed.

² See illustrations. Following is a list of the teachers during the second year of the school (Ed.):—

Dio Lewis, A.M., M.D., *Physical Culture, Anatomy, Physiology, Hygiene, and Chemistry*. Mrs. Helen C. Lewis, *Dress, and the Duties of School-mother*. Theodore D. Weld, *Mental and Moral Science, Composition, Recitation, the Critical Reading of English Classics, Logic and Rhetoric*. Bradford M. Fullerton, A.M., *Ancient Classics, Natural Science, English Philology, and Christian Evidences*. Mrs. Angelina G. Weld, *History*. Mrs. Julia M. Fullerton, *French, Zoology, and Geometry*. Miss Martha A. Dudley, *Mathematics and English Grammar*. (Rev.) E. W. Morley, A.M., *Classics and Natural Science*. Mrs. E. J. Cogswell, *Mathematics and French*. M^{lle} Adelin Valentin, *French and German*. Prof. J. B. Torricelli, *Italian and Spanish*. Prof. James C. Sharp, *Chemistry*. Prof. W. H. Niles, *Zoology and Geology*. Miss Julia Lazarus, *French*. Miss Carrie A. Ingols, *English Studies*. Miss Belle L. Cooley, *English Studies*. Prof. Thomas F. Leonard, *Elocution*. Prof. B. J. Lang, *Piano*. Prof. E. Zerdahelyi, *Piano and Vocal Music*. Miss Estelle Woodward, *Piano and Drawing*. Miss Mary Semple, *Vocal Music*. Miss Adela Chadbourne, *Piano*. Prof. J. A. Hills, *Piano*. Miss Anna C. Nowell, *Painting in Water Colors*. Rev. B. G. Northrop, *Lecturer on Methods of Study*. Rev. L. J. Livermore, *Natural Theology*. Hon. Charles Hudson, *Local History*. James W. Cheeney, *Piano*. Mrs. C. M. Severance, *Practical Ethics*. Miss Augusta H. Haskell, *Gymnastics*. Miss Lissie Greeley, *Gymnastics*. Miss Catharine E. Beecher, *Domestic Economy and the Laws of Health*.

which distinguish it from the ordinary female seminaries. Physical development receives a large share of attention. In addition to the usual branches taught in schools for young ladies, the new system of gymnastics, of which Dr. Lewis is the author, is here introduced and made a part of the daily routine. These gymnastic exercises are so adapted to the anatomy or physical structure of the human frame, and are so various in their kinds, that every limb and every muscle is brought into exercise — giving strength and tone to the

The following extracts from the catalogue are of interest: —

"The design of this School is to secure a symmetrical development of body, mind, and heart; to give due attention to physical and social culture, while providing thorough instruction in Literature, Art, Science, and Morals. The studies are so arranged that all the members of the School are the pupils of each instructor. By this constant contact with the different teachers, a great variety and extent of mental discipline and culture will accrue to each scholar.

"After years of anxious thought and preparation, this School was opened on the first of October, 1864. The ages of the young ladies ranged from twelve to twenty-three years, seventeen years being the average. The families represented in the School were among the most intelligent in New England. Intellectually and morally, our pupils were all we could ask; physically, they were much below the average.

"Accustomed to teach gymnastics among those who (living at home) had indulged the fashionable errors of dress, diet, sleep, bathing, etc., Dr. Lewis had hitherto imperfectly realised the possibilities of physical culture. Retiring at an early hour; sleeping in large, well-ventilated rooms; visiting a plain, nutritious table, at proper intervals; bathing frequently under the guidance of intelligent assistants; wearing a physiological dress; and spending several hours a day in the open air, — these concomitants added far more than had been anticipated to the results of the gymnastic training. The general development may be inferred when it is stated that, about the upper part of the chest, the average enlargement was two and three-quarter inches. In the physical training of this School, lean girls increased in flesh, while the fleshy ones became thinner and more active.

"We are well satisfied that the common opinion concerning excessive brain-work in our schools is an error; that our girls, even, may double their intellectual acquisitions, provided their exercise, bathing, diet, sleep, and other hygienic conditions, be rightly managed.

"During the last year, the School Building has been occupied by more than one hundred pupils, with their teachers, besides thirty or more patients and boys. Hereafter, the entire School Building will be given up to one hundred young ladies, with their teachers.

"The quiet of the village in which the School is located, consequent upon the almost exclusive devotion of the inhabitants to agricultural pursuits, and the absence of manufactories all sanction the choice of this place for our purpose. The streets are free from the confusion and noise always found in large manufacturing towns, and the dissipation of the city is not felt among us. The stillness favors undisturbed walks, and is conducive to mental application.

"Suggestions to Parents.

"*Dress.* — Neatness, good taste, and simplicity — the natural expression of good sense, modesty, and refinement — eminently befit school-days; while ambition of fashionable display — the erethism of a mind weak, ill-balanced, and essentially vulgar — disturbs education, and represses higher aspirations.

"*Pocket-money.* — Significant words! rife with temptations to omnivorous repletion between meals, and painfully suggestive of its inevitable effects, — acidity, sallowness, pimples, disturbed sleep, and bad breath. Pandora's box! full of headaches and other aches, nausea and vertigoes; necessitating the excuse, 'not well,' when called for the morning walk; rife with artificial wants, unscholarly ways, late rising, tardiness, absence, discreditable recitations, and imperilled character. Few attain honorable distinction at school, who have not been withheld by thoughtful parents from the manifold temptations of pocket-money.

"*Visiting.* — Visits to friends, during term-time, unsettle the mind, break in upon habits of study, the regularity of lessons, and general school order; multiply the burdens of teachers; excite the discontent of classes whose members are absent; lower their tone, and impede their progress. They generally disqualify for earnest study and often necessitate imperfect lessons for days after resuming the school routine. For these reasons, leave of absence should never be asked except in emergencies that cannot be provided against; and then not through the pupils, but directly of the Principal. A little forecast during vacation will obviate the necessity of calling pupils away from school to replenish their wardrobe, or to visit the family dentist."

whole body. The effect of this training is obvious in the fact that many a young lady, of slender frame and delicate complexion when she enters the school, leaves, at the close of the year, with that physical development and glow of health so essential in those who are to become the mothers of the next generation.

The same general principle is recognized in all the instruction of the school, by so distributing the branches and exercises as to bring out the latent and neglected powers of each pupil. For instance, in the dramatic exercises, which are made somewhat prominent, the self-reliant young lady is to personate the mild and gentle character, and the bashful and timid girl to represent a character more bold and daring. In this way a full and properly developed character is aimed at in all the instruction, and flattering results have been attained. The discipline of the school is paternal, and great care and watchfulness are extended over the morals and health of the pupils. By such a system of training and discipline, the school has acquired a high reputation and is favorably known through the country. This is apparent from the fact that its increasing patrons are distributed, not only over New England, but throughout the Middle and Western States.

In the spring of 1864, Dr. Lewis, well and extensively known as a physical educator, purchased the Lexington House, which was erected for a hotel, and fitted it up for a school for young ladies. Having engaged Theodore D. Weld, for many years Principal of the Eagleswood School in New Jersey, and other experienced teachers, he opened his school with twenty pupils. During the term it was increased to thirty-two. During the next year the number increased to one hundred and two, and the third year the number reached one hundred and forty-four.

On the 7th of September, 1867, when the house had been refitted and important improvements made, to receive a larger number of pupils, the building took fire and was entirely consumed. The loss of this noble edifice was deeply felt, not only by the citizens of Lexington, who regarded it as a great calamity, but by the friends of physical education in distant parts of the country. It is gratifying to learn that Dr. Lewis intends to erect a building, on or near the same site, which will accommodate an equal number of scholars

OLD ADAMS SCHOOL
OLD TOWN HALL

LEXINGTON NORMAL SCHOOL
DR. DIO LEWIS' SCHOOL

and be better adapted to the purposes of the school than the former building.¹

Dr. Lewis is justly entitled to the gratitude of the community for his new system of gymnastics, — a system which has been introduced into many schools in this country and in Europe and has called public attention to the subject of physical training, and so laid a foundation for the education of the whole man.

It may also be said, in this connection, that Dr. Lewis has established a hospital or "movement cure" in the village, where he has a considerable number of patients under his peculiar mode of treatment, which, it is believed, has proved quite successful.

¹ This plan was not carried out. *Ed.*

CHAPTER XVIII

EDUCATION (*continued*)

School Development from 1867 to 1912 — Committee on the New Hancock School
— Centralization — New High School — Munroe School — New Adams School
— Administration — Cary Memorial Library — Holt Normal School of Music.

In the preceding chapter Mr. Hudson states that "in 1851, after a considerable effort, the town voted to build two new school-houses, on the most improved plan; one in the centre and the other in the south district. This was the signal for new and improved houses in every section of the town; so that we have now [1867] in each district, good and commodious houses, with the modern improvements." In forty-five years, however, not only do school buildings deteriorate, but in this particular period since 1867, the views of the American people, both as to education and as to what constitute "modern improvements," have experienced a very far-reaching change. Consequently, in 1912, only one of the seven buildings occupied in 1867 for school purposes continues to be so used, and that is to be superseded, during the coming year, by a modern edifice.

Until 1890, the High School occupied a wooden building — also used up to 1872 as the Town Hall — on the site of the existing one; the Hancock Grammar and Primary Schools were located in a two-story wooden building, with inadequate land, on Waltham Street; the Adams Grammar and Primary Schools were housed in the wooden building — about to be superseded — on Massachusetts Avenue, East Lexington; while a large proportion of the children of the town were taught in four ungraded schools: the Tidd, on Hancock Street, in the north part of the town; the Franklin, on Concord Avenue, in the south or "Kite End" district; the Howard, on Lowell Street, in the "Scotland" district; and the Warren, on School Street, to accommodate the Concord Hill section. What was implied in this district system is well set forth in the report of the Special Committee (Messrs. C. A. Staples, E. G. Porter, F. O. Vaille, J. O. Tilton, A. M. Tucker, C. A.

Wellington, and A. E. Scott) appointed by the town in 1889 "to consider the subject of building a new school-house for the Hancock School." In urging the value of enlarged accommodations at the centre of the town in order to permit of the bringing of pupils from the outlying districts to a central, graded school-house, the Committee say:—

"If parents in the outer districts realized the disadvantages to which their children are subjected in the mixed schools which they are compelled to attend, they would not submit to it without resistance.

"We do not in any way criticize the management of these schools; no doubt it is as efficient as the condition of things will admit. We wish merely to call attention to the evils of the system, and suggest a remedy.

"The day for ungraded schools in a town like Lexington has passed away, yet we have four remaining, all isolated and remote from the homes of most of the pupils, and two of them so small as to render enthusiasm or interest on the part of either teacher or pupil impossible.

"It is difficult to conceive of the intolerable classification and methods which prevail in these schools. The wonder is that the pupils accomplish anything, and that the teachers are not overwhelmed with despair. They comprise all grades, from the child of five years, just learning to read, to the boy of twelve or fourteen, fitting for the High School.

"In the Franklin School there are at the present time seven or eight grades, and the teacher somehow 'gets through' with thirty recitations daily.

"In the Tidd School there are six grades, with upwards of thirty recitations.

"In the Howard School six or seven grades, with twenty-four recitations.

"In the Warren School there appears to be a somewhat closer classification, but still there are at least four grades, with over twenty recitations.

"Estimate the time that the teachers of these schools can devote to each recitation or exercise, and compare the results with those to be attained in a well-classified school, where the teachers have only a single grade. Think of the long hours of mental stagnation and physical suffering which younger pupils in these schools endure, and compare this with the mental activity and physical development possible in the well-graded primary school, under the charge of a teacher specially fitted for her work.

"In the one case, the child is called out to 'recite' by himself

or in a class of two or three, it may be; five or possibly ten minutes are devoted to the exercise, and then the child returns to his seat to yawn and dawdle away the rest of the session with such desultory attention as the overtasked teacher can give him while trying to instruct or rather 'to hear' the so-called higher classes recite. In the other case, every pupil is under the direction of the teacher during the whole session. They are all engaged in the same work at the same time; they pass rapidly from one exercise to another; they become eager and enthusiastic in their work.

"This is almost equally true of the older pupils. The classes are generally small, many of them recite alone, and their so-called recitations are dismally devoid of interest and of that spirit of emulation which is aroused and stimulated in children by contact with their peers in larger classes in well-graded schools.

"The Committee feel that this system should be no longer suffered, and earnestly recommend that the four schools to which we have referred be abandoned and merged in the Hancock and Adams Schools, or perhaps in the Hancock alone. This change would not only benefit the pupils who are transferred, but it would be of mutual advantage. . . .

"The present school-houses, although perhaps in geographical centres, are in uninteresting localities and at long distances from the district boundaries. Some of the pupils are now carried to and from school by their parents, and the greater number bring their dinners and remain through the noon recess.

"We can illustrate this better by again referring to the schools in detail.

"In the Howard School there are at the present time twenty-one pupils. In order to make the existence of this school possible, the Committee have allowed and required the pupils from other schools to attend there. Two of the pupils reside on Maple Street and belong to the Adams, and ten reside at the Crossing and belong to the Hancock; the remaining nine reside on or near Lowell Street. More than half of the whole number remain at noon.

"In the Tidd School there are forty-nine pupils. Twenty-three of these reside on Adams Street, or on Hancock Street near its junction with Adams Street; two on Lowell Street; seven on Burlington and Grove Streets, and the remaining seventeen at North Lexington and on Hancock Street. Nearly thirty remain at noon.

"In the Franklin School there are twenty-nine pupils. They all reside on Waltham Street or on Allen Street and Concord Avenue, east of Waltham Street. There are none from Concord Avenue, or that part of the district west of the school-house. All but two live at long distances from the school-house, and remain at noon.

"In the Warren School there are thirty-three pupils. Eleven

of these reside on Concord Hill, four near the Water Works, and nine at or near the corner of Spring and Middle Streets. Nearly all remain at noon.

"Furthermore, the school buildings are old, and the cost of repairs and required alterations in the future must be considerably more than was expended during the past year. They are heated by stoves, so that the temperature in cold weather varies many degrees in different parts of the rooms. The sources of ventilation are very meagre and faulty, and the teachers, in their desperate struggle with impure air, resort to open windows, through which pour the dreaded draughts upon the heads of the pupils. If the schools are to be continued, a large sum must be expended to bring the heating and ventilation within the requirements of the present law.

"The basements are unwholesome, the sanitary arrangements vile, and an additional expenditure is here required for decency, if for nothing more.

"The argument is sometimes advanced that the removal of these schools would depreciate the value of property in the districts, but it is difficult to conceive how a neglected school-house and yard with unsightly and unsavory attachments can add much to the attractiveness of a neighborhood, and it is equally difficult to conceive that intelligent families will seek the outlying farms of our town for residence with the intolerable school privileges now afforded. It is our belief that the fact that all the pupils in these districts have the same advantages of good graded schools that the centres have, will add very greatly to the value of these farms. Wherever the plan has been adopted, this has been the result; and although wherever it has been tried there has been opposition at the outset, it has soon been silenced, and in no case has there been a desire to return to the old system.

"Objection is also made that the conveyance of so many young people together may occasion rudeness and lack of discipline, but we believe it may be so managed as to conduce to good behavior, punctuality, and good discipline. A week's walking as a punishment for rudeness would be a sufficient corrective in most cases; but if this should not suffice, the walking time could be indefinitely extended. Indeed, it is the universal testimony that the bringing of pupils from the small outside schools to the larger central schools results in better manners, greater cleanliness, neatness in dress, more constant attendance, and vastly improved scholarship.

"The memory of early school-days brings back to some of us the orgies of the noon intermission in district school-houses. The new school-house will, no doubt, be under supervision at all times. Large and convenient play-rooms, separate for boys and girls, will be provided, and those who remain at noon will have more

comfortable accommodations than they now have for their dinners and for recreation, and be under greater restraint.

"In stormy and cold weather the exposure is far less for those who ride, and it has been shown in places where this plan exists that the attendance of the pupils brought in from the outer districts is somewhat better than the average attendance of the whole school.

"We must not fail to call attention to the better supervision which is possible under this scheme. Now the supervision of these schools consists in, perhaps, two or three calls from the Committee and Superintendent per year; while the schools in the new building will, no doubt, be under the control of a Principal, and have the influence of almost daily visits of the Committee or Superintendent.

"The decision of this question has a direct bearing upon the size of the new school-house, and it is important that the town should act upon it before action is taken on the matter of building."

As a result of this excellent report, the town voted, in June, 1890, to build a new house for the Hancock School, to discontinue the district schools, and to transport those pupils living more than a mile from the Hancock or Adams school-houses to and from those buildings at the town's expense. In the fall of 1891 the new Hancock School was opened;¹ and more than twenty years of experience have proved the wisdom of the Committee not only in recommending the erection of a solidly constructed, dignified brick edifice, with wide stairs and corridors, and with ample grounds for play, but also in seizing the occasion of this new building to induce the citizens to abolish the district system. From the earliest days that system had been a source of almost ceaseless controversy within the town; the children living remote from the villages had suffered in their educational opportunities; and, because of this separation into districts, citizens had grown up without that mutual acquaintance so necessary to good understanding and right feeling. While the expenditure for schools has advanced rapidly in these twenty years, the quality of teaching, the school attendance, and the educational results have shown a growth that is fully commensurate with the cost.

The difficulties inseparable from centralizing the schools of a town should not, however, be minimized. The cost of

¹ The Hancock School building was designed by Hartwell and Richardson, architects; cost, about \$61,000. *Ed.*

MUNROE SCHOOL
HIGH SCHOOL

HANCOCK SCHOOL
ADAMS SCHOOL

transportation proved far greater than was predicted in the report of the Hancock School Committee; the question of securing competent supervision of the children on their way to and from the centres is a serious one; the shifting of school population in a town covering so large an area as Lexington brings about complications in the matter of routes; and the problem of those children who must wait for the barges at points somewhat distant from their homes is not easy. Moreover, the children from a distance must, of course, spend the noon recess in the school buildings under supervision; and the abandonment of the district school-house does, without question, deprive the rural sections of a convenient centre of local social life. For all these reasons, there has been from the beginning more or less opposition on the part of some citizens to the plan adopted in 1891; yet there is every reason to believe that the town is not likely to return to the system of district schools, at least for children of grammar and high-school age.

While the new building was in process of erection, the old Hancock School, on Waltham Street, was burned, requiring the use of inconvenient temporary quarters for nearly a year. The four district school buildings were kept for a number of years by the town, in the event of a return, after fair trial, to the district system; but they have now all been razed or sold for conversion into dwellings. So rapidly did the resort to the new Hancock School increase that one or two of the district buildings were temporarily reopened in the early years of the present century;¹ and so much more rapid has been the proportionate increase in school population over that in the general population, that the School Committee almost every year find difficulty in providing adequate accommodations for all the children.

The former Town Hall building, erected in 1846, although used for over thirty years to house the high-school pupils, was never really fitted for educational purposes, its single assembly room being as much too large, as its ante-rooms and attic rooms were too small, to permit of good teaching. Therefore, after a good deal of agitation and discussion, it was voted, in

¹ The Tidd School was closed for the last time in 1903, and all district school-houses were disposed of soon thereafter. The Tidd School building was built in 1852-53, at a cost of \$1583. The Howard School building, built in 1853-54, cost \$1593. *Ed.*

1901, to erect a brick building on the site of the existing one. The present edifice¹ was in the following year opened, the grounds graded, and, some years later, the property in the rear was made into a suitable place for recreation. By transferring the ninth-grade pupils from the Hancock and Adams Schools to this new building, the pressure upon those buildings was somewhat relieved; but within a year or two, this had again become so great that, in 1904, the town voted to erect a school-house, of wood, for children up to the ninth grade, in the vicinity of Bloomfield Street. This building was in the following year opened and named the Munroe School.² Subsequently additional land was purchased in the rear of this building, giving ample space for play.

Meanwhile the Adams School, in East Lexington, built in 1859,³ was proving more and more unfitted for the demands of modern education. Successive School Committees did what they could, by rearranging rooms and putting in modern sanitation, to mitigate conditions; and the gift, by Miss Stone, of a piece of land in the rear of the school, extended the recreation area. The rapid building development near the Arlington line has caused such an increase in the school population, however, that, for several years, at least one of the classes has been housed in the Stone Building. Therefore, during 1911, the town voted to erect a new building of brick, not on the site of the existing school-house, but on more level land, with a better exposure to the sun, in the rear of the Stone Building. This new house is in process of erection.⁴ When it is finished, Lexington will possess four modern school-houses of excellent design, well arranged for school use, and situated in extensive and attractive grounds. Moreover, in spite of the disadvantage of being surrounded by so many cities and towns able to offer higher salaries, Lexington has been and still is most fortunate in the quality and devotion of her public school-teachers. Because of this and because Lexington early conformed with the state laws requiring adequate supervision, drawing, manual training, etc., her schools have continued to maintain the high rank noted, in 1867, with just pride, by Mr. Hudson.

¹ Cooper and Bailey, architects; cost, about \$61,500. *Ed.*

² Willard D. Brown, architect; cost, about \$28,000. *Ed.*

³ The original cost was about \$4065. *Ed.*

⁴ The estimated cost is about \$60,000. *Ed.*

Leading citizens of the town have been willing to serve on the School Committee and have given freely of their time and thought. The members of the several Building Committees have shown the same spirit in dealing with the perplexing problems of providing buildings of a high order on the comparatively small appropriations possible in a town like Lexington. The efforts of these citizens have usually been heartily supported by the town meetings; and a very generous percentage of the revenues of Lexington is annually devoted to purposes of education. A Superintendent has been employed since 1886, that office usually having been combined with the principalship of the High School. From 1906 to 1909, however, Mr. George P. Armstrong served as Superintendent. He had no teaching duties, and divided his time between Lexington and Belmont, where he was also Superintendent of Schools.

With the exception of the interval, 1903 to 1910, the number of the School Committee has been three and the membership made up usually of men. In the former year, however, the town, believing it to be desirable to have a larger representation, perhaps including women, voted to increase the number to six. In 1908 it was voted to return, by gradual reduction, to the smaller membership. There have been fluctuations, also, as is to be expected, in regard to the teaching of cooking, sewing, and manual training; and there has always been difference of opinion as to whether or not the High School should attempt to fit youth for college. A considerable number of young men and women have gone to colleges and technical schools from the High School, which has for some years held the so-called "certificate privilege" in regard to those higher institutions which do not demand entrance examinations.

It may be of interest to record the increase in school attendance and in appropriations for school purposes, by ten-year periods since and including 1870:—

	1870	1880	1890	1900	1910
District Schools.....	125	152	177	22	—
Hancock School.....	114	154	186	456	336
Adams School.....	88	89	105	151	161
High School.....	46	46	63	91	184
Munroe School.....	—	—	—	—	227
Total attendance.....	373	441	531	700	908
Total school appropriation.	\$7000	\$9000	\$11,500	\$19,500	\$36,500

Lexington has had at times, since 1867, excellent kindergarten and other private schools and classes, conducted by women of high ability. That which existed longest was maintained by Miss Ellen L. Nash, who from 1866 to 1874 occupied the building on Massachusetts Avenue east of Vine Brook, now used as a dwelling, and who from 1874 to 1881 occupied what is now known as Cary Hall, in the Town Building. A certain number of children, moreover, have attended schools in Boston; but, as a rule, it has been the excellent custom of the citizens to make full use of the public schools. The interest which this engenders has been fostered in recent years by a Public School Association,¹ aiming, through social meetings at which school problems are discussed, to bring parents and teachers into close personal relations.

Following is a list of the Principals of the High School: —

George W. Dow,	1854-56
H. O. Whittemore,	1856-57
David W. Hoyt,	1857-58
Emory W. Lane,	1858-60
Augustus E. Scott,	1860-66
Lorin L. Dame,	1867-68
William H. Knight,	1868-70
Nathaniel Childs,	1870-71
Usher W. Cutts,	1871-72
A. E. White,	1872-77
George R. Dwelley,	1877-80
Frank O. Carpenter,	1881
Justin E. Gale,	1882 (part of year)
Charles H. Morss,	1882 (part of year)
J. B. Gifford,	1883
John N. Ham,	1883-93
Mark S. W. Jefferson,	1893-96
Everett P. Carey,	1896-97
Jonathan I. Buck,	1897-1901
Henry W. Porter,	1901-06
John F. Hamlin,	1906-08
Frank H. Damon,	1908-

Since the public library² is to-day properly regarded as an

¹ Organized April 7, 1906. *Ed.*

² As early as 1831 an organization known as "The Social Library" was in active operation in the town, and a catalogue printed that year, now preserved in the Cary Memorial Library, gives the titles of 305 books. This library was later merged in the Farmers' Club Library. *Ed.*

educational agency of almost equal value with the school, it is appropriate to include under "Education" an extended account of the Cary Memorial Library,¹ already mentioned in an earlier chapter.

On December 10, 1867, Mrs. Maria Hastings Cary, of Brooklyn, New York, "having a regard for her native place and being prompted by a desire to increase the opportunities for culture among its inhabitants," offered to the town of Lexington the sum of \$1000, the interest to be expended for books, provided the town would vote to establish a free library, procuring or appropriating \$1000 for the purchase of books and \$40 each year thereafter. This sum was to be held by the Selectmen, the School Committee, and the settled ministers of the town as trustees, who also should have the oversight and management of the library. These conditions were heartily approved and the gift was accepted on April 20, 1868. The town voted to appropriate \$1000 when \$400 more or its equivalent in books should be raised. This provision was doubly met. A Farmers' Club Library, organized in 1835, and having about seventy-five members, owned 401 volumes estimated in value at \$575, and these were presented to the town. On October 1 of the previous year, 1867, a stock library had been formed by twelve associates, to be known as the Lexington Library Association. There were 228 shares, having a par value of \$3 per share; 116 shares were presented by the owners and the town purchased the remainder. Mr. Benjamin de Forest gave \$100, and 153 volumes were contributed by the Hon. Charles Hudson. Thus the generous proposal of Mrs. Cary found already alive an active desire for ampler literary advantages and met this hearty and effective response. It was an instance of the growing appreciation of good literature which was rapidly extending throughout the State.

The modest collection of books thus provided was installed in a room over what is now G. W. Spaulding's store, and on January 27, 1869, it was opened to the public under the charge of Miss Marion S. Keyes. The hours were from one o'clock until five on Wednesday afternoons, and from one to eight on Saturdays. No one except the Librarian was allowed to take books from the shelves. Much better accom-

¹ This account has been prepared by a member of the Committee, Rev. Charles Francis Carter. *Ed.*

modations were provided in 1871, when the books were removed to the lower part of the Town Hall, which had been admirably fitted for this purpose. This was enlarged in 1883 by incorporating Memorial Hall into the main room, with increased shelving capacity, and the entire room was then re-decorated.

The resources of the Library have been repeatedly increased by generous gifts. Mr. Warren Sherburne in 1883 gave money for the purchase of 100 volumes; from Mr. Levi Prosser in 1884 there was a donation of \$215; from Mr. George W. Robinson several donations of money for the purchase of books; from Miss Caira Robbins for the East Lexington Branch, \$25 in 1886; from Mrs. Eleanor S. Beals, \$1000 in 1892; and from Mr. Benjamin Wellington in 1897 the sum of \$1000 was received and expended for books for the Branch; and in 1901 \$1000 more was given as a fund to be placed at interest. In 1871 Mrs. Cary gave further evidence of her generous spirit in the sum of \$5000, and a like amount was received from her estate in 1883. The town itself has been liberal in its appropriations and annually has set aside the dog tax to be added to the other resources, thus insuring about \$800 for the purchase of new books in addition to the requirements for administration.

These resources have enabled the Trustees to purchase from month to month such works as seemed desirable and thus continually to freshen the stream of good literature that is flowing into the town. The record of circulation repeats the story that is familiar in other places, telling of a large percentage of fiction, — usually from fifty to sixty per cent, coupled with a commendable record of more serious reading. The steady increase in the number of books withdrawn is significant of the growth in literary interest not only in this town but throughout the country. When the Library was first opened the eagerness of the people showed itself in the use of 1670 volumes within the first three months. In 1885 a circulation of over 29,000 represented an average of $11\frac{1}{4}$ volumes for each inhabitant. The circulation, in 1909, of 44,079 is almost double the number of books contained in the Library, there being 22,389 in the Main Library and 2547 in the Branch. This gratifying growth has been accompanied with a finer appreciation of the function of such an institution. In the Report of 1889 the wholesome observation was made that

"the mere adding of books without regard to their usefulness is not desirable." About that time special recognition was given to books of reference. This department has steadily grown and its increased usefulness, especially among students in school and by members of clubs, marks the development of the Library under modern methods. In 1892 the policy was confirmed of recognizing the special needs of groups formed for study, both by the purchase of books and by the aid of the Librarians in looking up references. At this time, also, a monthly bulletin of new accessions was instituted, being prepared, with critical notices, by Mr. James P. Munroe. A catalogue was projected and published in 1895 at an expense of more than \$1500, without asking the town for an appropriation. This largely increased the circulation. A card catalogue, however, had been begun in 1888, with a fresh classification and rearrangement of books under the Cutter System. Such a catalogue, being always up-to-date and being used in connection with the regular bulletins of new accessions, has come to supersede the need of a complete, printed catalogue. The Brown System of charging, modified to meet local conditions, was adopted in 1906.

With the growth of the Library in its resources and the extension in the character of its work, there has been a necessary increase in the hours of opening and in the administrative force. In 1898 the hours were from 2 P.M. until 8 P.M. every week day and until 9 P.M. on Saturdays. During this year, also, the Juvenile Department was established, allowing the children to have free access to 1800 volumes carefully selected in their interest. A proposal to open the Library on Sunday afternoon was adopted in 1903, but after a short trial was abandoned. In the same year, however, the opening from nine until twelve o'clock in the forenoon was notably successful for six months, and on the basis of this experience the Library was opened in the following year from ten in the morning until eight in the evening and on Saturdays until nine, with a resulting increase of twenty per cent in the use of the books.

The special interests of East Lexington have been recognized by the establishment of a Branch Library in that section of the town. It was first opened on April 19, 1883, in the Adams School. A committee of ladies under Miss Ellen Dana raised the sum of \$410, to which an appropriation of \$225.

was added by the town for books and furnishings. Miss Ellen Stone offered the Stone Building to the town, and this was accepted in 1893, the Branch Library then being removed to this location from a room over Mr. Holbrook's store, where it had been for nine months previous. At first the Branch was open only twice a week, but latterly the requirements are for daily access, while a considerable number of volumes from the Main Library find circulation through this agency.

The administration of the Library has been under the care of the Trustees, made up of the Selectmen, the School Committee, and the settled ministers, who have given devoted and enthusiastic attention to its interests. The Hon. Charles Hudson was the first Chairman of the Board, from 1868 to 1872, being succeeded by the Rev. Henry Westcott, who held this office until 1881. Rev. Edward Griffin Porter served from 1881 to 1887 and from 1889 to 1891, Rev. Carlton A. Staples from 1887 to 1889 and from 1891 to 1904, and Rev. Charles Francis Carter from 1904 until 1910. The policy of the Trustees has been broad and liberal. While providing the best of current literature for immediate use, the aim has been to keep the various departments well balanced and steadily to increase the permanent value of the collection. For several years a corps of readers has reviewed the proposed works of fiction prior to their acceptance by the Trustees. Wherever more serious work has been undertaken by individuals or groups, indicated needs have been generously supplied, while the Librarians render a large amount of service to those engaged in special study or research. The list of those who have served as Librarians is as follows: Miss Marion S. Keyes, 1869-76; Miss Grace S. Wellington, 1877-88; Miss Florence E. Witcher, 1889-1897; Miss Marian P. Kirkland, 1898-19—. Miss Helen E. Muzzey and Miss Barbara Mac-kinnon from 1898 have served as assistants.

The year 1906 was most important for this institution, for on July 16 the new building was dedicated, Mr. George O. Whiting, Chairman of the Building Committee, delivering the keys to Mr. George W. Taylor, Chairman of the Selectmen. The other gentlemen serving efficiently on the Building Committee were: Dr. J. Odin Tilton, Mr. James S. Munroe, Mr. James P. Munroe, and Mr. Francis W. Dean. This building was the gift of Miss Alice Butler Cary in memory of her adopted and honored parents, William Harris Cary and Maria

**WILLIAM H. CARY
MARY (PHINNEY)
BARONESS VON OLNHAUSEN**

**MRS. WILLIAM H. CARY
ELIAS PHINNEY, ESQ.**

Hastings Cary. It was erected at a cost of \$50,000, from designs furnished by Willard D. Brown, architect, and located on land, given by the Cary heirs, at the corner of Clarke Street and Massachusetts Avenue. At the simple services of dedication Rev. John M. Wilson offered prayer and Rev. Charles F. Carter gave the address. Cordial mention was made of the honorable motives that found expression in the building, the filial devotion, the loyal citizenship, the unsparing generosity, and the advancement of character through love of good literature, and the building was dedicated as a monument to these high qualities. The speaker having referred to these as the corner-stones of the new edifice, a bright woman afterwards remarked that he "did n't leave a corner-stone unturned." The use of the new building bore emphatic witness to the fitness of its design and the completeness of its furnishing. Not only was the work of administration made easier and more effective, but the atmosphere of the place seemed to conspire with more material things to allure people to its use. Children felt the influence, and while entirely free to use the books of the Juvenile Department they instinctively observed the quiet demeanor befitting a place of such refinement. The withdrawal of books at once increased by a very considerable percentage, the reference room was available as never before, and the beautiful reading-room became a favored resort. For the appropriate adornment of its interior, in addition to a fine clock given by Mr. Freeman J. Doe and a rare picture by Mr. Warren Sherburne, and other gifts, the Library has been made custodian of some treasured relics, partly by the Historical Society and partly by the town, and the visitor is greeted by the faces of Paul Revere, Earl Percy, and other distinguished reminders of the Revolution, as well as by the portraits of the founders of the Library, and by a bust of Theodore Parker. The building is also a centre of historic interest and information. In 1887 the visitors' book records 342 strangers coming from nineteen States as "pilgrims to our shrine of liberty," and this number is being multiplied many-fold each year with representatives from every quarter of the globe.

A few waymarks suggest the steady progress of the years. In 1892 the practice was abandoned of covering books, and in place of the neat brown paper packages that looked so orderly on the shelves there is now a considerable bill for re-

binding, denoting the modern notion that books are to be used rather than to be preserved. The careless practice of using matches for book-marks was condemned in 1899, and human nature, aided by electric devices, is thought to be improving in this regard. The Booklovers' Club and the Bodley Club were employed for a time as agencies for fiction, but these have run their course. Well-selected exhibitions of photographs, made available through membership in the Library Art Club, and changed every few weeks, open the realms of art and of travel in a most entertaining and instructive way. The Library of Music, given in 1910 in memory of Charles C. Goodwin by Mrs. Goodwin, has met with immediate appreciation. Perpetuating the memory of an ardent lover of music, a genial companion, and upright citizen, it lays the foundation of an important department which the Trustees have decided generously to maintain.

The advance which the Library has made in many directions is shared by other similar institutions and is an index of our civilization as it moves on into the liberty of what Milton called "our richest merchandise, truth."

An educational enterprise¹ of nation-wide influence was the Normal Music School, established at Lexington, by H. E. Holt, in 1884. Its success may be attributed to two causes: first, it was founded by one who possessed real genius for teaching; second, it met a crying educational need of the time.

Ever since the introduction of music into the public schools of America, by Lowell Mason and his adherents, the instruction had been based, largely, upon the singing of rote songs and the imitations of models set by the teachers. The musical material had been made up, chiefly, of excerpts and adaptations from German text-books. Mr. Holt, one of the supervisors in the city of Boston, while fully respecting the service rendered by earlier teachers, felt the inadequacy of their methods in preparing pupils for the ever broadening musical life of the nation. With a patience and zeal that may now well seem phenomenal, and with a foresight which might be characterized as prophetic, he planned and executed, with the coöperation of the gifted musician, John W. Tufts, a series of text-books, known as "The Normal Music Course."

¹ For this account the Committee is under obligation to Professor Leo R. Lewis, of Tufts College. *Ed.*

The Lexington Summer School of Music served to acquaint supervisors and teachers with the progressive methods and highly original material embodied in these text-books.

While, as might be expected, the educational public was, at first, slow to recognize the merits of the new system, its conquest of the country was practically complete within a decade. Rival courses built on similar lines, as well as revisions of older courses, furnished conclusive proof of the influence of Mr. Holt's ideas.

Fully established as a leader in musical education, he continued to develop his original methods, and changed the name of his school, in the early '90's, to The American Institute of Vocal Harmony. This school continued its successful career up to the time of Mr. Holt's death.

The attendance at the school reached, in 1899, the hundred mark, and thereafter varied from that to one hundred and fifty. Men and women now occupying prominent positions in the educational world were attendants at this school; and hundreds of supervisors and special teachers still look back to the Lexington School as a source of inspiration and professional equipment.

In speaking of the success of the school, one should not fail to recognize the unostentatious, but effective, service rendered by Mrs. Holt, who, particularly in the later years of the School, helped to strengthen its influence and contributed to its educational power. One should also recognize the cordial coöperation of the school authorities and citizens of Lexington, who welcomed, annually, students coming from various parts of the country, and by making their stay both pleasant and profitable, enabled the School to maintain its popularity, even though rival enterprises sprang up in several states.

CHAPTER XIX

MILITARY AFFAIRS

No Records of the Military — Officers are mentioned — Men who served in the French and Indian Wars — List of Captain Parker's Company — At Cambridge in May and June, 1775 — Men who served in the Revolution — Artillery Company — The Late Rebellion — Men in the Service.

WE have no means of giving a full and accurate history of the military organizations which have existed in the town from its first settlement. In fact, the only record or intimation of one consists in the titles given to certain individuals from time to time in our Records. Before 1700, we find the title of Captain given to William Reed; in 1712, to Joseph Estabrook; and in 1717, to Joseph Bowman.

Without pretending to give a full catalogue of the officers or stating them in the exact order of time, we find the title of Captain given by the Records to Samuel Stone, Benjamin Reed, and William Reed, between the years 1740 and 1750, and in 1761 Benjamin Reed is denominated Major, which shows that he had been promoted; and soon after Thaddeus Bowman is honored with the title of Captain. This brings us up to the commencement of the Revolution. And it is worthy of special notice that the military men of that day were the leading men of the town. No one has borne the title of Captain whose name has not been found on the Board of Selectmen, or Assessors, or on some of the most important committees. Even the honor of Lieutenant was enjoyed by Ebenezer Fiske, Ensign by Robert Harrington, and Quarter Master by John Bridge, who were, in their day, among the most popular and distinguished men of the town.

The citizens of Lexington, during her whole history, have participated largely in the service of the field in times of war. In the early Indian wars several men from Cambridge Farms were engaged; but as what is now Lexington was then a part of Cambridge, we have no full or distinct account of that service. But in later periods we find Lexington men scattered through almost every Massachusetts corps. Though the rolls

are very imperfect and in many instances there is nothing to designate the place from which the soldiers came, we have been enabled to collect the following imperfect lists.¹

In 1725, we find the names of the following men from Lexington:² —

<i>Captain</i> Blanchard.	John Pierce.	Samuel Lawrence.
<i>Corporal</i> John White.	Thomas Stearns.	Nathaniel Kendal.

In 1740, in the West India service: —

Gideon Powers.	Joshua Winship.	Nathaniell Munroe.
	Ezekiel Kendall.	

In 1745, at the capture of Louisburg, there must have been some men from Lexington, but as no rolls are preserved, we cannot give their names.³

In 1754, we find the names of the following persons: —

<i>Sergeant</i> William Munroe.	John Fiske.
<i>Corporal</i> Ephraim Flecher.	Joseph Locke.

In 1755, the war with the French and Indians assuming a more decided character, a large force from Massachusetts was called out. Some acted under General Winslow at the eastward, and others in the neighborhood of Lake Champlain. The imperfect rolls show that Lexington furnished twenty-one men, and probably more;⁴ —

<i>Captain</i> William Reed.	Amos Simonds.
<i>Sergeant</i> William Munroe.	John Pierce.
Benjamin Edgell. ⁵	Joseph Locke.

¹ Since Mr. Hudson may have had access to records and lists, as well as to family papers, not now available, it has seemed best to retain his lists as printed, with such addenda in the form of footnotes as appear necessary. *Ed.*

² The Massachusetts Muster Rolls give also (Vol. 91, p. 169) Peter Read. *Ed.*

³ Muster Rolls (Vol. 92, p. 96) give, April 1, 1748, Nathan Simonds and John Meder, "posted at Fort Shirley." *Ed.*

⁴ The following names given by Mr. Hudson have not been found on the Muster Rolls, as credited to Lexington: —

<i>Captain</i> William Reed,	<i>Sergt.</i> William Munroe,
Jonas Munroe, Jr.,	Benjamin Munroe,
Francis Teel,	James Bridge,
Amos Simonds,	William Blodgett,
Simon Newton,	Isaac Winship,
David Fiske,	David Foster.

In many cases, however, the town is not given on the Rolls; and in some cases the above names do occur in regiments where there were men from Lexington. Therefore it is fair to presume that Mr. Hudson's lists are correct. *Ed.*

⁵ "Edger" on Muster Rolls (Vol. 93, p. 186). *Ed.*

Jonas Munroe, Jr.
 Josiah Stone.
 Nehemiah Estabrook.
 Ebenezer Winship.
 Benjamin Munroe.
 Abraham Scott.
 Francis Teel.
 James Bridge.

William Merriam.
 William Blodgett.
 Joseph Munroe, Jr.
 Simon Newton.
 Isaac Winship.
 David Fiske.
 David Foster.

In 1756, the war with the French and their Indian allies continuing unabated, new levies of troops were made, and Lexington, never backward in such a cause, furnished the following soldiers: ¹ —

Sergeant Robert Wilson.
 Henry Harrington, Jr.
 Joseph Locke.
 Benjamin Bridge.
 Samuel Jones.
 Nathaniel Piper.
 Samuel Nevens.²
 Nathaniel Walker.
 Benjamin Locke.
 Benjamin Whitcomb.³
 Zachariah Parker.
 Giles Bennett.⁴

Reuben⁵ Raymond.
 Robert Wilson, Jr.
 Samuel Chaffin.
 Uriah Holt.
 John Stockwill.
 John Pierce.
 Hugh Maxwell.⁶
 Barnabas Wilson.
 Thomas Perry.
 Abel Whitcomb.
 Nathaniel Parker.
 Benjamin Locke.

In 1757, another call was made for men, a considerable portion of whom were marched to the relief of Fort William Henry. The following is a partial list of Lexington men: ⁷ —

Sergeant Samuel Chaffin.
 Roger Wellington.
 Jonas Munroe.
 Samuel Jones.
 John Bridge.
 David Munroe.

Thaddeus Munroe.
 John Munroe.
 Benjamin Muzzy.
 Silas Merriam.
 Benjamin Merriam.
 Simeon Eames.

¹ The following names have not been verified from the Muster Rolls (see, however, Note 4 on previous page): Benjamin Bridge, Benjamin Locke, and Nathaniel Parker. *Ed.*

² "Nevers" on Muster Roll. *Ed.*

³ Credited on Muster Roll as from "Lemingster." *Ed.*

⁴ "Barnett" on Muster Roll. *Ed.*

⁵ "Robin" on Muster Roll. *Ed.*

⁶ "Makwell" on Muster Roll. *Ed.*

⁷ The following names have not been found on the Muster Rolls: Jonathan Fessenden, Josiah Blodgett, Nathaniel Ingersol, James Munroe, and Edmund Munroe. *Ed.*

Alexander W. Dole.	Nathaniel Ingersol.
Benjamin Farley.	Phineas Blodgett.
John Clapham.	John White.
Robert Moore.	Joseph Russell.
Jonathan Fessenden.	Edward Winship.
Giles Bennett. ¹	Abraham Scott.
Robert Wilson.	James Winship.
Jonathan Ingersol.	James Munroe.
Benjamin Edgell.	Josiah Blodgett.
Josiah Blodgett.	Edmund Munroe.

In 1758, Lexington had the following men in the service:²—

<i>Ensign</i> Robert Munroe.	Edmund Munroe.
Jeremiah Bridge.	Thomas Robbins.
Thomas Robinson.	James Munroe.
Henry Harrington.	Israel Underwood.
Joseph Fassett.	Andrew Munroe.

In 1759, Lexington furnished:—

James Winship.	Andrew Munroe.
Henry Harrington.	James Munroe. ³
Israel Underwood.	James Merriam.
Thomas Robbins.	

The fall of Quebec, in 1759, did not immediately produce the submission of Canada. The following year called for more Provincial troops, and Lexington had a large number of men in the field. From dilapidated rolls the following names have been gleaned:—

<i>Captain</i> John Clapham.	Aaron Wood.
<i>Ensign</i> Abraham Munroe. ⁴	Alexander McDowell.
<i>Sergeant</i> Joseph Locke.	Ebenezer Blodgett.
<i>Corporal</i> David Munroe.	Boston Draper.
Samuel Raymond.	David Barnard.
James Mann.	Andrew Munroe.
James Winship.	Thomas Blodgett.
Joseph Reed.	Amos Locke.

¹ "Barnett" on Muster Roll. *Ed.*

² The following names do not appear on the Muster Rolls as from Lexington: *Ensign* Robert Munroe, Thomas Robinson, Henry Harrington, Joseph Fassett, Thomas Robbins, James Munroe and Israel Underwood. *Ensign* Robert Munroe is credited, however, in 1756, to Lincoln; and a Josiah F. Fassett was Captain of a Bedford Company in 1762. *Ed.*

³ James Munroe is not found on the Muster Rolls, but one of that name marched from Cambridge and Worcester, in 1759, in Brattle's Regiment. *Ed.*

⁴ There was an *Ensign* Abraham Munroe in Saltonstall's Regiment. *Ed.*

Robert Fiske.
James Merriam.
Nathan Chandler.
Benjamin Dudley.
William Dix.
Edmund Dix.
Abner Scott.¹
Freeborn Hill.

John Jarvis.
Isaac Trask.
Thaddeus Call.²
Jeremiah Harrington.
Arthur McMullen.
John White.
Thomas Perry.

Though the French were in a great measure subdued on the northern frontier, the treaty of peace not having been concluded, a considerable portion of the troops were retained in the field in 1762, particularly to watch the Indians. The following men from Lexington were in the service: —

Ensign Abraham Scott.
John Jarvis.
Freeborn Hill.
Israel Trask.
Thomas Call.
Jeremiah Harrington.
Robert Herbert.
William Dix.
Edmund Dix.
John Godding.
Thomas Godding.
Thomas Robbins.

Thomas Perry.
Joseph Mason.
Silas Merriam.
Thaddeus Pierce.
John Smith.
Robert Munroe.
Stephen Munroe.
Josiah Munroe.
Jonas³ Perry.
Isaiah Trask.
John Wood.

The foregoing is an imperfect list of the men who served in the French and Indian wars from 1755 to 1763⁴; and it re-

¹ Probably Alexander. *Ed.*

² Probably Thomas. *Ed.*

³ Probably James. *Ed.*

⁴ The following entries, taken from successive volumes of the Muster Rolls, apparently cover all names distinctly credited to Lexington from 1748 to 1763. *Ed.*

Vol. 92, p. 96. 1 Apr., 1748.

Nathan Simonds. } "Posted at Fort Shirley."
John Meder. }

Vol. 93, pp. 184-86. "Col. Brattle's Regt. for Crown Point, 18 Sept., '55."

Capt. Reed of Lexington.

Jno Pearos.

Benjamin Edger.

Joseph Look, "in Room of Simeon

Jonas Munroe, Jr.

Blodgett."

Josiah Stone.

William Meriam.

Nehemiah Esterbrook.

Vol. 93, pp. 219-20. Thomas Cheever, Capt. (listed 1755).

Benjamin Edgell.

John Piroe.

Joseph Munrow, Jun^r.

Joseph Look.

Ebeneser Winahip.

Samuel Chaffin.

Nehemiah Esterbrooks.

Vol. 93, p. 284.

Jonathan Fessenden (b. at Lex. enlisted from Braintree).

Vol. 94, p. 76. 20 Feb., 1766.

Robert Wilson.

Robin Raymont.

Benj^s Look.

Henry Harrington.

flects no discredit upon the town. Her Munroes and Merriams and Winships were found on every battle-field — at Louisburg, Quebec, Crown Point, Ticonderoga, Fort William

Vol. 94, p. 278. 24 July, 1756.

Samuel Nevins.	John Stockwill.	} "Out of Lexington Company all under Capt. Hartwell."
Uriah Holt.	Hugh Makwell.	
Nath Walker.		

Vol. 94, p. 323 (listed 1756).

Robert Wilson.

Vol. 94, p. 331, and Vol. 95, p. 27.

Giles (or Gills) Barnatt.

Vol. 94, p. 381. 9 Aug., 1756.

Samuel Jones.

Nath Piper.

John Peiros.

Zachariah Parker.

Nath^l Walker.

Abel Whitcomb.

Barnabas Wilson.

Vol. 95, p. 200. 9 Feb., 1757.

Robert Willson.

Vol. 95, pp. 246-47. "Capt. Seth Blodgett's Muster Roll upon the Alarm '57."

Jonas Monro.

John Bridge.

Sam^l Jones.

Rodger Willington.

David Monrow.

Thad^s Monrow.

John Monrow.

Benj^a Mussey.

Benj^a Merriam.

Simond Eams.

Sylos Merriham.

Alex^d McDole.

Benj^s Farley.

John Clapham.

Robt Moors.

Sam^l Chaffing.

Benj Edgell.

Jonathan Ingerson.

Phenias Blodget.

John White.

Joseph Russell.

Edw^d Winship.

Abrah^m Scott.

James Winship.

Josiah Blodet.

Vol. 96, p. 339. 24 Feb., 1759.

Israel Underwood.

Vol. 96, p. 409. 1758.

Jeremiah Bridge.

Vol. 96, p. 422. 14 Feb., 1759.

Thomas Robbins.

Vol. 96, p. 423. 12 Feb., 1759.

Henry Herrington.

Vol. 97, p. 216. Filed 5 June, 1759.

Andrew Munroe.

"The following names are a full & Just account of those to whom I the Subscriber Delivered Bayonets in the Company under my Command in Lexington."

BENJ^a RENO, Capt.^s

Benjamin Reed Capta.^s

John Simonds.

Joshua Simonds.

Joseph Comey.

Matthew Meed.

Ephraim Russell.

Samuel Reed.

Thadd^s Perrey.

Stephen Robbins.

Thomas Winship.

Andrew Munroe.

Jacob Whittemore.

Nath^l (written in the margin).

Bowman Brown.

Joseph Russell.

Isaac Winship.

Thomas Robbins.

John Peiros.

Nathan Lock.

James Doda.

Jonathan Winship.

Thomas Parker.

Robert More.

Joseph Tidd.

Benj Cutler.

Joshua Bond.

William Tidd.

Francis Brown.

Amos Mussey.

Nath^l Mulliken.

Josiah gennison.

Josiah Blodget.

Isaac Bowman.

Edmund Bowman.

John Mason.

Jonathan Traak.

William Munroe.

John Underwood.

John Robbins.

John Munroe.

William Meriam.

Thadd Peiros.

Andrew Parker.

Ebenezer Winship.

William Bridge.

Samuel Meriam.

John Parker.

Jonath Herrington.

Thomas Jackson.

Henry, and wherever a foe was to be encountered or a daring deed to be performed. Some of the Lexington men were attached to the famous corps known as "Rogers's Rangers,"

Vol. 97, p. 313. 20 Nov., 1760; also, Vol. 98, p. 173. 1759.

Joseph Lock.
James Merriam.
James Winship.
Aaron Wood.

Vol. 97, p. 343. 1759.

Benjamin Edgell.

Vol. 97, p. 361. 1759.

Nathaniel Piper.

Vol. 97, p. 389. 1759.

James Mann.

Vol. 98, p. 25. 1760. Joshua Trickey, Jr. (b. at Lex. res. at Almsbury).

Vol. 98, p. 32. (Page crossed out.) Abraham Munroe, res. Stow 1760.

Vol. 98, p. 141. Peter Read, res. Littleton.

Vol. 98, p. 204. 1759.

Thomas Godding.

Vol. 98, p. 215. 24 Dec., 1760.

David Munroe.
Alexander McDowell.
Ebenezer Blodgett.
Boston Draper.

Vol. 98, p. 216. 1759-60.

Andrew Munroe.
Sam^l Raymond.
Joseph Read.

Vol. 98, p. 223. 1760.

Ebenezer Harrington.

Vol. 98, p. 243. 1760.

John Clapham Capt.
David Bernard.
Thos Blodget.
Nathan Chandler.

Vol. 98, p. 303. 1760.

Robert Fisk.

Vol. 98, p. 392. 1759-61.

Thomas Goding.

Vol. 98, p. 415.

Jon^s Ingersol, enlisted 1 Apr. —.

Vol. 99, p. 71. 29 Dec., 1763.

Thad^s Bowman Capt.
Jon^s Smith Lieut.

Robert Harrington Ensign.

Also Vol. 99, p. 403. June, 1771. Commissioned for the Fort Regt.

Vol. 99, p. 114. 1 Apr., 1763.

Benjamin Dudley.
Hill Freeborn.
John Jervia.
Isaac Trask.

Vol. 99, p. 123. 1761-63.

Thomas Call.
Jer^s Harrington.

Vol. 99, p. 139. 1761-63.

Arthur McMullen.
John White.

Vol. 99, p. 143. 1761-63.

William Dix.
Edmund Dix.

Vol. 99, p. 157. 1761-63.

Alex.^s Scott.

Vol. 99, p. 159. 1763.

Amos Lock, s. of Jos^b.

Vol. 99, p. 163.

Hill Freeborn.
John Jervia.

Vol. 99, p. 187.

Thomas Perry.

— a corps in which Stark served his military apprenticeship;
 — a corps whose name was expressive of the life they led —
ranging through the wilderness, seeking their wary savage foe
 by day or by night, in silent glens or secret ambush; — a
 corps whose winter quarters were in tedious marchings amid
 drifted snows, frozen lakes, and ice-clad hills, relying some-
 times upon snowshoes, and sometimes upon skates for loco-
 motion, and carrying their only arsenal and commissariat in
 their packs. In such a corps were some of the hardy sons of
 Lexington trained — they, knowing that their lives were in
 their own hands, and that their escape from the tomahawk
 and scalping-knife, the tortures of the fagot or ignominious
 slavery depended entirely upon their own severe trials, per-
 petual watchings, and determined courage.

Edmund Munroe, of Lexington, was at one time attached
 to Rogers's Rangers, where he acted as an orderly sergeant,
 and also as adjutant of the regiment. In a small memoran-
 dum book, kept by him at Lake George, in August and
 September, 1758,¹ there are some notices of the events of the
 day and a few things of interest. Under date of August 28,
 1758, is the following: —

"the Troops to fire a Rejoicing firing this Evening for the success
 of His majestys Arms for the Taking of Louisbough — The Regts
 to be under armes and Line the Brstwork at Six oclock, the firing

- Vol. 99, p. 216.
 Edmund Dix.
 Vol. 99, p. 218. 1763.
 William Dix.
 Vol. 99, p. 239. 1763.
 Abraham Scott.
 Thomas Call.
 John Goding.
 Vol. 99, p. 256. 1761.
 Thomas Perry.
 Vol. 99, p. 257. 1761.
 Hill Freeborn.
 John Jarvis.
 Joseph Mason.
 Elias Meriam.
 Thadeus Peirce.
 Vol. 99, p. 258. 1761.
 John Smith.
 Vol. 99, p. 259. 1763.
 Robert Munroe.
 Stephen Munroe.
 Josiah Munroe.
 James Perry.
 Isaac Track.
 John Woods.

¹ This manuscript was found among the papers of Edmund Munroe, Esq., of Boston, for the perusal of which I am indebted to Francis Brown, Esq. (Now in the archives of the Lex. Hist. Soc. at the Hancock-Clarke House. *Ed.*)

to begin with 21 Guns from the Royal artillery and then from the Right of the 27th Regt Round the Line and to finish with the Left of Colo Bagley's Regt this to be Repeated till the whole has fired three Rounds the Riegts and Guards not to fire but to be formed in the Rear of the Regts — the Commanding officers of Regts to order a review of their men at 12 oclock and the balls to be drawn and to have Catrages without balls made up for the Rejoecing fire."

But it seems that the Rangers, a separate corps, were on that joyful occasion to act another part. Under same date, we have the following: —

"The Rangers to be under arms at six o'clock this evening, to illuminate the rejoicing for the success of his Majesty's army at Louisburg, at which time Major Rogers to give to his Ranging Companies, as a token of his dependence on their Loyalty and Bravery, a Barrell of Wine treat, to congratulate this good news to them, and the good behavior of the four Companies of Rangers at Louisburg, which has won to the corps a universal, national character."

In 1761, Edmund Munroe was promoted to a lieutenancy, by Goyernor Barnard, and in March, 1762, he was commissioned as Adjutant of Colonel Richard Saltonstall's Regiment, and continued in the service till the peace of 1763.

The more recent war of the Revolution, and the great interest we had at stake in the late Rebellion, have thrown the French war in a great measure into the shade. Few people at the present time realize the toils, the sufferings, and the sacrifices made by the Colony at that time to sustain the cause and strengthen the arm of the mother country, which was shortly after raised to crush the patriotic colonists. From 1755 to 1763, the Colony of Massachusetts performed an amount of military service almost unparalleled. Minot, the historian, says that in the year 1757, one third part of the effective men in the Colony were in some way or other in the field. The patriotic devotion of the Colony and the zeal with which our brave soldiers served Great Britain should have excited her gratitude and induced her to respect our rights.

We have no full record of the military organization in Lexington at the commencement of the Revolution. In 1770, the officers of the Lexington Company were Thaddeus Bowman, Captain; Jonathan Smith, Lieutenant; and Robert

Harrington, Ensign. These officers probably considered themselves superseded or discharged after Governor Gage virtually abdicated government here by refusing to convene the Legislature. The organization of companies of Minute-Men by the order of the Provincial Congress in 1774 appears to have been entirely outside of the old military organization. The company which appeared on the Common in 1775 did not owe its organization to any law of the Legislature; and it is probable that Captain Parker and his subalterns had no commissions, except that of the vote of the company and the approbation of the Committee of Safety. This company comprised the principal men of the place and probably constituted the only actual organization in town at the time. John Parker was at that time forty-six years of age, and must have been a man who commanded the confidence of the people. There were in town at that period, Lieutenant Edmund Munroe and Ensign Robert Munroe, both of whom had held commissions in the French war — besides twenty-five or thirty more who had seen service; and the fact that John Parker was selected to command that company, and that these officers and soldiers were willing to volunteer and serve under him, shows that he was a man of more than ordinary character and one to be trusted in any emergency. The result showed that this confidence was not misplaced. The important part acted by this company on the 19th of April, and subsequently, justly entitles them to a place in the historic page.

*Roll of the Officers and Soldiers of Captain Parker's Company in 1775*¹

Captain John Parker.

Lieutenant William Tidd.

Ensign Robert Munroe.

Ensign Joseph Simonds.

Clerk Daniel Harrington.

Ord. Sergeant William Munroe.

¹ Appended to "An Address, delivered at Lexington, on the 19th (20th) April, 1835, by Edward Everett" (Charlestown, published by William W. Wheildon, 1835), is a note, as follows: —

The following is the list of Captain Parker's Company, as they stood enrolled on the 19th of April, 1775.

Those marked with an asterisk were present at the celebration on the 20th of April, 1835.

Blodget, Isaac.
Bowman, Francis.
Bridge, John.
Bridge, Joseph.
Brown, Francis, sergeant, wounded.
Brown, James.
Brown, John, killed.
Brown, Solomon, living.

Buckman, John.
Chandler, John.
Chandler, John, Jr.
Child, Abijah.
Comeg, Joseph, wounded.
Cutter, Thomas.
*Durant, Isaac, living.
Eastabrook, Joseph.

Sergeant Francis Brown.
Sergeant Ebenezer White.
Corporal Joel Viles.
Corporal Samuel Sanderson.
Corporal John Munroe.
Corporal Ebenezer Parker.

Nathaniel Farmer.
Samuel Winship.
John Winship.
Joseph Robinson.
Francis Bowman.
Joseph Smith.

Fessenden, Nathan.
 Fessenden, Thomas.
 *Fisk, Dr. Joseph, living.
 Freeman, Nathaniel, wounded.
 Green, Isaac.
 Grimes, William.
 Hadley, Benjamin.
 Hadley, Ebenezer.
 Hadley, Samuel, killed.
 Hadley, Thomas.
 Harrington, Caleb, killed.
 Harrington, Daniel, clerk.
 Harrington, Ebenezer.
 Harrington, Jeremiah.
 Harrington, John.
 Harrington, Jonathan.
 Harrington, Jonathan, Jr., killed.
 *Harrington, Jonathan, 3d, living.
 Harrington, Moses.
 Harrington, Thaddeus.
 Harrington, Thomas.
 Harrington, William.
 Hastings, Isaac.
 *Homer, John, living.
 Lock, Amos.
 *Lock, Benjamin, living.
 *Loring, Jonathan, living.
 Loring, Joseph.
 Marrett, Amos.
 *Mason, Daniel, living.
 Mason, Joseph.
 Mead, Abner.
 Merriam, Benjamin.
 Merriam, William.
 Mulliken, Nathaniel.
 Munroe, Asa.
 Munroe, Ebenezer.
 Munroe, Ebenezer, Jr., wounded.
 Munroe, Edmund, lieutenant.
 Munroe, George.
 Munroe, Isaac, Jr., killed.
 Munroe, Jedediah, wounded in morning,
 killed in the afternoon.
 Munroe, John.
 Munroe, John, Jr.
 Munroe, Philemon.
 Munroe, Robert, ensign, killed.
 Munroe, William, orderly ag't.
 *Munroe, William, Jr., living.

Mussy, Amos.
 Parker, Ebenezer.
 Parker, John, captain.
 Parker, Jonas, killed.
 Parker, Thaddeus.
 Parkhurst, John.
 Pierce, Solomon, wounded.
 Porter, Asabel, of Woburn, killed.
 Prince, a negro, wounded.
 Raymond, John, killed.
 Robbins, John, wounded.
 Robbins, Thomas.
 Robinson, Joseph.
 Reed, Hammond.
 Reed, Josiah, living.
 Reed, Joshua.
 Reed, Nathan.
 Reed, Robert.
 Reed, Thaddeus.
 Reed, William.
 Sanderson, Elijah.
 Sanderson, Samuel.
 *Simonds, Ebenezer, living.
 Simonds, Josiah.
 Simonds, Joshua.
 Smith, Abraham.
 Smith, David.
 Smith, Ebenezer.
 Smith, Jonathan.
 Smith, Joseph.
 Smith, Phineas.
 Smith, Samuel.
 Smith, Thaddeus.
 Smith, William.
 Stearns, Asabel.
 Stone, Jonas.
 Tidd, John, wounded.
 Tidd, Samuel.
 Tidd, William.
 Viles, Joel.
 Wellington, Benjamin.
 Wellington, Timothy.
 White, Ebenezer.
 Williams, John.
 Winship, John.
 Winship, Simeon.
 Winship, Thomas.
 Wyman, James.
 Wyman, Nathaniel.

A comparison of the two lists shows that three names, Isaac Durant, Joseph Eastbrook, and Ebenezer Harrington, included in the 1835 list, are not found in Mr. Hudson's. On the other hand, nine names, Eli Burdoo, Nathan Munroe, Stephen Munroe, John Mussy, Thaddeus Mussy, Israel Porter, Josiah Smith, Benjamin Tidd, and Joseph Underwood, recorded by Mr. Hudson, are not found in the 1835 list. The latter list, however, contains several serious misprints: "Cutter" should be "Cutler"; "Freeman" should be "Farmer"; "Isaac Munroe, Jr.," should be "Isaac Mussy, Jr."; "Josiah Simonds" should be "Joseph Simonds"; and "Simeon Winship" should be "Samuel Winship." *Ed.*

Ebenezer Smith.
 Thaddeus Smith.
 Abraham Smith.
 Josiah Smith.
 William Smith.
 Samuel Smith.
 David Smith.
 Phinehas Smith.
 Solomon Pierce.
 Benjamin Wellington.
 Timothy Wellington.
 Asahel Stearns.
 Thomas Winship.
 Thomas Robbins.
 John Buckman.
 Amos Muzzey.
 Jonathan Smith.
 Joseph Loring.
 Jonathan Loring.
 Benjamin Merriam.
 John Raymond.
 Nathaniel Mulliken.
 Daniel Mason.
 Joseph Mason.
 Elijah Sanderson.
 Solomon Brown.
 James Brown.
 Thaddeus Harrington.
 Jonathan Harrington.
 Jonathan Harrington, Jr.
 Thomas Fessenden.
 John Williams.
 Jonas Parker.
 Dr. Joseph Fiske.
 Samuel Tidd.
 Samuel Hadley.
 Joshua Reed.
 John Tidd.
 Benjamin Tidd.
 Ebenezer Simonds.
 James Wyman.
 Thomas Hadley.
 Benjamin Hadley.

William Grimes.
 Isaac Blodgett.
 Hammond Reed.
 Joshua Simonds.
 Nathan Reed.
 John Hosmer.
 Abner Mead.
 Isaac Green.
 John Harrington.
 Benjamin Locke.
 Moses Harrington.
 William Harrington.
 Jeremiah Harrington.
 Thomas Harrington.
 Caleb Harrington.
 Nathan Fessenden.
 Ebenezer Munroe.
 Ebenezer Munroe, Jr.
 Edmund Munroe.
 Stephen Munroe.
 Philemon Munroe.
 George Munroe.
 Jedidiah Munroe.
 William Munroe, Jr.
 John Munroe, Jr.
 Nathan Munroe.
 John Chandler.
 John Chandler, Jr.
 William Merriam.
 Isaac Hastings.
 Amos Marrett.
 Thaddeus Reed.
 Thaddeus Parker.
 John Parkhurst.
 Thaddeus Muzzey.
 Jonathan Harrington, 3d.
 Nathan Wyman.
 Amos Locke.
 Robert Reed.
 John Robbins.
 John Munroe.¹
 Asa Munroe.
 Jonas Stone.

¹ As Corporal John Munroe and John Munroe, Jr., have been already listed, and as the 1835 list gives only two of that name, there is reason to believe that this is an error. *Ed.*

Abijah Child.
Joseph Bridge.
John Bridge.
William Reed.
Josiah Reed.
Isaac Muzzey.
John Muzzey.
Thomas Cutler.

John Brown.
Israel Porter.
Joseph Comee.
Asahel Porter.
Joseph Underwood.
Prince Estabrook.
Ebenezer Hadley.
Eli Burdoo.

This company not only served in the morning and in the afternoon of the memorable 19th of April, but on an alarm at Cambridge in May, and on the day of the battle of Bunker Hill in June, detachments from this company, with the gallant Parker at their head, repaired promptly to the scene of action, and offered themselves for active service. The list of those who served on these occasions is given below.¹

Roll of a Detachment of Captain Parker's Company, called to Cambridge, and who served from May 6 to May 10, 1775

Captain John Parker.
Lieutenant Joseph Simonds.
Sergeant Ebenezer White.
Sergeant Joel Viles.
Sergeant Ebenezer Parker.
Corporal Joseph Mason.
Corporal John Munro.
Samuel Bowman, *Drummer*.
Jonas Clark, *Fifer*.
William Smith.
Benjamin Wellington.
John White.
Elijah Sanderson.

Matthew Bridge.
Ebenezer Hadley.
Nathan Munro.
Thomas Harrington.
Phinehas Smith.
Joseph Underwood.
Isaac Hastings.
William Reed (*Tertius*).
Simeon Snow.
John Winship.
Jonas Parker.
James Brown.
Nathan Underwood.

¹ Muster Roll of a Detachment of a Company of Militia of Lexington on Command at Cambridge from May 11, 1775, to May 18th, both days Included.

By Order of the Committee of Safety.

JOHN BRIDGE, *Commander*.

John Bridge, *Commander*.
William Tidd, *Lieutenant*.
William Munro, *Serjeant*.
Sam^l Sanderson, *Serjeant*.
Nathaniel Mulliken, *Corporal*.
Jonathⁿ Harrington, *Fifer*.
Amos Mussy.
Daniel Harrington.
Nathan Reed.
John Parkhurst.
Isaac Blodget.
Joseph Loring, *Jun*.
Asa Munro.
Samuel Tidd.
Amos Marrett.

William Harrington.
Abraham Smith.
Enoch Wellington.
Nathan Underwood.
Francis Bowman.
Thaddeus Mussy.
Thaddeus Reed.
Benj^s Danforth, *Jun*.
John Hosmer.
Benjamin Bowman.
Joseph Smith.
Simeon Blodget.
Benjamin Hadley.
Abijah Child.
Nehem^s Estabrooke.

Revolutionary Rolls, Vol. 11, pp. 208, 234. *Ed.*

William Munro, 4th.
Joseph Estabrooke.
Moses Harrington, 3d.
Walter Russell.
Joshua Reed, Jr.]
Isaac Green.
Ebenezer Smith.
John Chandler, Jr.
Ebenezer Munro.
Eli Burdoo.

Robert Reed.
Nathan Fessenden.
Moses Harrington.
Reuben Locke.
Jonathan Loring.
Thomas Harrington.
William Grimes.
John Munro, Jr.
John Harrington.

Total — 45.¹

Muster Roll of a Part of Captain Parker's Company, who were called to Cambridge, June 17 and 18, 1775²

Captain John Parker.
Lieutenant John Bridge.
Lieutenant William Tidd.
Ensign Joseph Simonds.
Sergeant Francis Brown.
Sergeant William Munro.
Sergeant Ebenezer White.
Corporal Joel Viles.
Corporal Samuel Sanderson.
Corporal John Munro.
Corporal Ebenezer Parker.
Joshua Simonds.
Joseph Lock, Jr.
John Munro.
Josiah Blodgett.
Stephen Munro.
Ebenezer Munro.
Benjamin Tidd.
Reuben Reed.
John Muzzy, Jr.
Thaddeus Muzzy.
Samuel Bowman.
William Grimes.
Solomon Pierce.
Jonathan Smith.
Abraham Smith.
John Smith.
Joseph Loring, Jr.
Ebenezer Hadly.
Timothy Wellington.
Jonathan Bridge.

Benjamin Bowman.
John Chandler, Jr.
Nathan Reed.
Nathan Munro.
Reuben Lock.
Edmund Munro (Alarm list).
Thomas Harrington.
Solomon Brown.
Nathan Fessenden.
Samuel Smith.
John Tingell.
Thaddeus Reed.
Timothy Smith.
Samuel Tidd.
Francis Bowman.
Jonathan Loring.
Eli Burdoo.
Joseph Underwood.
Matthew Bridge.
William Munroe, 4th.
George Adams.
William Smith.
John Harrington.
Joseph Smith.
Isaac Hastings.
Phinehas Starns.
William Reed, 3d.
William Eustis.
Ebenezer Munroe, Jr.
Prince Estabrooke.

Total — 61.

¹ Revolutionary Rolls, Vol. 13, pp. 60, 61. *Ed.*

² Revolutionary Rolls, Vol. 13, p. 59. *Ed.*

The imperfect records of that day do not furnish us with a complete list of the Lexington men who served in the Revolution or the length of time they were in the field. A large number of names¹ are found on the rolls in the archives of the State, but it is impossible to make out a full list or a complete classification. The best list that we can obtain is the following.

A Committee, of which Benjamin Brown was Chairman, appointed for the purpose, submitted a Report² to the town, dated May 14, 1779, containing the names of the persons who served, the campaigns in which the service was rendered, and the amount they were to receive.

¹ Muster Roll of Captain John Bridge's of Lexington Company in Colonel Eliezer Brooks's Regiment on Command at Roxbury from March 4, 1776, to March 8, inclusive:—

John Bridge, Captain.	Stephen Munro.	Samuel Downing.
Joseph Simonds, Lieutenant.	Benja Wellington.	Thaddeus Reed.
Francis Brown, Lieutenant.	Ebeneser Munro.	Jonathan Bridge.
Ebeneser White, Ensign.	Solomon Peirce.	Jonas Bridge.
Joseph Smith, Serjeant.	Joseph Cutter.	John Homer.
Ebeneser Parker, Serjeant.	James Wyman.	Joseph Munro.
Tim ^c Wellington, Serjeant.	William Grimes.	John Chandler, Jun.
Moses Harrington, Serjeant.	Josiah Blodgett.	Asahel Starna.
Tho ^s Fessenden, Clerk.	Tho ^s Harrington.	Thomas Adama.
Isaac Hastings, Corporal.	Reuben Lock.	Henry Winship.
Solomon Brown, Corporal.	Robert Reed.	James Webber.
Elijah Sanderson, Corporal.	Reuben Reed.	Samuel Smith.
Levi Harrington, Drummer.	Thomas Clark.	Joseph Cox.
Samuel Munro.	Jesaniah Crosby.	Benjamin Pierce.
John Buckman.	John Tidd.	Jonas Parker.
William Munro.	Matthew Bridge.	Adam Tidd.
Thad ^s Harrington.	John Peek.	Pompey Blackman.
Samuel Sanderson.	Francis Bowman.	Joseph Mason.
Joseph Loring, Jun.	Simon Winship.	Amos Marrett.
Josiah Jennison.	Walter Russell.	Thomas Fox.
John Munro.	John Mussey, Jun.	Benjamin Meriam.
William Smith.	William Munro (4).	Joel Viles.
Phineas Starna.	Benjamin Lock.	John Munro.
John Williams.	Joshua Reed, Jun.	Joseph Lock.
John Harrington.	Abraham Smith.	Matthew Farrington.
Henry Harrington, Jun.	Samuel Bowman.	Thomas Parker.
Benjamin Tidd.	Ebeneser Bowman.	Joshua Simonds.
John White.	Joseph Estabrooke.	

Revolutionary Rolls, Vol. 17, p. 64. *Ed.*

² A most diligent search has failed to reveal the present existence of this Report. The list is retained, therefore, as originally printed. *Ed.*

Military Services rendered by the Inhabitants of Lexington in the War of the Revolution, from the first Campaign in 1775, to the close of 1877, exclusive of the three years' men.

**FIRST CAMPAIGN OF EIGHT MONTHS,
1775**

	£	s.
<i>Captain</i> Bowman, for his son		
Ebeneser,	5	0
<i>Lieutenant</i> Jona. Smith, for his son Daniel,	5	0
Joseph Robinson,	5	0
Benj. Stearns, for his son Asabel,	5	0
Abijah Child, for Micah Hager,	5	0
Samuel Sanderson, for Isaac Durant,	5	0
John Winship,	5	0
Benjamin Fiske, for Pauper,	3	0
<i>Lieutenant</i> Thomas Fessenden, for Wm. Diamond,	5	0
Benj. Brown, for his son James,	5	0
Joseph Simonds, for Benjamin Hadley,	5	0
Thomas Hadley, Jr.,	5	0
Bezaleel Lawrence, for Isaac Green,	5	0
Bezaleel Lawrence, for Abner Mead,	5	0
Benj. Estabrook, Guard. to Asa Robinson,	5	0
David Fisk, for his son David,	5	0
Abraham Merriam,	5	0
Amos Russell,	5	0
John Peck,	5	0
Ezekiel Alline,	5	0
Total,	£98	0

**SECOND CAMPAIGN OF TWELVE MONTHS,
TO NEW YORK**

	£	s.
Sam'l Hastings, for son Samuel,	19	0
John Winship,	19	0
<i>Lieutenant</i> Thomas Fessenden, for Wm. Diamond,	12	13
Benjamin Brown, for son James,	19	0
William Reed, for son Josiah,	19	0
Joseph Simonds, for Benjamin Hadley,	19	0
Joshua Simonds, for Daniel Bemis,	19	0
Abraham Merriam,	19	0
Joshua Reed, for Ezra Merriam, or his father, Abraham Merriam,	19	0

	£	s.
Ephraim Winship,	19	0
Joseph Robinson,	19	0
Thomas Winship, Guard. to Jeremiah Robinson,	19	0
Sam'l. Sanderson, for Isaac Durant,	19	0
Thomas Locke,	19	0
<i>Lieutenant</i> Jona. Smith, for son Daniel,	19	0
Benjamin Stearns, or his son Hubback,	19	0
Benjamin Wellington, or Ezekiel Alline,	19	0
Benjamin Estabrook, Guard. to Asa Robinson,	19	0
Daniel Simonds,	19	0
Total,	£364	18

**THIRD CAMPAIGN, FEBRUARY, 1775,
TWO MONTHS, TO CAMBRIDGE**

	£	s.
<i>Captain</i> Francis Brown,	1	10
Joseph Simonds,	1	10
John Mussy,	1	10
John Simonds,	1	10
Joel Viles,	1	10
Des. Loring for son Jonathan,	1	10
Josiah Smith for son Josiah,	1	10
Rev. Mr. Clarke, for son Jonas,	1	10
Total,	£12	00

**FOURTH CAMPAIGN, JULY, 1775, FIVE
MONTHS, TO TICONDEROGA**

	£	s.
Heirs of <i>Lieutenant</i> Edmund Munroe, deceased,	9	0
Ebeneser Hadley,	9	0
Benj. Brown, for son Solomon,	9	0
Josiah Smith, Jr.,	9	0
Robert Reed,	9	0
<i>Captain</i> Francis Brown,	9	0
<i>Lieutenant</i> Daniel Harrington, for John Smith,	9	0
Hammond Reed,	9	0
Bezaleel Lawrence,	9	0
Amos Mussy,	9	0
John Simonds,	9	0
Nathan Reed,	9	0

	£	s.
Jesse Crosby,	9	0
Samuel Munroe,	9	0
Benjamin Estabrook,	9	0
Elijah Sanderson,	9	0
Francis Brown,	9	0
Captain Bowman, for son Eben- ezer,	9	0
Benj. Wellington, } furnish a	9	0
Tim. Wellington, } man,		
Joseph Underwood, }		
John Chandler,	9	0
William Reed,	9	0
Daniel Russell,	9	0
Moses Reed,	9	0
Jonas Stone paid his fine,	9	0
Benjamin Locke,	9	0

Total, £225 0

FIFTH CAMPAIGN, TO TICONDEROGA

	£	s.
John Muszy,	6	0
Thomas Fox,	6	0
Ensign Robert Harrington,	3	9

Total, £15 9

SIXTH CAMPAIGN, JULY, 1776, FOUR MONTHS, TO DORCHESTER

	£	s.
Dr. Joseph Fiack,	3	10
Benjamin Tidd,	3	10
Benjamin Smith, Jr.,	3	10
Sampson Adams,	3	10

Total, £14 00

SEVENTH CAMPAIGN, SEPTEMBER, 1776, TO WHITE PLAINS

	£	s.
James Wyman,	5	0
Asa Munroe,	5	0
Joshua Reed,	5	0
William Reed,	5	0
John Parkhurst,	5	0
Robert Moor,	5	0
Lieutenant Ebenezer White,	5	0
Benjamin Stearns,	5	0
William Tidd,	5	0
Josiah Jenison,	5	0
Benjamin Wellington,	5	0
Nathaniel Munroe,	5	0
Matthew Bridge,	5	0

Total, £65 0

EIGHTH CAMPAIGN, THREE MONTHS, TO THE JERSEYS

	£	s.
Captain John Bridge,	7	10
Sergeant John Williams,	7	10
Henry Harrington, Jr.,	3	15
Amos Locke,	3	15
John Muszy, Jr.,	7	10
John Bowman,	7	10
Amos Marret,	7	10
Abijah Childs,	7	10
Ebenezer Munroe,	7	10
William Smith,	3	15
Samuel Bridge,	7	10
Thomas Cutler,	7	10
Phineas Stearns,	7	10
Thomas Robbins,	1	18
Moses Harrington,	7	10
Samuel Winship,	7	10
Thomas Robbins, Jr.,	3	15
Thaddeus Parker,	7	10
William Munroe, deceased,	7	10
John Munroe,	3	15
John Tidd,	3	15

Total, £129 8

NINTH CAMPAIGN, DECEMBER, 1776, THREE MONTHS TO BOSTON, AND ONE TO DORCHESTER

	£	s.
Ebenezer Smith,	2	0
Daniel Mason,	2	0
Isaac Cutler,	2	13
Samuel Munroe,	2	0
Lieutenant Daniel Harrington,	2	0
Levi Mead,	2	13
Marret Munroe,	2	14

Total, £16 0

TENTH CAMPAIGN, APRIL, 1777, TO PROVIDENCE, TWO MONTHS

	£	s.
William Reed,	4	0
Sergeant Moses Harrington,	4	0
Thomas Smith,	4	0
Joseph Russell,	4	0
Henry Harrington, Jr.,	4	0
Nathaniel Feasenden,	4	0

Total, £24 0

MILITARY AFFAIRS

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ELEVENTH CAMPAIGN, TO BENNING- TON, IN 1777

	£	s.
<i>Lieutenant</i> Daniel Harrington, .	9	0
John Mussy, and others, a man, .	9	0
Philip Russell, and others, a man, .	9	0
William Tidd and others, a man, .	9	0
<i>Ensign</i> Robert Harrington and others, a man,	9	0
Robert Moore and others, a man, .	9	0
Thomas Winship and others, a man,	9	0
Joshua Simonds and others, a man,	9	0
<i>Sergeant</i> Solomon Pierce,	9	0
Phineas Stearns, and others, a man,	9	0
Ebenezer Munroe and others, a man,	9	0
Benjamin Stearns,	9	0
Amos Munroe and others, a man, .	9	0
Samuel Bridge and others, a man, .	9	0

Total, £126 0

TWELFTH CAMPAIGN, TO TAKE BUB- GOYNE

	£	s.
<i>Lieutenant</i> William Munroe, . . .	4	0
<i>Lieutenant</i> Thomas Fessenden, . .	4	0
<i>Sergeant</i> Benj. Wellington, . . .	4	0
Phineas Stearns,	4	0
Thaddeus Reed,	4	0
John Chandler,	4	0
Matthew Bridge,	4	0
John Fiske,	4	0

Total, £32 0

THIRTEENTH CAMPAIGN, DECEMBER, 1777, TO GUARD THE LINES NEAR CAMBRIDGE, FIVE MONTHS

	£	s.
Abijah Harrington,	4	10
<i>Sergeant</i> Timothy Wellington, . .	4	10

	£	s.
Samuel Smith,	1	16
Samuel Bridge,	1	16
Benjamin Fiske,	4	10
Jonathan Harrington,	4	10
Henry Harrington, Jr.,	4	10
Prince Estabrook,	4	10
Josiah Mead,	4	10
Ebenezer Smith,	4	10
Total,	£39	12

FOURTEENTH CAMPAIGN, AT CAM- BRIDGE, THREE MONTHS, 1778

	£	s.
<i>Lieutenant</i> Daniel Harrington, . .	3	10
Levi Harrington,	3	10
John Simonds,	3	10
Nathaniel Simonds,	3	10
William Munroe,	3	10
Joshua Reed, Jr.,	3	10
Stephen Locke,	3	10
Amos Mussy,	3	10
Nathaniel Russell,	3	10
John Smith,	3	10
Cally Newell,	3	10
Joseph Loring, Jr.,	3	10
Thomas Adams,	3	10
William Smith,	3	10
Total,	£49	00

FIFTEENTH CAMPAIGN AT PROVIDENCE, JUNE, 1778, SIX MONTHS

	£	s.
Daniel Smith,	5	0
Isaac Hasting,	5	0
Hammond Reed,	5	0
Thomas Fox,	5	0
Nathaniel Reed,	5	0
Benjamin Tidd,	5	0
John Mulliken,	5	0
Total,	£35	0

SIXTEENTH CAMPAIGN, AT PROVIDENCE, SIX WEEKS, AUGUST, 1778

<i>Captain</i> Francis Brown.	<i>Corporal</i> James Cogswell.	Henry Harrington.
<i>Sergeant</i> Joseph Smith.	<i>Fifer</i> John Edwards.	Phineas Hager.
<i>Sergeant</i> Samuel Piper.	Peter Stearns.	James Holman.
<i>Sergeant</i> Samuel Brown.	Ebenezer Perkins.	Lot Conant.
<i>Sergeant</i> Alpheus Bigelow.	John Chandler.	Samuel Bond.
<i>Corporal</i> Nathan Brown.	Samuel Pratt.	Elijah Brown.
<i>Corporal</i> Silas Wood.	William Wheeler.	Jeremiah Knowlton.
<i>Corporal</i> Henry Gould.	Jonathan Brooks.	Thaddeus Winship.

Simon Crosby.	Nathan Fiske.	William Richards.
Timothy Killock.	Amos Pierce.	Reuben Ball.
James Billings.	Abner Matthews.	Joseph Turner.
John Conant.	Silas Livermore.	William S. Baker.
Josiah Reed.	Tilly Mead.	John Harris.
John Barrett.	T. Adams.	John Robbins.
David Melvin.	Josiah Jennison.	Simeon Heyward.
James Peacock.	Peter Jones.	Thaddeus Bowker.
James Heyward.	Henry Morgan.	Charles Flint.
Amos Buttrick.	Isaac Pierce.	Josiah Meak.
Joseph Brooks.	Charles Shepard.	Ebeneser Jones.
John L. Davis.	Joseph Stratton.	Nathan Buttrick.
John Fiske.	Stephen Munroe.	Isaac Cutter.
	Paris Michels.	

SEVENTEENTH CAMPAIGN, AT PROVIDENCE, SIX MONTHS

Benjamin Brown.	Benjamin Danforth.	Simon Winship.
Joseph Reed.	Jesse Crosby.	John Tidd.
	John Williams.	

The following names are found upon the roll as Lexington men, and certified to by our Selectmen in 1782: —

SIX MONTHS' MEN IN 1780

William Dimond.	Ezra Merriam.	Philip Davis.
Abraham Merriam.	James Robinson.	Henry Harrington.
Joseph Merriam.	Silas Merriam.	Richard Winship.
Joseph Foot.	Cato Tuder.	Samuel Crafts.
	Prince Estabrook.	

There are other names, which we cannot classify at all, nor tell at what time or for what period they served: —

Daniel Simonds.	Jonas Underwood.	Christopher Mann.
Silas Burdoo.	Nathan Brown.	Matthew Farrington.
Benjamin Sampson.	Stephen Munroe.	Nicholas Duren.

It will be seen that in the foregoing lists the same name in some cases appears more than once. This arises from the fact that the same person was out in different campaigns; and if some of the names here given should be repeated in the following list of those who served in the Continental Line, the same explanation will apply — they served in the militia either before or after their service in the regular army. But after all, the lists are imperfect, as many of the rolls are destroyed.

As far as the amounts for the service are carried out, we have followed the Report of the Committee; but as they stopped short of the close of the war, and did not include those who were called out suddenly to meet an emergency, like

Captain Brown's Company, which went to Rhode Island, we have inserted their names and others which we found upon the rolls.

The following is the list of the three-years' men, as far as we can collect them from the dilapidated rolls.¹

Men who enlisted in Lexington for three years, or during the war, and served in the Continental Line.

Captain Edmund Munroe.
 Lieutenant Ebenezer White.
 Ensign Daniel Simonds.
 Nehemiah Estabrook.
 David Fiske.
 Samuel Crafts.
 Thaddeus Munroe.
 Amos Russell.
 George Munroe.
 Joseph Cox.
 Daniel Simonds.
 Ebenezer Hadly.
 James Fowle.
 Thomas Hadly.
 Levi Mead.
 Pomp Blackman.
 Jupiter Tree.
 Prince Estabrook.
 Daniel Bemis.
 Joseph Barny.
 Francis Chaffin.
 William Crosby.
 David Evans.
 Benjamin Hadly.
 Titus Heywood.
 Benjamin Pierce.
 Nathan Gale.
 Nathan Smith.
 Abraham Merriam.
 Silas Merriam.

Isaac Parker.
 Michael Neagles.
 Samuel Harington.
 Seth Reed.
 Joseph Foot.
 John Helden.
 Peter Brooks.
 Simeon Crosby.
 Thomas Clark [reported deserted, 1779].
 Philip Davis [also Wenham, 1777-79].
 Benjamin Fiske.
 Jabez Frothingham.
 John Farmer.
 William Grimes.
 Josiah Gennerson.
 Josiah Gilbert.
 Samuel Hastings.
 David Samson.
 Isaac Smith.
 Ezra Merriam.
 Joseph Merriam.
 Abraham Munroe.
 Cornelius Lennix.
 Abner Mead.
 Abraham Winship.
 Moses Mead.
 Micah Hager.
 Asahel Stearns.

¹ The following names cannot be verified from *The Soldiers and Sailors of the Revolution*: Francis Chaffin, Titus Heywood, Josiah Gilbert, David Samson, Abraham Munroe, Abraham Winship, Abel Stearns, David Lanny, David Clark, Robert Mead, Jonathan Loring, Samuel Munroe, Ebenezer Robinson, and Joseph Frost. On the other hand, the following three names, omitted by Mr. Hudson, are credited to Lexington: Stephen Munroe, William Munroe, and Ephraim Winship. Ed.

Thomas Locke.
 Asa Robinson.
 Benjamin Samson.
 Enoch Wellington.
 James Webber.
 William Diamond.
 Pomp Fiske.
 Francis Fullington.
 Richard Winship.
 Cato Tudor.
 Henry Harrington.
 James Robinson.
 James Wilson.
 Asa Munroe.
 Abel Stearns.
 Abraham Smith.
 David Lanny.
 Samuel Pierce.
 Francis Brown.
 John Smith.
 Ebenezer Munroe.
 John Hosmer.
 David Clark.
 Samuel Ditson [Woburn].
 Joseph Robinson.

Thomas Hadly.
 Thaddeus Harrington.
 Amos Marrit.
 Robert Mead.
 Elijah Sanderson.
 Solomon Brown.
 Jonathan Loring.
 Samuel Munroe.
 Jonathan Munroe [also Concord].
 Thomas Blodgett.
 Ebenezer Bowman [or Concord].
 William Locke.
 William Locke, Jr. [?].
 Edmund Locke [Waltham].
 Ebenezer Robinson.
 Joseph Frost.
 John Tingle.
 Abel Winship.
 Isaac Durant [also Littleton].
 Thomas Locke.
 William Tidd.
 Robert Fiske [Woburn and Andover].
 James Robinson.

Several on the foregoing list are known to have been colored men, and some of them slaves — among whom are Samuel Crafts, Pomp Blackman, Jupiter Tree, Prince Estabrook,¹ Pomp Fiske, Cato Tudor, John Tingle, and perhaps others. But notwithstanding the color of their skin, they were deemed worthy to fight side by side with white men to achieve our Independence. And it is due to our fathers to say that when slaves enlisted into the service, they were generally permitted to take their freedom if they desired it.

It should also be remarked that some of the foregoing list had served in the other and shorter campaigns, before entering the Continental Line; and that some who are enrolled among the first three-years' men continued in the service by reenlistment, though their names appear but once.

When we consider that Lexington was at the commencement of the Revolution a small town of only about seven

¹ See *The Existence and the Extinction of Slavery in Massachusetts*, by Rev. C. A. Staples. *Proc. Lex. Hist. Soc.*, Vol. iv, p. 48. *Ed.*

hundred inhabitants, no one can pronounce her backward in supplying men to prosecute to success a war which was so gloriously commenced within her borders.

And in addition to the men who were duly enrolled for the service, there was another voluntary organization, known as "the Alarm List," composed of those who were too infirm, too old, or too young to be subject to military duty in the field. These men stood ready to turn out on any sudden emergency. Such organizations existed in almost every town throughout the Province, and in many cases included the clergymen of the parishes, who had not in those days embraced that sickly sentimentalism, that war in all cases was contrary to the Gospel and could not innocently be resorted to under any circumstances — a doctrine which has received a stern rebuke by the late slaveholders' rebellion. Men of reflection have become satisfied that a nation, like an individual, is by the laws of nature — the laws of God — clothed with the right of self-preservation; and when its existence is threatened, it is bound by a religious obligation to sustain its being at every hazard and by all the fair means that God and nature have put in its power. War is to be dreaded and prevented as far as practicable; but, like the amputating knife, is allowable to save the life of the body politic. And though war in itself is a great calamity and leaves many evils in its train, the history of the world shows that some of the grandest steps in civilization have grown out of the wars which at the time were regarded as great calamities.

It is difficult to tell what the military organization of the town of Lexington was during the Revolution. In 1779, there were two military companies; for the town at a public meeting voted that the interest of the cause required that the two existing companies be united in one. Immediately after the close of the war, there was an important change in military organizations. The people had seen the importance of a military force, and the State adopted measures accordingly to make the militia more efficient.

In Lexington, an artillery company was formed. The record of its organization is probably lost. It appears by the Town Records, that at a meeting held December 16, 1784, the town voted, "That the Artillery Company *now forming* in this Town have Liberty to erect an Artillery House on that part of the Common where the Belfry formerly stood."

This record, unimportant in other respects, fixes with a good degree of certainty the period when that company was formed. Our prescribed limits will not permit us to pursue its history.

The militia organizations were kept up in Massachusetts till about 1825, when the military spirit began to wane. Some were afraid of the expense; others thought the whole thing unnecessary. Pretended philanthropists ridiculed military parades, and some pious and shortsighted clergymen would supersede war by forming Peace Societies, and restrain the grasping ambition of the nations by holding Peace Conventions and passing abstract Resolutions. Such views and feelings tended to bring the military into disrepute and our militia system was practically given up. In the cities and large towns there were a few volunteer companies; and this was all the organization which in fact existed at the commencement of the recent rebellion.¹

But the late struggle through which we have passed has, we hope, convinced the reflecting that resolutions are less protective in an hour of danger than batteries, and that rebels have less dread of Peace Conventions than of well appointed armies. When we consider the important services rendered by the few organized regiments of Massachusetts, by appearing promptly at Washington when that city was threatened, we must see the wisdom of military preparation; and if our lawmakers are wise, they will see to it that a partial organization at least be kept up, until the States lately in rebellion show more humility than they do at present and manifest a spirit more in accordance with the known will of the people. Moral suasion has great power; but it is rendered more efficient when it is known that there is a military arm which will sustain it in an exigency.

During the rebellion, Lexington, as we have seen, was not behind her neighboring towns. She furnished more than her quota of men. The following is a list of men, with their rank and term of service, as verified by the records at the State House: ² —

¹ See *Military Organizations of Lexington*, by A. W. Bryant. *Proc. Lex. Hist. Soc.*, Vol. II, p. 85. *Ed.*

² This list, amplified and corrected, is the result of a careful search made by Lieutenant J. N. Morse, of the Committee. *Ed.*

Officers, Soldiers and Seamen, either residents of the Town of Lexington, or who served on her quota in the service of the United States during the Rebellion

Adams, Samuel, 20th Inf'y, Aug., 1862, to Mar., 1863.

Angier, Henry A., 5th Inf'y, Co. K, May, 1861, to June, 1862; wounded and taken prisoner at first Bull-Run battle; was confined at Richmond. 5th Inf'y, Sergt. Co. B, Sept., 1862, to July, 1863.

Angier, Lucius B., 1st Cav., Co. C, Sept., 1861, to Oct., 1864.

Averill, Trask W., 1st Sharpshooters, Oct., 1862, to Apr., 1864.

Bailey, William, 16th Inf'y, Co. A, Aug., 1863, to Apr., 1864; transferred to the Navy; died Nov., 1864.

Bannon, John, 16th Inf'y, Co. I, July, 1861, to July, 1864.

Bannon, Peter,¹ Navy.

Bartlett, Jonas, 2d Hy. Art. and 17th Inf'y, Sept., 1864, to June, 1865.

Bergain, Francis A., 4th Cav., Co. A, Dec., 1863, to July, 1864; then transferred to the Navy.

Berlitz, Charles, 4th Cav., Co. A, Dec., 1863, to Nov., 1865.

Briggs, William P., 32d Inf'y, Co. G, June, 1862; transferred Jan., 1864, to V. R. C. and discharged June, 1865.

Bryant, Frank W., 1st Sharpshooters, Sept., 1861, to Sept., 1862.

Bryant, Josiah, 45th Inf'y, Co. D, Sept., 1862, to July, 1863.

Buckett, William, 28th Inf'y, Co. I, Mar., 1864.

Buckley, Bowen,¹ Navy.

Bull, James J., 3d Cav., Co. B, Mar., 1864, to Sept., 1865.

Bullard, E. R.,¹ 3d (or 5th) N. Y. Inf'y., Dec., 1861; killed.

Burnham, George H., Hosp. Steward, U. S. A., July, 1864.

Bussey, John D., 45th Inf'y, Co. D, Oct., 1862, to July, 1863.

Butterfield, George H., 45th Inf'y, Co. D, Sept., 1862, to July, 1863.

Butters, Frank V., 5th Inf'y, Co. K, May, 1861, to Aug., 1861.

Butters, Sidney, 45th Inf'y, Co. D, Sept., 1862, to July, 1863.

Buttrick, Charles F., 16th Inf'y, Co. H, June, 1861, to July, 1864.

Buttrick, Isaac F., 16th Inf'y, Co. H, June, 1861, to Sept., 1863; wounded.

Buxton, Charles F.,² Nov., 1863, 3 years.

Byle, William,² Dec., 1863, 3 years.

Byron, John F., 47th Inf'y, Co. G, Oct., 1862; died June, 1863, in La.

Callahan, John, 30th Inf'y, Co. I, Dec., 1861, to July, 1866.

Cannedy, James, colored, 70th U. S. Colored Inf'y, Dec., 1864.

Capell, Cyrus S., U. S. A. Ord. Corps, Apr., 1864.

¹ Names of men verified as in service, but no data where they served. *Ed.*

² Names that appear on list published by Mr. Hudson, but not verified. *Ed.*

- Capell, Francis H., 47th Inf'y, Co. I, Oct., 1862, to Sept., 1863; U. S. Ord. Corps, Apr., 1864.
- Capell, Jonas F., 16th Inf'y, July, 1861, to July, 1864; promoted from Sergt. through the various grades to Capt. and Bvt. Maj.
- Carpenter, James R., 43d Inf'y, Co. A, Oct., 1862, to July, 1863; 2d Hy. Art., Co. F, Oct., 1863, to Sept., 1865; Hosp. Steward.
- Carroll, Stephen, 28th Inf'y, Co. A, Mar., 1864, to June, 1865.
- Carson, Jacob,¹ colored, Mar., 1864.
- Chamberlain, Nahum B., 24th Inf'y, Co. A, Aug., 1862, to May, 1865.
- Chandler, Edward T., 3d Inf'y, Co. C, Apr., 1861, to July, 1861; 22d Inf'y, Co. F, Sept., 1861, to Oct., 1864; wounded. Enlisted with the first regiment that left the State for the seat of war.
- Chandler, Joseph, 13th Inf'y, Co. B, July, 1861, to Jan., 1863; prisoner at 2d Bull Run.
- Chandler, Samuel E., 5th Inf'y, Co. K, May, 1861, to Jan., 1862; wounded and confined as prisoner from July, 1861, to Feb., 1862; 12th Inf'y, Co. F, Aug., 1862; Q. M. S., 12th Inf'y, 25 Jan., '63, discharged to accept commission in 7th Mo. Cav., where he served as Adjt.
- Childs, Thomas W., 2d Hy. Art., Co. H, Sept., 1864, to June, 1865.
- Churchill, Ezra S., 2d Hy. Art., Co. D, Aug., 1863; died, July, 1864, in N. C.
- Cody, James, 1st Cav., Co. L, Oct., 1861, to Nov., 1861.
- Cole, Alvin, 1st Sharpshooters, Sept., 1861, to Dec., 1862.
- Cole, Charles, 1st Cav. and 4th Cav., Co. M, Oct., 1861, to Oct., 1864.
- Cole, Ralph, 16th Inf'y, Co. K, July, 1861, to Aug., 1863.
- Connauton, Edward, 56th Inf'y, Nov., 1863.
- Converse, James, 2d Inf'y, May, 1864.
- Conway, Daniel, 28th Inf'y, Co. B, Dec., 1861; killed at Fredericksburg.
- Cooper, Eugene A., 2d Hy. Art., Co. H, Sept., 1864, to June, 1865.
- Cosgrove, Thomas, 40 Inf'y, Co. F; Post 119.*
- Cox, Alonzo H., 3d Hy. Art., Co. B, May, 1863, to Sept., 1865.
- Crosby, Sumner, 16th Inf'y, Co. H, June, 1861, to June, 1864.
- Crouch, Henry E., 45th Inf'y, Co. D, Sept., 1862, to July, 1863.
- Crowley, Daniel, 28th Inf'y, Co. B, Dec., 1861; killed at Fredericksburg.
- Crowley, Jeremiah,² Navy.
- Crowley, John,² 14th Inf'y, Aug., 1861.
- Crowley, Michael, 12th Inf'y, Co. B, Aug., 1862, to July, 1864.

* See p. 450, *infra*. Ed.

¹ Names that appear on list published by Mr. Hudson, but not verified. Ed.

² Names of men verified as in service, but no data where they served. Ed.

- Cutler, Alfred D., 6th Inf'y, Co. B, July, 1864, to Oct., 1864.
 Cutler, Charles, 16th Inf'y, Co. H, June, 1861; died Aug., 1862.
 Cutler, Cyrus M., 22 Inf'y, Co. F, Aug., 1861, to Oct., 1864.
 Darling, O. B., 45th Inf'y; Post 119.*
 Dasey, Michael, 2d Hy. Art., Co. H, Dec., 1863, to July, 1865.
 Dean, Charles H., 47th Inf'y, Co. G, Oct., 1862, to Sept., 1863.
 Dean, Jarvis W., 35th Inf'y, Co. K, Aug., 1862, to Apr., 1863;
 severely wounded at Antietam; 2d Lieut.
 DeCoty, William, 12th Inf'y, Co. E, July, 1862; died Oct., 1862,
 of wound received at 2d Bull Run. [William Decosta on roster.]
 Dennett, George B., 12th Inf'y, Co. E; Post 119.*
 Dillon, William, 21st Inf'y, Co. G, Mar., 1862, to Jan., 1863.
 Donnelly, John F., 56th Inf'y, Co. D, Dec., 1863.
 Eagan, Matthew, 2d Hy. Art., Co. H, Dec., 1863, to June, 1865.
 Earle, Thomas H., 1st Cav., Co. M, Sept., 1861; died, July, 1863,
 in S. C.
 Edgar, Francis, 3d Cav., Co. B, Dec., 1863, to Sept., 1865.
 Estabrook, Luke, 1st Cav. and 4th Cav., Sept., 1861, to Sept., 1864.
 Estabrook, William, 1st and 4th Cav., Oct., 1861, to Oct., 1864.
 Evans, Mose,¹ colored, Mar., 1864.
 Fiske, Charles, Jr., Ship San Jacinto.
 Fiske, Charles A., 11th Inf'y, Co. K, June, 1861, to Mar., 1864.
 Fiske, Charles H., 12th Inf'y, Co. E, June, 1861; killed at Antietam.
 Fiske, Daniel G., 12th Inf'y, Co. E, June, 1861; to Apr., 1863.
 Fiske, Frederick C. D., 18th Inf'y, Co. C, Jan., 1862; killed at 2d
 Bull Run.
 Fiske, Joseph A., 50th Inf'y, Co. E; Post 119.*
 Fiske, Joseph H. R., 11th Inf'y, Co. G, June, 1861; V. R. C., May,
 1864, to Nov., 1865.
 Fiske, William B.,² Navy.
 Fitch, David, 45th Inf'y, Co. D, Sept., 1862, to July, 1863.
 Flagg, Charles H., 24th Inf'y, Co. A, Aug., 1861, to July, 1865.
 Flint, George, 16th Inf'y, Co. H; Post 119.*
 Foley, Patrick, 56th Inf'y, Co. F, Jan., 1864; died July, 1864.
 French, Thomas, 4th Cav., Co. A, Dec., 1863, to Nov., 1865; 1st
 Lieut.
 Frothingham, Ward B., 22d Inf'y, Co. D, Sept., 1861, to Oct., 1862.
 Fryer, Barney, 2d Inf'y, Co. G, May, 1864.
 Gallagher, John, 9th Inf'y, Co. I, June, 1861, to June, 1864; wounded
 on the Peninsula and at the Wilderness.
 Garmon, Joseph A., Steamer Mississippi, May, 1861, to July, 1867.
 Gately, John,³ 5th N. Y. Inf'y.
 Gerard, Joseph,³ Navy.

* See p. 450, *infra*. Ed.

¹ Names that appear on list published by Mr. Hudson, but not verified. Ed.

² Names of men verified as in service, but no data where they served. Ed.

- Gleason, William, 1st Lieut. 1st Sharpshooters, Sept., 1861, to Apr., 1862.
- Gossom, Elijah D., 5th Inf'y, Co. C, May, 1861, to Aug., 1861; 16th Inf'y, Co. K, Nov., 1861, to Apr., 1863.
- Gould, Arthur F., 44th Inf'y, Co. A; Post 119.*
- Gould, Charles A., 23 Inf'y, Co. I, Sept., 1861, to Oct., 1863; later Capt. and A. A. G. to Gen. Burnside.
- Gray, Patrick, 2d Hy. Art., Co. G, Dec., 1863; prisoner Apr., 1864; joined Confederate service.
- Green, William B., 13th Inf'y, Co. B, July, 1861, to Aug., 1864.
- Grover, Charles A., 44th Inf'y, Co. A, Sept., 1862, to June, 1863; 2d Hy. Art., Co. H, Aug., 1864, to June, 1865.
- Grover, John,¹ 99th N. Y. Inf'y, Co. K, Dec., 1862.
- Grover, William H., 2d U. S. Art.; killed Aug. 29, 1862, at 2d Bull Run.
- Hanford, Albert, 3d Hy. Art., Co. A, July, 1863, to Sept., 1865.
- Hanford, Clarence, 3d Hy. Art., Co. A, July, 1863, to Sept., 1865.
- Hanscom, John K., 1st Cav., Co. M, Sept., 1861, to May, 1863.
- Harding, Alvin W., 5th Inf'y, Co. H, Sept., 1862, to July, 1863.
- Harding, Frederick H., 5th Inf'y, Co. H, Sept., 1862, to July, 1863.
- Harding, Wilbur F., 5th Inf'y, Co. K, May, 1861, to June, 1861.
- Harrington, Andrew A., 11th Inf'y, Co. G, June, 1861.
- Harrington, Charles B., 13th Inf'y, Co. B, July, 1861; died Sept. 5, 1862.
- Harrington, George D., 22d Inf'y, Co. F; Post 119.*
- Hatch, Edward E., 16th Inf'y, Co. H, June, 1861; killed at Gettysburg.
- Healy, John, 16th Inf'y, Co. H, June, 1861, to Aug., 1863.
- Hildreth, George B.,² Sept., 1861.
- Hildreth, John C., 1st and 4th Cav., Co. M, Sept., 1861, to Sept., 1864.
- Hobson, James, Sergt. 1st Battalion, Hy. Art., Co. B, Oct., 1862.
- Holmes, Isaac W., 45 Inf'y, Co. D, Sept., 1862, to July, 1863.
- Howard, John, 16th Inf'y, Co. B, July, 1861, to Mar., 1862.
- Hudson, John W., 2d Lieut. 35th Inf'y, Aug. 1862, to June, 1865; promoted through the several grades to Lieut.-Col. commanding Regt.
- Isherwood, James, 20th Inf'y, Aug., 1862.
- Jacobson, Daniel, 2d Inf'y, May, 1864.
- Johnson, Abraham W., 45th Inf'y, Co. H, Sept., 1862, to July, 1863.
- Johnson, Alfred, 4th Cav., Co. A, Dec., 1863, to Nov., 1865.
- Johnson, Charles R., Capt. 16th Inf'y, Aug., 1861; wounded at Chancellorsville and at Gettysburg; died July 17, 1863.

* See p. 450, *infra*. Ed.

¹ Names that appear on list published by Mr. Hudson, but not verified. Ed.

² Names of men verified as in service, but no data where they served. Ed.

- Johnson, Henry, 5th Inf'y, Co. G, May, 1861, to Aug., 1861.
Jones, Henry M., 1st Cav., Co. M, Oct., 1861.
Jones, Samuel H., 45th Inf'y, Co. D, Sept., 1862, to July, 1863;
2d Hy. Art., Co. H, and 17th Inf'y, Co. G, Aug., 1864, to July,
1865.
Jones, William W., 12th Inf'y, Co. E, July, 1862; transferred to
V. R. C. Jan., 1864; U. S. Vet. Vols., Feb., 1865, to Feb., 1866.
Keefe, Michael, 2d Hy. Art. and 17th Inf'y, Sept., 1864, to June,
1865.
Kelly, Thomas, 20th Inf'y, Co. A, Aug., 1861; killed at Gettysburg.
Kendall, Frank O., Sergt. 45th Inf'y, Co. D, Sept., 1862, to July,
1863.
Keniston, Ira G., 45th Inf'y, Co. C, Sept., 1862, to July, 1863.
Keniston, Isaac F., 16th Inf'y, Co. F, July, 1861, to July, 1864.
Keniston, Warren, 38th Inf'y, Co. F, Aug., 1862, to Mar., 1864.
Kneeland, Anderson H., 12th Inf'y, Co. E, June, 1861, to July,
1864.
Kneeland, Francis H., 12th Inf'y, Co. E; Post 119.*
Lawrence, Sayles V., 1st Sharpshooters, Oct., 1862.
Leary, Timothy, 40th Inf'y, Co. F, Sept., 1862; transferred Oct.,
1862, to the 4th U. S. Art.
Lent, August, 28th Inf'y, Mar., 1864, to June, 1864.
Linsey, George, 12th Inf'y, Co. E, June, 1861, to July, 1864.
Locke, Everett S., 2d Hy. Art., Co. H; Post 119.*
Locke, William M., 16th Inf'y, Co. H, June, 1861, to July, 1864.
Logan, Jeremiah, 19th Inf'y, Co. B, Mar., 1862, to Dec., 1862;
wounded at Antietam; 28th Inf'y, Co. A, Mar., 1864, to Mar.,
1865.
Lomas, Edward H., Q. M. Sergt. 4th Cav., Co. A, Feb., 1865, to
Nov., 1865.
Lovewell, Henry A., 12th Inf'y, Co. E, June, 1861, to Aug., 1862;
Sergt.
Maguire, James, 3d U. S. Art., May, 1864, 3 years.
Maloney, John, 28th Inf'y, Co. B, Jan., 1862, to Dec., 1864.
Manley, Cornelius, 2d Hy. Art., and 17th Inf'y, Co. E, Sept.,
1864, to June, 1865.
Manley, John, 12th Inf'y, Co. B, July, 1862; killed at Fredericksburg.
Manning, William, Jr., 28th Inf'y, Co. A, Mar., 1864, to June, 1865.
Marchant, Benjamin M., 35th Inf'y, Co. D, Aug., 1862, to June,
1865; Sergt.
McCarthy, Timothy, 2d Hy. Art., Co. B; Post 119.*
McGrath, Luke, 2d Hy. Art., and 17th Inf'y, Co. E, Sept., 1864,
to June, 1865.
McLaughlin, John J., 3d Hy. Art., Co. E, Oct., 1863.
McMahan, Charles, 16th Inf'y, Co. A, July, 1861, to July, 1864.

* See p. 450, *infra*. Ed.

- McMahan, Dennis, 56th Inf'y, Co. C, Dec., 1863, to July, 1865; prisoner at Petersburg and died at Andersonville.
- Mead, John, 16th Battery, Mar., 1864; and drowned Jan., 1865, in Va.
- Melvin, William W., 5th Inf'y, Co. K, May, 1861, to Aug., 1861; 5th Inf'y, Co. H, Sept., 1862, to July, 1863.
- Merriam, William A., 47th Inf'y, Co. G, Oct., 1862, to Sept., 1863.
- Mills, Thomas, 2d Inf'y, May, 1864.
- Murphy, T.,¹ 16th Inf'y.
- Muzzey, Charles O., U. S. S. Kearsarge, Nov., 1861; killed Feb., 1864.*
- Muzzey, George E., Q. M. 12th Inf'y; Post 119.†
- Muzzey, Loring W., Capt. and Com. of Sub. 6th A. C. Brvt. Maj. Post 119.†
- Nason, William G., 43d Inf'y, Co. A, Oct., 1862, to July, 1863.
- Naylor, Adam, colored, 5th Cav., Co. C, May, 1864, to Oct., 1865.
- Nevin, John, May, 1864; died before mustered in.
- Nourse, Milton, 47th Inf'y, Co. G, Oct., 1862, to Sept., 1863.
- O'Brien, James S., 2d Hy. Art., Dec., 1863; died Aug., 1864, in Andersonville prison.
- O'Brien, Thomas S., 28th Inf'y, Co. C; Sergt. Jan., 1864.
- O'Donnell, Hugh, 20th Inf'y, Co. C, Aug., 1862.
- O'Neil, John, 16th Inf'y, Co. F, July, 1861, transferred Aug., 1863, to V. R. C.
- Owens, Robert, 2d Hy. Art., Nov., 1863.
- Parker, Charles M., 24th Inf'y, Co. D; Post 119.†
- Penniman, Nathaniel W., 1st Sharpshooters, Oct., 1862, to July, 1864.
- Peters, Adam, 12th Inf'y, Co. E, June, 1861, to July, 1864.
- Peters, John, 12th Inf'y, Co. E; Post 119.†
- Plumer, William, Capt. 1st Sharpshooters, Sept., 1862, to Oct., 1863.
- Potter, Charles L., Sergt. 3d Hy. Art., Co. C, Aug., 1863, to Sept. 1865.
- Puffer, Charles H., 12th Inf'y, Co. E, June, 1861; wounded at Fredericksburg; died Feb., 1863, at Alexandria.
- Purcell, Patrick, V. R. C., May, 1864, to Mar., 1865.
- Pushee, Luther H., 1st Cav., Co. B, Oct., 1861.
- Ramsey, Royal, 5th Inf'y, Co. K, May, 1861, to July, 1861.
- Rankin, Richard, 28th Inf'y, Co. B, Mar., 1864.
- Russell, Eugene F., 1st Battalion Hy. Art., Co. F, Aug., 1864, to June, 1865.

¹ Names that appear on list published by Mr. Hudson, but not verified. *Ed.*

* See Vol. II, p. 484. *Ed.*

† See p. 450, *infra*. *Ed.*

- Saville, Clifford, 45 Inf'y, Co. D.; Post 119.*
- Sawin, Thomas K., 45th Inf'y, Co. E, Sept., 1862, to July, 1863.
- Sawyer, John, 28th Inf'y, Mar., 1863.
- Sheehan, James, 2d Hy. Art., Co. G, Dec., 1863; died Sept., 1864, in Andersonville prison.
- Sherman, John G., 12th Inf'y, Co. E, July, 1863; wounded at Fredericksburg and transferred to V. R. C., Apr., 1864.
- Simonds, Charles F., 6th Inf'y, Co. D, July, 1864, to Oct., 1864.
- Simonds, George, Jr., 45th Inf'y, Co. D; Post 119.*
- Simonds, Joseph, 22d Inf'y, Co. F, Sept., 1861; died Oct., 1862, from wounds received at Malvern Hill, Va.
- Smith, George H., 13th Inf'y, Co. C, July, 1861, to July, 1864.
- Smith, William,¹ colored, 2d Hy. Art.
- Smith, Winsor, 13th Inf'y, Co. B, July, 1861, to Dec., 1862.
- Somes, E. H.,¹ colored, 2d Hy. Art.
- Stearns, Henry W., 16th Inf'y, Co. H, June, 1861, to July, 1864.
- Stimpson, Adam, 20th Inf'y, Aug., 1862.
- Swain, Thomas, 2d Inf'y, May, 1864.
- Thompson, Charles, 55th Inf'y, Feb., 1865, to Sept., 1865.
- Thorn, Benjamin F., 12th Inf'y, Co. E, June, 1861; killed at Antietam.
- Tidd, Charles L., 48th Inf'y, Co. A, Sept., 1862, to Sept., 1863.
- Trask, A.¹, 5th N. Y. Inf'y, 1861.
- Trull, George A., 24th Inf'y, Co. D, Aug., 1862, to Dec., 1864.
- Viglo, William, 3d U. S. Art., May, 1864. [Called Kilo on roster.]
- Walsh, Martin, 1st Cav. and 4th Cav., Co. L, Oct., 1861, to Nov., 1865.
- Wheeler, George A.,² U. S. Army, May, 1864.
- Wheeler, George G., 2d Class Fireman on Lackawanna, Sept., 1864, to July, 1865.
- Wheelock, Henry L., 1st Sharpshooters and 19th Inf'y, Co. K, Oct., 1862, to June, 1865.
- White, Richard F., 16th Inf'y, Co. H, and 11th Inf'y, Co. F, July, 1861, to June, 1865.
- Whitman, John F., service in North Atlantic blockading squadron early in the war; reënlisted as acting ensign in 1864 and served until July, 1868.
- Williams, Curtis, colored, 54th Inf'y, Co. B, Nov., 1863, to Aug., 1865.
- Williams, James A., 12 Inf'y, Co. E, June, 1861, to July, 1864.
- Wilson, Charles, 2d Inf'y, May, 1864.
- Winning, William, 44th Inf'y, Co. H, Sept., 1862, to June, 1863.
- Wright, George W., 45th Inf'y, Co. D; Post 119.*

* See p. 450, *infra*. Ed.

¹ Names that appear on list published by Mr. Hudson, but not verified. Ed.

² Names of men verified as in service, but no data where they served. Ed.

Wright, John, 1st Hy. Art., Co. L, Nov., 1863; transferred to Navy and discharged, Sept., 1866.

Wright, Walter R., 45th Inf'y, Co. D, Sept., 1862, to July, 1863.

Wright, Willis L., 45th Inf'y, Co. D, Sept., 1862, to July, 1863.

Wyman, Moses, 2d Hy. Art., Co. H, Sept., 1864, to June, 1865.

During the first two or three years of the war there were a large number of enlistments from Massachusetts into the Navy and many of these were not credited on any town's quota. In order to rectify this, Congress passed an Act, approved July 4, 1864, under which these enlistments were assigned to the town or city of their residence, where such residence could be clearly settled, and the others were divided *pro rata* among the different cities and towns.

Lexington had forty-one such names, three of which are included in the Hudson list, and three others could not be verified as credited to Lexington. The remaining thirty-five follow.

Navy

Bowers, George F.,	July, 1863, to July, 1864.
Darne, George W.,	Oct., 1861, to Sept., 1863.
Delay, John,	Oct., 1861, to July, 1864.
Dickenson, Hallowell,	Oct., 1861, through the war.
Fabens, George O.,	May, 1863, to May, 1865.
Faucon, E. H.,	July, 1861, to Sept., 1865.
Feilbeig, Ulric,	June, 1863, to Sept., 1865.
Fenton, John,	Mar., 1865, to May, 1866.
Fernandez, Manuel,	Feb., 1864, to Feb., 1865.
Ferney, Thomas H.,	June, 1862, to Apr., 1865.
Finney, George,	Dec., 1861, to Nov., 1865.
Flansburg, John W.,	Aug., 1863, to Oct., 1865.
Ford, Jefferson,	Aug., 1861; died June, 1864.
Freeman, Simeon N.,	Aug., 1861, to July, 1865.
French, John A.,	Aug., 1863, to Nov., 1865.
Frost, George W.,	Aug., 1861, to Dec., 1865.
Hanscom, John,	Feb., 1864, to Feb., 1865.
Kenniston, Thomas,	Feb., 1864, to Sept., 1864.
Parbit, Richard,	Nov., 1863, 1 year.
Parker, Charles,	Oct., 1863, 1 year.
Partridge, John,	Sept., 1863, to Oct., 1864.
Pattee, William T.,	Nov., 1863, to Nov., 1864.
Peck, Thomas M.,	Oct., 1863, to Nov., 1864.
Petiford, Henry,	Oct., 1863, to Sept., 1864.
Philips, Addison W.,	Nov., 1863, to Nov., 1864.

Pittman, Charles,	Nov., 1863, to Nov., 1864.
Polsiver, Albert,	Nov., 1863, to Jan., 1865.
Post, Daniel,	Oct., 1863; deserted May, 1864.
Purser, John,	Nov., 1863, to Nov., 1864.
Rank, John,	Sept., 1861, to Oct., 1863.
Richardson, Richard,	Sept., 1861, 2 years.
Simonds, Winfield S.,	Oct., 1861, to Jan., 1862.
Smith, Charles G.,	Oct., 1861, to June, 1863.
Sullivan, James,	Oct., 1861, to Oct., 1863.
Sullivan, James,	Oct., 1861; deserted, Oct., 1862.

CHAPTER XX

MILITARY AFFAIRS (*continued*)

Memorial Hall — The Tablets — George G. Meade Post 119, G. A. R. — W. R. C.
97 — Minute-Men of 1875.

As already stated, Lexington, soon after the close of the Civil War, took steps to express in permanent form her appreciation of the services of those of her citizens who had helped in the preservation of the Union. It was decided to place in the projected Town Building a Memorial Hall, commemorating the patriotism of the soldiers of both the Revolutionary War and the Civil War. Until the removal of the Cary Library to its own building, this Memorial Hall served very appropriately as a vestibule to the Library, and is now passed through in entering the offices of the various town boards. The general shape of this Memorial Hall is octagonal, and in four niches, placed alternately, are life-size marble statues of a Minute-Man of the Revolution, a soldier of the Civil War, John Hancock, and Samuel Adams.¹ On the walls of the Memorial Hall are two marble tablets reading as follows:

Tablet 1.

THE PLEDGE AND ITS REDEMPTION.

RESPONSE OF LEXINGTON TO THE APPEAL OF BOSTON DEC. 1773.

"WE TRUST IN GOD, THAT SHOULD THE STATE OF OUR AFFAIRS REQUIRE IT, WE SHALL BE READY TO SACRIFICE OUR ESTATES AND EVERY THING DEAR IN LIFE, YEA AND LIFE ITSELF, IN SUPPORT OF THE COMMON CAUSE."

NAMES OF THE CITIZENS OF LEXINGTON WHO FELL IN FREEDOM'S CAUSE, APRIL 19, 1775.

ENSIGN ROBERT MUNROE.
JONAS PARKER.
SAMUEL HADLEY.
JOHN BROWN.
ISAAC MUZZEY.

CALEB HARRINGTON.
JONATHAN HARRINGTON, JR.
JEDEDIAH MUNROE.
JOHN RAYMOND.
NATHANIEL WYMAN.

"THEY POURED OUT THEIR GENEROUS BLOOD LIKE WATER, BEFORE THEY KNEW WHETHER IT WOULD FERTILIZE THE LAND OF FREEDOM OR OF BONDAGE."

WEBSTER.

¹ For a detailed account of the acquisition of the statues of Hancock and Adams, see Chap. XII. Ed.

Tablet 2

THE SONS DEFENDED WHAT THE FATHERS WON.

NAMES OF RESIDENTS OF LEXINGTON AND OTHERS SERVING ON HER QUOTA, WHO GAVE THEIR LIVES TO THEIR COUNTRY IN THE WAR OF THE REBELLION.

Frederick D. Fiske, 12,¹ Reg't. Killed Aug. 29, 1862, at 2nd Bull Run.

Charles H. Fiske, 12, Reg't. Killed Sept. 17, 1862, at Antietam.

Benjamin F. Thorn, 12, Reg't. Killed Sept. 17, 1862, at Antietam.

William De Coty,² 12, Reg't. Died Oct. 18, 1862, of a wound received at 2nd Bull Run.

John Manley, 12, Reg't. Killed Dec. 13, 1862, at Fredericksburg.

Charles H. Puffer, 12, Reg't. Died Feb. 7, 1863, of a wound received at Gettysburg.³

Chas. B. Harrington, 13, Reg't. Died Sept. 5, 1863,⁴ of disease contracted in the service.

Capt. Chas. R. Johnson, 16, Reg't. Died July 17, 1863, of wounds received at Chancellorsville and Gettysburg.

Charles Cutler, 16, Reg't. Died Aug. 29, 1862,⁵ of disease contracted in the service.

Edward E. Hatch, 16, Reg't. Killed July 3, 1863, at Gettysburg.

John O'Neil, 16, Reg't. Died May 11, 1867, of disease contracted in the service.

Corp. Joseph Simonds, 22, Reg't. Died Oct. 5, 1862, of a wound received at Malvern Hill.

Charles Flagg, 24, Reg't. Died Oct. 1, 1866, of disease contracted in the service.

Warren Kinnaston, 38, Reg't. Died June 22, 1864, of disease contracted in the service.

John F. Byron, 47, Reg't. Died in the service June 4, 1863.

Dennis McMahon, 56, Reg't. Died July 12, 1865,⁶ at Andersonville Prison.

Thos. H. Earle, 1, Reg't. Cav'y. Died July 24, 1863, at Hilton Head.

Timothy Leary, 40, Reg't. Mass. & 4, U. S. Art'y. Killed May 3, 1863, at Chancellorsville.

¹ Not on the 12th Regiment roster; was in 18th Regiment and credited to Lexington.

² William De Coty is the name all through the Town Records, but the name on the military rolls is Wm. Decosta.

³ Self-evident error; should be Fredericksburg.

⁴ He died in 1862, while in the service.

⁵ Died while in the service.

⁶ Regiment roster gives July 12, 1865, as date of discharge, not date of death.

William Grover, 2, Reg't. U. S. Art'y. Killed Aug. 29, 1862, at 2nd Bull Run.

Charles O. Muzzey, Captain's Clerk, perished with the crew of the U. S. Steamer Housatonic, destroyed by a Rebel torpedo, Feb. 1, 1864, in the Harbor of Charleston.

It is fair to say that a direct outcome of the establishing of a Memorial Hall was the founding of the George G. Meade Post 119, Grand Army of the Republic;¹ for the idea of creating such a Post in Lexington originated at the time when Memorial Hall was being furnished and additional funds for that purpose were urgently needed.

In this matter the soldiers very naturally took an active interest. As a result of their discussion of the situation, it was suggested that a Post be formed, and that this Post inaugurate a two days' fair, from which it was hoped to net sufficient funds to complete the furnishing of the hall as planned. Both projects were successfully carried out. The Post was chartered and organized in March, 1873, with George H. Cutter, Commander; and, with the generous help of the citizens, the fair held in April netted over eighteen hundred dollars, a sum which was used towards paying for the statues which fill the four niches of the hall.

The Post started with twenty-two members and admitted six more during the first year, using Masonic Hall for headquarters. Then came a period of indifference or lack of initiative, when the only duties performed for nine years were the Memorial Day exercises; but at a meeting in June, 1882, new officers were chosen, and all present agreed to attend each monthly meeting for a year. From this time, which might well be called the critical point in the existence of the Post, the interest of the comrades has been continuous; there has been slow but sure gain in financial condition and great improvement in quarters.

The Post's standing in the Department has, since the revival, been creditable at all times, and in some respects far better than that of many larger Posts. The average membership has been between thirty-five and forty, with a total of sixty-six, out of which number thirty-one have died.

¹ The history of Post 119, G. A. R., has been prepared by Lieutenant J. N. Morse, of the Committee. *Ed.*

CHARLES T. WEST
GEORGE E. MUZZEY

LEONARD G. BABCOCK
LOUIS E. CRONE
IRA F. BURNHAM

ORIGEN B. DARLING
ALBERT A. SHERMAN

Being obliged to leave Masonic Hall soon after the reorganization, the Post secured a small room in Norris's Block, the only available place, and stayed there from 1882 to 1889, when the hall at the west end of the same building was hired and furnished at considerable expense by donations from the members, and a generous amount from the W. R. C. 97 resulting from a fair. This hall, although a great improvement, was far from what was wanted, and committees were chosen at times to see if more satisfactory quarters could be had. When the Bank Block was built the present quarters were secured, and since then the comrades have looked on this hall as their home, very likely to be permanent, although the rent would be too high were it not for some underletting and the aid of friends.

The finances for several years following 1882 were a matter of great concern, but the outgo was kept strictly within the income, although it took "eternal vigilance" and various entertainments to keep free from debt. A "Sunlight Dance" on February 22 was one of the features of 1891, and this seemed to give so much satisfaction to both the Post and the public, especially the children, that it has been continued to the present time.

The Post has had from the first a good-sized Relief Fund which has proved sufficient to meet all demands. There has been expended from this fund for the aid and comfort of not only the Post members, but other needy veterans as well, over eight hundred dollars, besides considerable more given from the Post funds.

There is a Post lot in the cemetery awaiting any soldier who is not provided for. The Post has supplied several headstones where the soldiers' graves would otherwise be unmarked, and is still willing to aid further in this direction, if need be.

As, in the wartime, the ladies of Lexington were actively interested in preparing and sending comforts to the boys at the front,¹ so in the early days of the Post the books show many votes of thanks for their assistance on Memorial Day. After the organization of W. R. C. 97 in 1887, their efforts were redoubled, with the result of much needed assistance both personal and financial, made possible partly through fairs, entertainments, suppers, etc. Their care of and visits

¹ See Proc. Lex. Hist. Soc., Vol. II, p. 197.

to our sick comrades is only another feature of their help. Their membership has averaged about sixty-five.

Another most gratifying occurrence was the organizing of the George G. Meade Association of Lexington in 1904, which numbers between sixty and sixty-five members, with all the settled ministers of the town as honorary members. These Associates have not only furnished valuable financial aid, one third of which goes into the Relief Fund, but many enjoyable outings and occasions that will be pleasant memories for the comrades in the days to come. Their participation with the Post on Memorial Day, by assisting in placing the flowers, is a pledge that this beautiful commemoration will be faithfully continued when there shall be no Post members.

May 30 was designated as Memorial Day by General John A. Logan, Commander in Chief of the G. A. R. in 1868. This is the one day in the year that appeals most urgently to each comrade, and the exercises of that day have always been performed with full ranks, even in the years between 1874 and 1882. Then the exercises of the day were simple, the Post assembling in the street near the post-office in the early afternoon with a band, marching to the cemetery with flowers, and holding a short service there. Sometimes the return would include a march around the Common, with a stop at the Monument, before breaking ranks. Evening service in Town Hall closed the day.

The flowers used varied from time to time, beginning with elaborate wreaths of roses; then flowers were donated by citizens, and ladies volunteered to put them in shape. Occasionally potted plants were used and the laurel wreath added. As the number of bouquets required increased, they have been bought ready-made. During most of these years, the town has generously voted sufficient appropriation to pay the day's expense.

As the days of '61-'65 get more distant and the ranks of the survivors grow smaller and smaller, there appears a more cordial and personal public sentiment which is partly shown in the following account of the day in 1910. The day's duties, however, began the Sunday before, when the Post, on invitation, attended service at one of the churches and heard a sermon appropriate to the time. On Memorial Day, before the march, there had usually been a service in the Town Hall,

but this year, for the first time in recent years, these two services were combined and held in the Town Hall the previous Sunday evening. The oration was by a former townsman, Mr. L. E. Bennink. The Roll of Honor, seventy-three names, read by the Post Adjutant, included all deceased members of the Post and all other ex-soldiers and sailors buried in the town.

On Memorial Day morning, details with flags and flowers visited Mount Auburn and other places near-by where Post members are laid. According to a custom established in 1892 the Post visited Bedford by invitation, and decorated the graves of fifty-three Civil War veterans, two of deceased Post members, and twenty Revolutionary soldiers, holding the usual services in their cemetery.

About two o'clock the Post with invited veterans and Post Associates, all as one company for the day, marched from Post Hall to the front of Town Hall, where "Open ranks" were formed and the flowers and wreaths brought from Cary Hall by the school-girls and given to those in line. Then began the march to the cemetery, the Post, preceded by about sixty school-girls in white; about sixty-five uniformed school color guards; the Lexington Minute Men in new Continental uniforms, commanded by Major Alfred Pierce; and the Band. The original battalion of Lexington Minute-Men were Post escort in 1875.

In the cemetery, after a short service was held, each grave was visited, and a bouquet and wreath deposited, with the flag waving above. Taps were sounded and the return march made to Town Hall, where more flowers were taken, and the Revolutionary veterans in the old cemetery and on the Common were remembered in the same way. While the W. R. C. 97 work is not prominent, it is nevertheless important and helpful, as the ladies have much to do in arranging the flowers, and in preparing and serving a lunch after the exercises are over.

The comrades have always been glad to enlist the services and interest of the children and teach as best they could the principles of loyalty and patriotism. To this end, in 1891, the Post presented a large flag to the Hancock School, and through the liberality of others all the schools were supplied. Commander Darling devoted much time to organizing, drilling, and uniforming the color guards, who were to care for

these flags. These guards have been our escort on May 30 each year since.

Another work in this line undertaken by both Post and Corps is to have an officer with the title of "Patriotic Instructor," who on all suitable occasions speaks and suggests ways to keep this subject before the younger generation. One of these ways is to observe Flag Day, as the Corps have for several years, the Post and the public always attending and many young people taking part.

In 1895, Mr. Warren Sherburne presented the Post with a large volume prepared expressly for recording the personal war history of each member of the Post. This has been written and now constitutes a most precious record of the war services rendered by comrades of Post 119.

The comrades remember with pleasure their trip to Washington, D. C., in 1892, to the National Encampment of the G. A. R., which was made possible through the generous donations of fellow citizens. As this was, to many, the first opportunity to visit familiar localities connected with their service, it made the occasion doubly enjoyable.

Roster of George G. Meade Post 119

NOTE. Abbreviations: Ex. = expiration of service; Dis. = discharged for disability; D. = died. Where the State is not mentioned in denoting a military organization, Mass. is to be understood. Many names on this list appear in Vol. II where further detail of service is recorded.

Babcock, Leonard G., "E," 11th Ill. Inf., Sept., '61, to Mar., '63.

Dis. Severely wounded at Ft. Donelson, Tenn. Subsequent service in Vicksburg. D. 1900.

Bacon, Charles H., "F," 12th Vt. Inf., Aug., '62, to July, '63. Ex.

Ball, Alamander L., "G," 16th Vt. Inf., Oct., '62, to Aug., '63. Ex. D. 1902.

Batchelder, Ira F., "I," 11th Vt. Inf., Aug., '62, to July, '65. Ex.

Wounded at Cold Harbor, Va. D. 1909.

Brooks, Herbert L., "E," 52d Inf., Oct., '62, to Aug., '63. Ex.;

"K," 60th Inf., July, '64, to Nov., '64. Ex.

Brown, John H. (colored), U. S. Bark "Fernandina," June, '62, to June, '65. Ex.

Burke, Thomas, "C," 33d Inf., Aug., '62, to May, '65. Wounded in arm at Resaca, Ga. Dis.

Burnham, Ira F., "E," 48th Inf., Sept., '62, to Sept., '63. Ex. D. 1911.

- Butters, Frank V., "K," 5th Inf., Apr., '61, to July, '61. Ex.
Butters, Sidney, "D," 45th Inf., Sept., '62, to July, '63. Ex.
Wounded at Kingston, N. C. D. 1897.
- Clarke, Cyrus D., Lieut. 2d Cal. Cav., Sept., '61, to Jan., '65. Ex.
Colby, Moses E., "E," 13th N. H. Inf., Sept., '62, to Feb., '63. Dis.
Cosgrove, Thomas, "F," 40th Inf., Sept., '62, to June, '65. Ex.
Wounded at Drewry's Bluff and at Petersburg, Va. Received a medal of honor from the Sec'y of War for bravery at Drewry's Bluff. D. 1912.
- Covell, Oatman A., "M," 2d N. Y. Cav., Sept., '61, to Mar., '62. Dis.; "K," 96th N. Y. Inf., Mar., '65, to Feb., '66. Ex. D. 1911.
- Cox, Rev. John H., "E," 23d Inf., Jan., '64, to June, '65. Ex.
- Crone, Louis E., "E," 22d Inf., Sept., '61; 2d Lieut. Oct., '62; 1st Lieut. Dec., '62; "G," 17th Vet. Res. C., June, '63, to May, '65; Capt. 42d U. S. Inf., July, '66, to Dec., '70. Lost an arm at Gaines's Mill, Va. D. 1891.
- Cutter, George H., "H," 3d Wis. Inf., Apr., '61, to Aug., '65. Ex. as 1st Lieut.
- Darling, Origen B., "D," 45th Inf., Sept., '62, to July, '63. Ex.; "B," 1st Batt. Heavy Art'y, Oct., '63, to Feb., '65; Capt. "L," 12th U. S. Col'd Heavy Art'y, Feb., '65, to Apr., '66. Ex. D. 1899.
- Davis, Fred, "D," 6th Inf., July, '64, to Oct., '64. Ex.
- Davis, Samuel, 4th Maine Inf., June, '61, to Sept., '62.
- Dennett, George B., "E," 12th Inf., Aug., '62, to Feb., '65. Ex. Prisoner at the Wilderness and confined at Andersonville and Florence, S. C.
- Fiske, Joseph A., "E," 50th Inf., Aug., '62, to Mar., '63. Dis.
- Flint, George, "H," 16th Inf., June, '61, to July, '64. Ex. Wounded at the Wilderness. D. 1908.
- Folsom, George W., "I," 35th Inf., Aug., '62, to June, '65. Ex. Wounded.
- Foster, William B., "D," 5th Inf., July, '64, to Nov., '64. Ex.
- Gay, John G., "A," 20th Inf., Aug., '61, to May, '62. Dis.
- Gould, Arthur F., "A," 44th Inf., Aug., '62, to June, '63. Ex. D. 1890.
- Gurney, George N., "K," 25th Maine Inf., Sept., '62, to July, '63. Ex.
- Ham, William F., "I," 3d U. S. Art'y, Sept., '64, to Sept., '67. Ex. D. 1908.
- Harrington, George D., "F," 22d Inf., Sept., '61, to Oct., '64. Ex.
- Hensley, George H., Gunboat "Aries," July, '62, to July, '64. Ex.
- Homans, Walter H., Ship "Pequot," June, '64, to Jan., '65. Ex. D. 1897.
- Jones, George F., "F," 44th Inf., Sept., '62, to June, '63. Ex. D. 1898.

- Kauffmann, Charles G., "E," 158th N. Y. Inf., Aug., '62, to June, '65. Ex. as 1st Serg't. Wounded at Ft. Harrison and Ft. Gregg, Va.
- Kimball, George, "A," 12th Inf., June, '61, to July, '64. Ex. Wounded at Fredericksburg and at Gettysburg.
- Kneeland, Francis H., "E," 12th Inf., June, '61, to July, '64. Ex. D. 1896.
- Lawrence, George O., S.S. "Rhode Island," Nov., '62, to Dec., '63. Ex.; "C," 1st Batt. Frontier Cav., Jan., '65, to June, '65. Ex. D. 1910.
- Leavitt, Alonzo, "B," 1st Batt. Heavy Art'y, Oct., '62, to June, '65. Ex. D. 1897.
- Locke, Everett S., "H," 2d Heavy Art'y, Sept., '64, to June, '65. Ex.
- Maynard, John F., "F," 5th Inf., July, '64, to Nov., '64. Ex. D. 1904.
- McCarthy, Timothy, "B," 2d Heavy Art'y, and "E," 17th Inf., Sept., '64, to June, '65. Ex.
- McDonald, Albert S., "A," 47th N. Y. Inf., Nov., '62, to Aug., '65. Ex. as 2d Lieut.
- Morse, John N., "D," 35th Inf., Aug., '62, to Jan., '65. Dis. as 1st Lieut. Wounded at Weldon R. R. and at Poplar Grove Church, Va.
- Moulton, Samuel, "E," 1st Inf., May, '61, to May, '64. Ex. D. 1906.
- Mullen, Daniel, Str. "South Carolina," June, '62, to May, '65. Ex.
- Muzzey, George E., Q. M., 12th Inf., July, '61, to Oct., '65. Ex. D. 1896.
- Muzzey, Loring W., Q. M. 12th Inf., Apr., '61, to Oct., '65. Ex.; Capt. and Com. of Sub. 6th A. C. Bt. Maj. D. 1909.
- Packard, Daniel E. P., "F," 84th N. Y. Inf., July, '61, to July, '65. Ex. D. 1898.
- Page, Grovener A., "D," 33d Inf., Aug., '62, to Apr., '64. Dis. Lost an arm at Missionary Ridge. D. 1898.
- Parker, Charles M., "D," 24th Inf., Aug., '62, to Dec., '64. Ex.
- Patten, B. W., "D," 33d Inf., Aug., '62, to June, '65. Ex.
- Peters, John, Jr., "E," 12th Inf., June, '61, to July, '64. Ex. Wounded at Antietam.
- Phillips, Aseph W., "G," 7th Inf., June '61, to June, '64. Ex.
- Prescott, John H., "B," 32d Inf., Nov., '61, to Feb., '63. Dis.; "G," 6th Inf., July, '64, to Oct., '64. Ex.
- Putnam, Charles, U. S. S. "Ossipee" and "Pinola," Sept., '62, to Oct., '65. Ensign. Ex.
- Rankin, Charles H., "A," 6th Inf., July, '64, to Oct., '64. Ex. Also service with 41st Inf. in La. 1862-'63.
- Saville, Clifford, "D," 45th Inf., Aug., '62, to Sept., '63. Ex. Wounded at Kingston, N. C. D. 1908.

- Sherman, Albert A., "G," 1st Cav., Sept., '61, to July, '65. Ex. 1st Serg't. D. 1908.
- Simonds, George, Jr., "D," 45th Inf., Sept., '62, to July, '63. Ex. D. 1900.
- Stone, Norman B., "E," 16th Vt. Inf., Aug., '63, to July, '64. Ex.
- Tyler, Henry H., "C," 39th Inf., Aug., '62, to June, '65. Ex.
- Walcott, Willard, "D," 53d Inf., Oct., '62, to Sept., '63. Ex. Wounded at Port Hudson. D. 1898.
- West, Charles T., "B," 4th Vt. Inf., Aug., '62, to June, '65. Ex. D. 1908.
- Whitney, Edmund C., "I," 53d Inf., Oct., '62, to Sept., '63. Ex. Wounded at Port Hudson. D. 1898.
- Worthley, Charles T., "G," 47th Inf., Oct., '62, to Sept., '63. Ex.
- Wright, George W., "D," 45th Inf., Sept., '62, to July, '63. Ex.
- Total membership, 66.
- Present membership, 22.

The Minute-Men of 1875¹ was an organization which grew out of the celebration of the ninety-ninth anniversary of the Battle of Lexington, April 19, 1874, at which so large a cavalcade of young men appeared in the procession that it seemed possible to form them into a military body for escort and other duties at the approaching centennial anniversary. A meeting was, therefore, held with a view of organizing an infantry company to be attached to the State militia. The majority of men available, however, were disinclined to tie themselves to a permanent organization, and application was made, therefore, to the Adjutant General of the Commonwealth, and his permission was obtained, to organize a local company for the special purposes of the Lexington Centennial. Arms and equipment were loaned from the Watertown Arsenal. Two companies, aggregating about one hundred men, were organized, a drillmaster was secured from the Federal garrison at Fort Warren, and on his advice a battalion organization was adopted in August, 1874.

In September two camps of instruction of two days each were established on Lexington Common, the equipment being furnished by the State. The use of the Town Hall was allowed for drill, and the exercises were largely attended by the citizens. During the fall a dress uniform, which was a facsimile of that of the Continental Line during the Revo-

¹ For the information relative to the Lexington Minute-Men, the Committee is indebted to Messrs. A. D. Cutler and E. F. Breed. *Ed.*

lution, was adopted, and those in charge were so careful to have the uniform exact that General Washington's epaulets were borrowed from the Boston Museum as patterns for those of the officers of the new company. To perfect the equipment, flint-lock muskets and powder-horns were secured for the rank and file, and swords of Revolutionary pattern for the officers. Drilling was faithfully carried on during the entire winter of 1874-75. The committee on the Lexington Centennial contributed a thousand dollars towards the uniforms and equipment, and in order to raise the necessary balance, an honorary membership at a minimum cost of five dollars was established. An appeal for such membership was sent throughout the country, and met with a generous response. Nevertheless, there was a final deficiency, which was liquidated mainly through the generosity of a citizen of Lexington.

Descendants of Ensign Robert Munroe, of Captain Parker's Company, who was killed on the Common, April 19, 1775, presented the battalion with a fine flag, ornamented with the town coat of arms and patriotic mottoes.

On the day of the centennial celebration the Lexington Minute-Men constituted the escort of the First Division of the procession, the right of line having been quite properly assigned to the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company. Headquarters were established in a triangular field between Elm Avenue and the railroad; and, notwithstanding the severe cold of the day and the difficulties of marching through the dense crowds, the battalion made an excellent appearance.

The following two months were devoted to preparing for the centennial of the Battle of Bunker Hill, in which the Minute-Men had been invited to participate. On the morning of the 17th of June, 1875, the battalion was given an honorable position in the parade, nearly twelve miles long, which marched through many of the principal streets of Boston, as well as of Charlestown. A prominent feature of this procession was the appearance therein of several military bodies from the Southern States.

The special purposes for which the Lexington Minute-Men of 1875 were created having been fulfilled, there was a cessation of activity until September, 1875, when an attempt was made to form a permanent company to succeed to the privileges and property of the earlier one. The first meeting of the

organization was held in January, 1876, and subsequent meetings were held in April of that year, when the organization was finally disbanded for lack of interest and support. It had been arranged to attend the Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia, but the expense of transportation and subsistence proved too great for the carrying-out of the plan.

Following is a list of the officers: —

Major: Loring W. Muzzey.
Adjutant: A. D. Cutler.
Surgeon: William J. Currier.
Paymaster: George O. Davis.
Quartermaster: Frank P. Hovey.
Commissary: John N. Morse.

First Company —

Capt.: George H. Cutter.
1st Lieut.: Charles A. Fowle.
2d Lieut.: Everett S. Locke.

Second Company —

Capt.: C. G. Kauffmann.
1st Lieut.: John F. Maynard.
2d Lieut.: James A. Mitchell.

In 1910 the organization of Lexington Minute-Men was revived under a charter granted by Governor Draper on May 5. The Constitution reads as follows: —

"We, the undersigned, by virtue of the permission of his Excellency, Eben S. Draper, Governor of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, as granted May 5, 1910, do hereby form in Lexington a Military Organization to be known as the Lexington Minute-Men.

"The purpose of this Association is to perpetuate the historical traditions of April 19, 1775, and to foster and promote a spirit of patriotic allegiance and service to our Town, State, and Country."

Sixty members signed the Constitution and By-Laws, at the meeting for organization, and the following officers were elected: —

Major and Commander: Alfred Pierce.
Treasurer: Christopher S. Ryan.
Clerk: Ezra F. Breed.
Captain, Co. A: John R. Hughes.
1st Lieutenant, Co. A: C. Edward Glynn.
2d Lieutenant, Co. A: William S. Bramhall.
Captain, Co. B: E. Quincy Cole.

1st Lieutenant, Co. B: William F. Young.

2d Lieutenant, Co. B: Thomas E. Freeman.

Major's Staff —

Adjutant: George F. Reed.

Quartermaster: J. Willard Hayden, Jr.

Chaplain: Rev. Samuel Knowles.

Surgeon: Dr. J. O. Tilton.

Paymaster: C. S. Ryan.

Sergt. Major: Ezra F. Breed.

Since that date the organization has grown to a membership of one hundred and twenty and takes in the following towns: Lexington, Bedford, Arlington, Waverley, Waltham, Maynard, Acton, Stow, Burlington, and Medford. It has had also another company, known as Company C, Bedford. Many members from these different towns are descendants of the Minute-Men who fought in 1775.

CHAPTER XXI

MUNICIPAL AFFAIRS

List of Selectmen — School Committees — Assessors — Town Clerks — Treasurers — Committees of Correspondence — Representatives — Senators.

It may be gratifying to us to know who have enjoyed the confidence of the people from time to time and who have filled the principal places of honor and trust in the town. It is proposed to give a list of the Selectmen, School Committees, Assessors, Clerks, and Treasurers. Also to give the names of the Representatives and Senators, as far as the same can be ascertained. Such lists¹ not only show who were the prominent men at different periods, but also the views and habits of the people in relation to rotation in office.

List of Selectmen, from the Incorporation of the Town to the present day, together with the years they served; arranged in the order in which they first entered upon their office.

Matthew Bridge, 1713,² 13.
William Reed, 1713,² 14.
Francis Bowman, 1713,² 13, 15, 16, 21, 24, 26-28.
Joseph Simonds, 1713.³
John Merriam, 1713,² 13, 19-21, 23.
Joseph Estabrook, 1713, 15-17, 36.
Thomas Blodgett, 1713, 18-20, 22-24.
Joseph Bowman, 1714-16, 21, 24, 26, 27, 29, 31, 33-38.
Samuel Stone, 1714, 15, 23.
William Munroe, 1714-16, 32.
Joseph Tidd, 1714.
Joseph Fassett, 1716, 17, 19, 21, 25-27, 30, 39.
John Lawrence, 1716, 17, 22, 25, 26, 31.
Benjamin Wellington, 1717-23, 25-30, 32, 33, 36, 37.

Thomas Merriam, 1717, 22, 23, 31.
John Munroe, 1718-20, 25.
John Poulter, 1718.
Thomas Cutler, 1718.
Samuel Locke, 1720, 29.
Joseph Brown, 1722, 24, 25, 27.
William Munroe,³ 1724, 30, 34, 35.
Samuel Winship, 1728-30, 32, 33.
George Munroe, 1728.
Thomas Cutler, 1729, 31, 33, 34.
John Mason, 1729, 31, 34-36.
Jonathan Simonds, 1732.
Matthew Bridge, Jr., 1732, 33, 40, 44, 45.
William Reed, 1734-38, 43, 53, 54, 57, 59, 61.
John Stone, Jr., 1734-37, 39, 40, 46, 48, 52.

¹ These lists have been verified from the records, and have been brought down to date. *Ed.*

² The first election was held March 30, 1713, and the second March 15, 1713-14. *Ed.*

³ It frequently happens, in this list, that the same name appears at different times; but the individuals are not the same. The family names being the same, create some confusion.

- Joseph Estabrook, 1737, 33.
 John Laughton, 1738.
 Benjamin Reed, 1738, 41, 42, 44-46, 48, 60.
 Benjamin Smith, 1739-42, 44, 45, 47, 49, 53-55, 58.
 • Isaac Bowman, 1739, 43, 47, 53-55, 59-60.
 Ebenezer Fiske, 1739, 40, 43, 45, 47, 49, 50, 53, 54, 57.
 Daniel Simonds, 1740, 55.
 John Muzzy, 1741, 42, 44.
 Daniel Tidd, 1741, 42, 46, 48-52, 57.
 Samuel Stone, 1741, 42.
 Josiah Parker, 1743-45, 53-55.
 Joseph Stone, 1743.
 Joshua Simonds, 1746.
 John Bridge, 1746, 56.
 Isaac Stone, 1747, 48, 50.
 John Hoar, 1747, 48.
 David Cutler, 1749-50.
 Thomas Robbins, 1749.
 Nathaniel Trask, 1750.
 Amos Muzzy, 1750.
 Robert Harrington, 1752, 62-66, 68-72, 74, 77, 78, 83, 84.
 Daniel Brown, 1752, 61.
 Jonathan Lawrence, 1752.
 John Mason, 1755.
 Jonas Stone, 1756, 59, 61-71, 73.
 Hezekiah Smith, 1756.
 James Brown, 1756.
 Thaddeus Bowman, 1756-61, 65, 66, 69-71, 73.
 Joseph Bridge, 1757.
 Samuel Bridge, 1758-60.
 Jonas Munroe, 1758.
 Joseph Loring, 1758.
 John Buckman, 1760.
 Joseph Tidd, 1761, 66, 67, 68.
 Ebenezer Smith, 1762-64, 69.
 Marrett Munroe, 1762-64, 68.
 Benjamin Brown, 1762-66, 68-70.
 Samuel Stone, Jr., 1765, 67.
 Samuel Hastings, 1768, 73, 78.
 Hammon Reed, 1770, 72, 74, 80, 89.
 Josiah Smith, 1771, 72, 74, 76, 77.
 Jonathan Smith, 1771.
 Thomas Robbins, Jr., 1772, 74, 78.
 John Chandler, 1772, 74, 76, 79, 81-84, 86, 89.
 Jonathan Harrington, 1773, 76.
 John Muzzy, 1773.
 Thomas Parker, 1776, 77.
 Nathan Simonds, 1776.
 Philip Russell, 1776, 77.
 William Tidd, 1776, 78, 79, 83, 87, 88.
 Joshua Reed, 1777, 78, 80.
 Thomas Winship, 1779, 81.
 Daniel Harrington, 1779, 85, 86.
 William Munroe, 1779, 82-84, 89, 90, 94, 95.
 Benjamin Brown, 1780.
 William Reed, 1780.
 Amos Marrett, 1780.
 Benjamin Estabrook, 1781, 82.
 Phineas Stearns, 1781, 82.
 Francis Brown, 1781-84.
 Joseph Simonds, 1784, 87, 88, 90, 94.
 Amos Marrett, 1785, 86, 89-91.
 Nathan Reed, 1785-88.
 Joseph Smith, 1785, 89-91, 93.
 Benjamin Wellington, 1785, 92.
 Amos Muzzy, 1786-88.
 John Bridge, 1787, 88, 90, 94, 95.
 John Parkhurst, 1791.
 Joel Viles, 1791..
 Joseph Fiske, Jr., 1791, 93.
 Thomas Fessenden, 1792.
 Isaac Hastings, 1792-98, 1802-4, 9-11.
 John Mulliken, 1792, 93, 96-1800, 2, 3, 5-16.
 Jonas Bridge, 1792-98.
 Joseph Smith, 1793.
 James Brown, 1794, 1802, 3.
 David Fiske, 1795.
 Abijah Harrington, 1795, 1802, 3, 9, 10.
 John Chandler, 1796-98.
 Nathan Chandler, 1796-1800, 4, 9-17.
 Stephen Winship, 1799-1801.
 Thomas Tufts, 1799, 1800.
 Nathan Dudley, 1799-1801.
 Joshua Russell, 1801-3.
 Joshua Reed, 1801.
 Josiah Smith, 1801, 4-6.
 Nathan Russell, 1804-6.
 Thomas Locke, 1804.
 Jacob Robinson, 1805, 6.
 Joshua Swan, 1805, 6.
 Amos Muzzy, Jr., 1807, 8, 17-19.
 John Muzzy, 1807, 8.
 Nathan Munroe, 1807, 8.
 Abram Smith, 1808.
 Joseph Underwood, 1809.
 Charles Reed, 1810-21, 30.
 Nathan Fessenden, 1811-13.
 James Brown, Jr., 1812-13.
 Benjamin O. Wellington, 1814-16, 29-31.
 John Muzzy, Jr., 1814-16.
 Amos Muzzy, Jr., 1817-19.
 Nathaniel Cutler, 1817-23.

Isaac Reed, 1817.
 Phineas Lawrence, 1820-23.
 Benjamin Reed, 1822-27.
 Nathaniel Mulliken, 1824-29, 47.
 William Chandler, 1824-27.
 Francis Bowman, 1828.
 Francis Wyman, 1828, 29.
 John Mulliken, Jr., 1830, 31.
 Joel Viles, 1831-35, 52-56.
 Philip Russell, 1832-40, 49, 50, 52, 56, 57.
 Solomon Harrington, 1832-36.
 Charles Robinson, 1836, 37, 66, 67.
 Isaac Mulliken, 1837-40.
 Sidney Lawrence, 1838, 39.
 Benjamin Muszey, 1840-43, 48.
 Charles James, 1841, 42.
 Nehemiah Wellington, 1841.
 Billings Smith, 1842.
 Jonathan S. Parker, 1843, 44, 49.
 Albert W. Bryant, 1843-47.
 Pelatiah P. Pierce, 1844-46.
 Stephen Locke, 1845, 46.
 Galen Allen, 1847, 48, 51.
 Joseph F. Simonds, 1848, 49.
 Simon W. Robinson, 1850, 51.
 Joseph Howe, 1850, 51.
 Alonzo Goddard, 1852-56, 65, 68-70.
 Isaac N. Damon, 1852-56, 75.
 Charles Hudson, 1857-62, 68-74.¹
 Loring S. Pierce, 1857-59, 1872-74.¹
 David A. Tuttle, 1858, 59.
 Webster Smith, 1860-64, 76-79, 86-95.
 William H. Smith, 2d, 1860-64.

Hammon Reed, 1863-65.
 Eli Simonds, 1865.
 John W. Hudson, 1866, 67.
 Sylvanus W. Smith, 1866, 67.
 Charles Robinson, 1867, 68.
 Charles Nunn, 1869.
 Walter Wellington, 1869.
 S. C. Whitcher, 1870, 71.
 B. W. Reed, 1870-72.¹
 Joseph Frederick Simonds, 1872,¹ 80-85.
 Bradley C. Whitcher, 1872-75,¹ 80-85.
 Charles M. Parker, 1872.¹
 Franklin Alderman, 1875.
 Otis Wentworth, 1876-79.
 Albert W. Bryant, 1876-84, 86-88.
 Levi Prosser, 1883.
 Dr. Robert M. Lawrence, 1884, 85.
 Walter Blodgett, 1885, 86.
 Charles T. West, 1887-89.
 Rufus W. Holbrook, 1889-92.
 George E. Muszey, 1890-96.
 Edwin S. Spaulding, 1893-1904.
 John F. Hutchinson, 1896-98, 1901-03.
 William H. Whitaker, 1897, 98, 1908-11.
 Charles A. Fowle, 1899.
 George W. Sampson, 1899, 1900.
 George W. Spaulding, 1900, 01.
 George W. Taylor, 1902-07.
 Edward C. Stone, 1904.
 Frank D. Pierce, 1906 —.
 Henry A. C. Woodward, 1905-11.
 Edward P. Bliss, 1912 —.
 George H. Childs, 1912 —.

List of the Members of the School Committee, from 1830 to the present day

Rev. Charles Briggs, 1830-35.
 William Muszey, 1830, 34.
 Joseph Merriam, 1830, 31.
 John Muszey, 1830, 31, 36, 37.
 Ambrose Morell, 1830.
 Samuel Fiske, 1831, 35.
 Benjamin Muszey, 1831-36, 38-40.
 Charles Tidd, 1832-34, 36-46, 49, 55, 57-59, 63.
 Benjamin O. Wellington, 1832-36.
 Nathaniel Mulliken, 1832, 33.
 Philip Russell, 1836.
 Isaac Mulliken, 1837.
 James Brown, 1837.
 Rev. William G. Swett, 1837.
 Samuel Stetson, 1837, 41.

Billings Smith, 1837.
 Rev. O. A. Dodge, 1837-40.
 Oliver Locke, 1841.
 Rev. James M. Usher, 1842.
 W. K. Knapp, 1842.
 Rev. Charles M. Bowers, 1843, 44.
 John Nelson, 1843.
 Rev. Samuel J. May, 1844.
 Rev. Samuel B. Craft, 1844.
 Charles H. Webster, 1845.
 James Parker, 1845.
 Rev. Jason Whitman, 1846, 47.
 Rev. T. H. Dorr, 1846-49.
 Webster B. Randolph, 1847, 48.
 Rev. Ira Leland, 1848-57.
 Volney Wilder, 1849.²

¹ Two boards in 1872.

² Part of a year.

- Rev. Fiske Barrett, 1850, 51.
 J. A. Cooledge, 1850, 51.
 Curtis Cutler, 1852.
 Rev. William F. Bridge, 1852.
 Charles Hudson, 1853, 56, 57.
 Dr. Howland Holmes, 1852, 53, 55, 58-59.
 Curtis Capell, 1854.
 E. P. Crafts, 1854, 55.
 C. F. Dunbar, 1856.
 Jonas Gammell, 1857, 59-71.
 Rev. L. J. Livermore, 1858-66.
 Rev. Caleb Stetson, 1860.
 Luke C. Childs, 1865-67.
 John W. Hudson, 1867-70.
 Charles Tidd, 1868-74.
 Rev. Edward G. Porter, 1869-72.
 Augustus E. Scott, 1871-74.
 Charles A. Wellington, 1873, 74.
 Hammon Reed, 1875.
 William Plumer, 1875, 76.
 Franklin Patch, 1875.
 A. B. Adams, to fill a vacancy in 1875.
 Gershom Swan, to fill a vacancy in 1875.
 William R. Cutter, to fill a vacancy in 1875, 1876-81.
 Rev. E. S. Elder, 1875-80.
 James R. Reed, 1877-83.
 Albert W. Bryant, to fill a vacancy in 1880, 81-88.
 Benjamin F. Brown, 1882-85, 89-91.
 George H. Reed, 1884, 85.
 Rev. Carlton A. Staples, 1886.
 Edward P. Bliss, 1886-1901.
 Miss Ellen A. Stone, 1887.
 Dr. Robert M. Lawrence, 1888-90.
 James P. Munroe, 1891-93, 1906-08.
 Robert P. Clapp, 1892, 93.
 Alfred Pierce, 1892-97.
 Henry H. Hamilton, Mr. Munroe's unexpired term 1893, 94-99.
 George W. Sampson, 1894, 95.
 Edwin A. Bayley, 1896-98.
 Charles H. Wiswell, 1898-1902.
 Rev. James Benton Werner, 1899, 1900.
 Herbert S. Teele, 1900, 01.
 Dr. Fred S. Piper, 1902-04.
 Rev. Lorenzo D. Cochrane, 1902-04.
 Francis J. Garrison, 1903-06.
 Miss Sarah E. Robinson, 1903-05. Resigned.
 Mrs. Hannah T. Carret, 1903-10.
 Rev. Forester A. MacDonald, 1903-05.
 Willard D. Brown, 1905. To fill vacancy.
 Edward P. Nichols, 1905.
 Mrs. Mary W. Ferguson, 1906. To fill vacancy.
 George D. Milne, 1906, 07.
 Charles B. Davis, 1906-08.
 George F. Reed, 1907 —.
 George L. Walker, 1907-09.
 Jay O. Richards, 1908 —.
 Arthur L. Blodgett, 1909 —.

List of Assessors, from the Incorporation of the Town to the present time, with the years they respectively served; arranged in the order in which they first appear upon the records

- Francis Bowman, 1713, 13, 15, 27.
 William Munroe, 1713.
 Samuel Stearns, 1713, 16.
 Joseph Estabrook, 1713.
 Matthew Bridge, 1713.
 John Munroe, 1714.
 Samuel Locke, 1714.
 Joseph Brown, 1714, 15.
 John Merriam, 1715.
 Joseph Fassett, 1716-19, 24, 27, 30, 31.
 Benjamin Wellington, 1716-27, 29, 31-33, 35.
 Thomas Blodgett, 1717.
 Nathaniel Whittemore, 1718.
 John Mason, 1719-21, 23, 25, 30, 31.
 William Munroe, 1720.
 Joseph Brown, 1721, 22, 26.
 John Loughton, 1722-24, 28, 29, 34, 35, 38, 41.
 Nathaniel Trask, 1725, 39, 40.
 Josiah Parker, 1726, 28, 34, 36-38, 40, 42-45, 47-50, 52-55.
 William Munroe, 1728, 29, 32.
 Isaac Bowman, 1730, 32, 36, 37, 39, 40, 42, 46-49, 55.
 Matthew Bridge, Jr., 1735, 39.
 Benjamin Reed, 1734, 37.
 Ebenezer Fiske, 1736.
 Daniel Tidd, 1738, 44, 47, 48, 51, 52, 54-57, 68.
 Nehemiah Abbot, 1741.
 Joseph Bridge, 1741.
 Benjamin Smith, 1742.
 Amos Mussy, 1743, 49.
 Jonas Merriam, 1743.

Daniel Brown, 1744, 53.
 Isaac Stone, 1745.
 Thaddeus Bowman, 1745, 50, 53, 56-63, 65, 66, 69.
 John Stone, 1746.
 William Reed, 1746.
 John Muszy, 1746.
 Thomas Robbins, 1746.
 John Hoar, 1750.
 John Buckman, 1751, 52, 54, 55, 60, 64, 67.
 Benjamin Brown, 1756-62, 64-69, 74, 77, 78, 83.
 Jonathan Lawrence, 1758, 62, 63.
 Jonas Stone, 1759, 61, 63, 67-72.
 John Parker, 1764-66, 74.
 Josiah Smith, 1770-73, 76, 79, 80.
 Thaddeus Parker, 1770, 71, 73, 77.
 Joseph Mason, 1772, 73, 79-89, 95.
 Edmund Munroe, 1774, 76, 77.
 William Tidd, 1776, 79-91.
 John Bridge, 1778, 90-92.
 Daniel Harrington, 1778.
 John Chandler, 1780-82, 88, 89.
 James Wyman, 1781.
 Thomas Winship, 1782-87.
 Joseph Simonds, 1784, 87, 88.
 Benjamin Brown, 1785, 86, 89-91.
 Francis Bowman, 1792, 93.
 Isaac Winship, 1792-1813, 14.
 Rufus Merriam, 1793, 94.
 Levi Mead, 1794.
 Isaac Hastings, 1795, 1801-3, 11.
 Joseph Smith, 1796-98, 1804.
 William Tidd, 1796-99.
 Jonathan Harrington, 1799, 1800, 17-19.
 Joseph Simonds, Jr., 1800, 10, 11, 17.
 Nathan Chandler, 1801-3, 5-9, 15, 16, 21.
 Josiah Smith, 1801, 11.
 Nathan Munroe, 1801.
 Abijah Harrington, 1804-9, 12-16, 21.
 Rufus Merriam, 1810, 11.
 Nathaniel Mulliken, 1812-14, 19-24.
 John Muzzy, Jr., 1815, 16.
 Benjamin O. Wellington, 1817, 18.
 William Chandler, 1818, 19, 26-29.
 Oliver Locke, 1820-24.
 Daniel Chandler, 1820-22.
 Benjamin Reed, 1823.
 Nathan Chandler, Jr., 1824, 25.
 Jacob Robinson, Jr., 1825, 26, 30, 31.
 Josiah Smith, Jr., 1825-27.
 Samuel Fiske, 1827-29, 31.¹

¹ Part of a year. *Ed.*

Philip Russell, 1823-31, 42.
 Isaac Mulliken, 1830-40, 43, 44.
 Francis Wyman, 1831.¹
 William Clapp, 1832, 33, 35.
 Charles Reed, 1832-35.
 James Brown, 1834, 36, 37.
 John Mussey, 1836.
 Charles Tidd, 1837-42.
 Jacob Robinson, Jr., 1838-40.
 Oliver Locke, 1841, 42.
 William Clapp, 1841.
 John Beals, 1843, 44, 54.
 Charles Robinson, 1843, 44.
 William Chandler, 1845-52, 60, 62.
 Jonas C. Wellington, 1845, 50.¹
 Silas Cutler, 1845, 46, 50-52.
 Isaac Parker, 1845-48, 50.¹
 Nathan Fessenden, Jr., 1847-49, 58, 61, 67.
 Stephen Locke, 1849.
 Jonathan S. Parker, 1850-57, 59.
 J. C. Wellington, 1850, 52-54.¹
 Charles Brown, 1853, 63.
 William H. H. Reed, 1855.
 Billings Smith, 1855.
 Charles Nunn, 1856-59.
 Charles Hudson, 1856.
 Joseph F. Simonds, 1857, 61, 64-67.
 Warren Duren, 1858.
 A. W. Crowningshield, 1859-62, 64.
 William Locke, 1860.
 Eli Simonds, 1860.
 A. W. Bryant, 1860, 63.
 Loring S. Pierce, 1864-67.
 Joseph F. Simonds, 1867-97.²
 Nathan Fessenden, 1867-72.² 78.
 Loring S. Pierce, 1867-69, 72.²
 Isaac N. Damon, 1868-70.
 John P. Reed, 1870.
 Eli Simonds, 1870.
 Oliver P. Mills, 1871.
 Walter Wellington, 1872-1900.²
 Leonard A. Saville, 1874, 75, 90-94.
 Horace B. Davis, 1876-89.
 George W. Sampson, 1895-1900.
 Quincy Bicknell, Jr., 1898, 99.
 Everett S. Locke, 1900-07.
 Charles G. Kauffmann, 1901-10.
 George H. Cutter, 1901-10.
 Henry E. Tuttle, 1908 —.
 George H. Jackson, 1911 —.
 Charles H. Bugbee, 1911 —.

² Two boards in 1872. *Ed.*

List of Town Clerks, from the Incorporation of the Town to the present day, in the order in which they appear upon the record

Matthew Bridge, 1713, 13.	Rufus Merriam, 1794.
Joseph Bowman, 1714, 15.	Nathan Chandler, 1796-1803.
Joseph Estabrook, 1716, 17, 24.	Obadiah Parker, 1804.
Benjamin Wellington, 1718-23, 25-28, 30, 32, 33, 37, 38.	John Mulliken, 1805-16.
John Mason, 1729, 31, 34-36.	Charles Reed, 1817-23.
Isaac Bowman, 1739, 47, 53, 54.	Nathaniel Mulliken, 1824-31.
Matthew Bridge, Jr., 1740.	Charles Tidd, 1832-38.
Daniel Tidd, 1741, 42, 46, 48-52.	John Mulliken, Jr., 1839-43.
Josiah Parker, 1743-45, 55.	James Keyes, 1844.
Thaddeus Bowman, 1756-61, 65.	Albert W. Bryant, 1845-67.
Benjamin Brown, 1762-64, 66-69.	Leonard A. Saville, 1868, 69, 74-1900.
Joseph Mason, 1770-90, 95.	Leonard G. Babcock, 1869-73.
Joseph Fiske, Jr., 1791-93.	George D. Harrington, 1901-11.
	Charles W. Swan, 1911-.

List of Town Treasurers from the Incorporation of the Town to the present day, with the years they served; arranged in chronological order

Matthew Bridge, 1712-16.	Nathaniel Mulliken, 1832-35, 37, 38, 49-54, 56, 58, 59.
John Munroe, 1717-20.	William Chandler, 1836.
Joseph Estabrook, 1721-24.	Jonathan S. Parker, 1839-44.
Joseph Loring, 1725, 26.	John Viles, Jr., 1845-49.
Benjamin Wellington, 1727-29, 36.	J. C. Wellington, 1855.
Matthew Bridge, Jr., 1730-32, 40.	James S. Munroe, 1857.
William Munroe, 1733-35.	Charles Nunn, 1860-64.
Isaac Bowman, 1737-39.	Leonard A. Saville, 1865.
Nehemiah Abbot, 1741.	Webster Smith, 1866.
John Stone, 1742, 43.	Isaac N. Damon, 1867.
John Bridge, 1744-46.	Albert W. Bryant, 1868-70.
Jonas Merriam, 1747-54.	Billings Smith, 1870.
Jonas Stone, 1755-78.	George O. Davis, 1871.
John Chandler, 1779-89.	Leonard G. Babcock, 1872, 73.
Benjamin Brown, 1790.	Isaac N. Damon, 1874-79. Resigned.
Francis Bowman, 1791, 92.	Charles T. West, part of 1879 and 1880, 1881-86.
John Mulliken, 1793-1800.	Edwin S. Spaulding, part of 1880, 87-90, 95, 96.
Amos Muzzy, Jr., 1801-3, 5, 6.	Leonard A. Saville, 1891-94.
Nathan Chandler, 1804, 7-16, 19.	George D. Harrington, 1897-.
Rufus Merriam, 1817, 18.	
John Muzzy, Jr., 1820-23.	
Charles Reed, 1824-31.	

Committees of Correspondence

As these Committees constituted a kind of government, or at least a channel of communication through the Colony; and as they were generally composed of the most intelligent and reliable men in the town, it is well to give their names: —

1773.

Captain Thaddeus Bowman.
Deacon Jonas Stone.
Ensign Robert Harrington.
Deacon Benjamin Brown.
Deacon Joseph Loring.

1776.

Deacon Jonas Stone.
Captain John Bridge.
Lieutenant Edmund Munroe.
Lieutenant Joseph Simonds.
Lieutenant Francis Brown.

1778.

Deacon Benjamin Brown.
John Chandler.

Hammond Reed.

Jonathan Harrington.
Joseph Smith.

1780.

Benjamin Danforth.
C. Joseph Phelps.
Bezaleel Lawrence.
Benjamin Tidd.
Joshua Simonds.
Called also a Committee of Safety.

1781.

Samuel Hastings.
Lieutenant Benjamin Wellington.
Samuel Tidd.

*List of Representatives to the General Court from the Incorporation
of the Town to the present day, with the years they served; arranged
in chronological order*

William Reed, 1714, 16, 17.
Francis Bowman, 1715, 20, 22, 23, 27,
32, 33.
Joseph Bowman, 1718, 31, 34-37.
Thomas Blodgett, 1719, 21.
Joseph Estabrook, 1723, 25.
Benjamin Wellington, 1728-31.
Joseph Fassett, 1738-40.
William Reed, 1742-47, 50-52, 64-70.
Isaac Bowman, 1748, 49.
Benjamin Reed, 1750-53, 63, 68.
Jonas Stone, 1771-77.
Robert Harrington, 1778-81.
Benjamin Brown, 1783-86.
Joseph Simonds, 1787-93, 95-1802.
Isaac Hastings, 1803-5.
William Munroe, 1806, 7.
Nathan Chandler, 1808-12, 21, 22, 24.
James Brown, 1813-17.
Abijah Harrington, 1825.
John Muszy, 1825, 27.
Samuel Fiske, 1828-30.
Charles Reed, 1831, 32.
Ambrose Morell, 1832, 33.
John Mulliken, Jr., 1834, 35.
Philip Russell, 1834-36, 39, 43-51.
Nehemiah Wellington, 1836-38.
Isaac Mulliken, 1837, 40, 41.
Phineas Lawrence, 1839.
Charles James, 1842.
Benjamin Muszy, 1843, 44.
Sullivan Burbank, 1846, 47.

William Chandler, 1852, 53.
Charles Brown, 1854.
Curtis Cutler, 1855.
Simon W. Robinson, 1856.
Charles Hudson, 1857.
Charles K. Tucker, 1858.
Abraham W. Crowningshield, 1859.
P. W. Chamberlin, Bedford, 1860.
Oakes Tirrell, Jr., Burlington, 1861, 65.
William Henry Smith, 1862.
William A. Tower, 1863.
William Winn, Burlington^a, 1864, 66, 70,
75.
William A. Stearns, Bedford, 1867.
John C. Blasdel, 1868.
Richard D. Blinn, 1869, 74.
Humphrey Prescott, Carlisle, 1871.
William M. Aahby, Bedford, 1872.
Elijah Marion, Burlington, 1873.
Webster Smith, 1876.
William S. Gleason, Billerica, 1877.
John Winn, Burlington, 1878, 95.
Augustus E. Scott, 1879, 80.
Charles A. Corey, Bedford, 1881.
Ebenezer Baker, Billerica, 1882.
Leonard A. Saville, 1883.
George R. Cobb, Billerica, 1884.
Henry Wood, Bedford, 1885.
Franklin Jaquith, Billerica, 1886.
Henry J. Hosmer, Concord, 1887.
Edwin H. Blake, Bedford, 1888.
John F. Hutchinson, 1889.

Charles S. Wheeler, Lincoln, 1890.
 Richard F. Barrett, Concord, 1891, 92.
 Matthew H. Merriam, 1893, 94.
 William R. Hayden, Bedford, 1896.
 George F. Mead, 1897, 98.
 J. Howell Crosby, Arlington, 1899, 1900,
 01, 02.

Edward C. Stone, 1903, 04.
 Arthur J. Wellington, Arlington, 1905,
 06.
 Horace D. Hardy, Arlington, 1907, 08.
 Edwin A. Bayley, 1909, 10.
 John G. Brackett, Arlington, 1911, 12.
 Frank D. Peirce, 1913.

In the vacant years up to 1857, the town was not represented. Since 1857, Lexington has been included, with one or more neighboring towns, in a Representative District,¹ the several towns furnishing the Representative somewhat in rotation, qualified in part by the number of inhabitants in the several towns constituting the District.

Senators and Councillors

Nathan Chandler, 1825-28. Samuel Chandler, 1839.

When Nathan Chandler was chosen, the Senators and Councillors were chosen as one body, and the Legislature selected nine from that body as Councillors. Mr. Chandler was several times selected for that purpose. In 1882, William

¹ Every corporate town was entitled to elect a Representative to the General Court by Article 2, Chapter 1, of the State Constitution, the representation being based upon the number of ratable polls.

Article 12 of the Amendments to the Constitution made a new method of representation, based upon the number of ratable polls, it being ratified November 14, 1836.

Article 13 of the Amendments to the Constitution based the representation upon the number of inhabitants in towns, it being ratified April 6, 1840.

Article 21 of the Amendments to the Constitution created districts, it being ratified May 21, 1857.

Chapter 308, Acts of 1857, apportioned the number of Representatives for each county, and the County Commissioners established Burlington, Bedford, and Lexington as the 18th Middlesex District.

Chapter 103, Acts of 1866, apportioned the number of Representatives for each county, and the County Commissioners established Lexington, Bedford, Burlington, and Carlisle as the 21st Middlesex District.

Chapter 15, Acts of 1876, apportioned the Representatives for each county, and the County Commissioners established Lexington, Burlington, Bedford, and Billerica as the 18th Middlesex District.

Chapter 256, Acts of 1886, apportioned the Representatives for each county, and the County Commissioners established Lexington, Lincoln, Concord, Bedford, and Burlington as the 19th Middlesex District.

Chapter 509, Acts of 1896, apportioned the Representatives for each county, and the County Commissioners established Arlington and Lexington as the 18th Middlesex District.

Chapter 497, Acts of 1906, apportioned the Representatives for each county, and the County Commissioners established Arlington and Lexington as the 29th Middlesex District. *Ed.*

A. Tower was Councillor; and in 1884-85, Augustus E. Scott was Senator.

Delegates

JONAS STONE was Delegate to the First Provincial Congress, 1774, and the Second and Third, 1775.

Rev. JONAS CLARKE was Delegate to the Convention which formed the Constitution in 1779; BENJAMIN BROWN, a Delegate to the Convention which ratified the Constitution of the United States, 1788.

NATHAN CHANDLER was a Delegate to the Convention to Revise the Constitution in 1820; and JOEL VILES in the Convention to Revise the Constitution in 1853.

CHAPTER XXII

TOPOGRAPHY ¹

Situation and Extent — Soil and Productions — Hills — Health of the Place and Longevity of its Inhabitants — Roads and Railroads — The Great Bridge — Manufactures.

LEXINGTON is a post-town in the County of Middlesex, situated in latitude $42^{\circ} 26' 50''$ North, and in longitude $71^{\circ} 13' 55''$ West. It is about eleven miles west-northwest from Boston, about six miles easterly from Concord, and about fifteen miles southeast by south from Lowell. It has Winchester, Woburn, and Burlington, on the northeast; Bedford and Burlington, on the north; Lincoln, on the west; Waltham, on the southwest; and Arlington, on the southeast. The township, like most of those in the neighborhood, is somewhat irregular in its shape, and contains about nineteen square miles, or 12,160 acres. It is generally more elevated than any adjoining town,² unless it be Lincoln, and hence the water from Lexington runs in almost every direction. As it is the watershed, the streams are small, and they find their way to the ocean through the Shawshine, Mystic, and Charles Rivers. The water power in the town is inconsiderable, and what there is, is remote from the centre. In the easterly part, at the outlet of the Great Meadow, so called, was erected the first mill in the township, probably as early as 1650. It was then owned by Edward Winship, of Cambridge, and was given by his will to his son Edward, and remained more than a century in the family.³ There is another and more valuable privilege on Vine Brook, near the boundary of Burlington, though it is at present unimproved.

The township is generally uneven, furnishing a pleasant variety of hill and dale. Though the surface is frequently broken, the soil for the most part is productive. The rock form-

¹ This is taken from the chapter in Hudson's History headed "Miscellaneous." *Ed.*

² The elevation of the road-bed of Massachusetts Avenue at the junction of Waltham Street is 223.6 feet. (United States Geological Survey.) *Ed.*

³ See Reminiscences of the Fur Industry, by G. O. Smith, *Proc. Lex. Hist. Soc.*, Vol. II, p. 171. *Ed.*

MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE FACING LEXINGTON COMMON



ation, through a great part of the township, is a species of greenstone; and though it often crops out of the ground, the rock is so irregular and the sides so precipitous that the soil is deep, and often capable of cultivation up to the very face of the ledge. The presence of this rock indicates a hard, but at the same time a warm and productive soil, well adapted to grass and fruit trees.

There are many good farms in the town, and their value is greatly enhanced by the peat swamps,¹ which are found in almost every neighborhood. These swamps, when properly drained, constitute some of the most valuable land for cultivation, and at the same time serve to fertilize the rest of the farm. The material taken from the ditches is extensively used as a manure, and will of itself pay the labor of draining. Lexington, as a whole, may be considered a first-class agricultural town, and has been somewhat distinguished for its hay, fruits, and other agricultural productions; but more particularly for its milk dairies, which send to market 350,000 gallons of milk annually.²

The village of Lexington is pleasantly situated on land comparatively level; and though it is elevated more than two hundred feet above tide water, being surrounded by hills more or less distant, and having meadows on either hand, it has the appearance of being rather low. It is eleven miles from Boston, five miles from Waltham, Woburn, and Bedford, and four miles from Burlington and Lincoln. In the centre of the village is the Common, a triangular plot of ground, situated at the junction, and lying between the roads leading to Concord and to Bedford. It contains about two acres, and is perfectly level, with the exception of a gentle swell rising some five or six feet in a circular form, on the southerly side, on which is situated the Monument, erected to the memory of the first Revolutionary martyrs.³ The borders of the Common are skirted by rows of elm, ash, and other ornamental trees.

Following Massachusetts Avenue towards Boston, the houses grow more sparse for about three fourths of a mile, when they become more frequent; and one soon finds himself

¹ Several attempts have been made to convert these peat deposits into a merchantable fuel, but thus far without much success. *Ed.*

² This was in 1867. See the Milk Business, by G. O. Smith, *Proc. Lex. Hist. Soc.*, Vol. II, p. 187. *Ed.*

³ Several other commemorative tablets are now on the common. See p. 551. *Ed.*

in the midst of another village, known as East Lexington, fully half as populous as the Centre. Both villages are adorned with ornamental shade trees, which extend to every part; and in several places on the main street, huge and venerable elms attract the notice of the traveller. The character of the soil is such that both villages are, in a remarkable degree, free from those pests of many country villages — *mud and dust*.

Though Lexington has no elevations which would justify the appellation of *mountains*, yet there are within her limits a great number of hills, which command extensive prospects and present fine landscape views. These elevations are generally more or less abrupt, showing fragments of greenstone in their more precipitous sides, and having their summits crowned with the same kind of rock in a more smoothed and flattened form.

In the centre of the town, within five or six rods of the Common from which it is separated by the street, rises "BELFRY HILL," so called, from the fact that a structure was formerly erected on this hill, in which the church bell was hung.¹ This elevation, which is nearly hidden from the street by the houses and shade trees, is about forty feet above the Common, and standing in a bend of the road, presents a good view of the village, and of the roads approaching it on every side.

MERIAM'S HILL, situated about eighty rods northeasterly of the village, is elevated seventy or eighty feet above Main Street, and affords a good view of the central part of the town. The village from this eminence² presents a fine appearance. The lofty elms and other ornamental trees, which skirt the streets and shade the dwellings, give to the village an aspect peculiarly rural; and when the trees are in full foliage the prospect is one of great beauty, exhibiting in one view neat, commodious, and even stately dwellings, embowered in shady groves, with fertile fields and wooded hills in the background.

HANCOCK HEIGHT. About one hundred and twenty rods northeasterly of Meriam's Hill, and forming a part of the same swell of land, rises abruptly one of the most conspicuous

¹ This has now been restored. See chap. XXIV, p. 490. *Ed.*

² Since Mr. Hudson's writing, this hill has been built upon with many attractive residences. *Ed.*

elevations in the town. The altitude of this hill¹ is greater than any other in the township, except the highest portions of the range between Monument² and Lincoln Streets; and, rising from a lower level, and standing out isolated and alone, on the margin of the valley of Vine Brook, with an elevation of about one hundred and seventy-five feet above it, this hill has a grand and imposing appearance, and affords a magnificent prospect. Standing on its summit, you have almost the whole northern and eastern part of the town in full view.

Nor is the prospect confined to the township. The village of Burlington and the city of Woburn, with the high grounds beyond, bound your prospect on the northeast. On the east you have the hills in Winchester, Mount Gilboa, and other high lands in Arlington in view; and between these, a part of Somerville, the towering shaft on Bunker Hill, and a portion of the city of Boston may be seen, reflecting the rays of the rising or setting sun. To the southeast, the eye takes in the Blue Hills in Milton, the elevated lands in Newton, Prospect Hill in Waltham, and the high grounds in Weston. Towards the west and northwest the prospect is still more extensive. Passing over the village of Bedford, the high lands of Westford, Groton and the intermediate towns, the eye rests upon the lofty Wachusett in Princeton, the first land which meets the eye of the mariner as he approaches the coast. Farther to the north, you behold the Watatick in Ashby, and the hills in New Ipswich; and still farther, in the State of New Hampshire, the grand Monadnock, with brow half seen, and half concealed in clouds, fixes and bounds the view.

This hill is nearly devoid of wood, having only a few stunted pines and cedars upon it. But it has one feature which is somewhat characteristic of a mountain, — a pond of lasting water upon its side, about twenty feet below its summit, containing from one to two acres. This hill had acquired the insignificant name of "Granny Hill," but the inhabitants in town meeting assembled, in November, 1867, gave it the more worthy name of "Hancock Height," in honor of their first permanent minister, and his grandson, Hon. John Hancock, of Revolutionary memory, whose

¹ Three hundred and sixty feet according to map of the United States Geological Survey. *Ed.*

² Now Massachusetts Ave. *Ed.*

association with and regard for the town are well known and recognized.¹

DAVIS'S HILL,² situated about half a mile northwesterly from the Common, is a fine elevation of land, rising about one hundred and forty feet above the meadow which lies at its southeasterly base. This hill is less abrupt and broken than Hancock Height, having in many parts a tolerably good soil, which has been cultivated nearly to its summit. This elevation, like the others in the neighborhood, overlooks the village, and affords much the same prospect toward the north and west as the one last mentioned. This range of high land continues to the southwest, and though it has several depressions, it rises, after passing the road to Concord, to an elevation greater than any land in the town. The highest parts are covered with a good growth of wood.

FISKE HILL, situated on the road to Concord, about a mile and a third from the village, is elevated at least one hundred feet above the valley with which it is surrounded, and furnishes an extensive view to the north, west, and south. The old road, over which the British passed in their expedition to Concord in 1775, wound its way up the sides of this hill, and passed the ridge not far below its highest elevation. Near the summit of this hill, Colonel Smith attempted to rally his flying troops and make a stand against his pursuers. But his efforts were fruitless. His troops were soon put to flight, and he was severely wounded.

There are several hills of considerable elevation in the southerly part of the town, near the old Concord Turnpike, which command views more or less extensive.

LORING'S HILL,³ about half a mile southerly from the centre of the town, rises somewhat abruptly from the meadows which skirt Vine Brook, to the height of about one hundred and fifty feet. It is covered with wood; and the underbrush having been removed, it affords a delightful

¹ Regardless of the vote of the town, the name in common use to-day is Granny Hill, while "Hancock Height" is seldom heard. Granny Hill is used by the United States Geological Survey. The name originated from "Granny" Harrington (Abigail), widow of Henry Harrington, who lived on the easterly side of the hill now known as Grant Street. She died January 23, 1820, aged 94 years. *Ed.*

² Now known as Robinson Hill. *Ed.*

³ The United States Geological Survey map gives the elevation as three hundred and sixty feet. There is but a few feet difference in elevation between Loring Hill and Granny Hill. *Ed.*

ramble for those who seek the cooling shade, to meditate upon the beauties of nature.

There is a range of high lands on the southerly side of the great road leading to Boston, commencing a little southeasterly of the Town Hall, which, though interrupted by several depressions, extends into Arlington. The swell above the old Munroe Tavern is considerably elevated, and overlooks the village and a large portion of the town. It was on the northern declivity of this hill that Lord Percy placed one of his field-pieces on the 19th of April, 1775; and from this spot threw his shot in every direction, where he could discover any of the Americans assembling, — one of which perforated the meeting-house on the Common. The elevated portions of this range, southwesterly of the village of East Lexington, command a prospect of great extent and rare beauty. Not only the northeasterly portion of the town, but the city of Medford, with its numerous dwellings and public buildings, are displayed to view. Nor rests the prospect here; the city of Lynn, and the dark blue ocean beyond, whitened by the sails of the hardy fishermen and the enterprising merchants, give variety and grandeur to the scene.

MOUNT INDEPENDENCE, near the East Village, rises abruptly about one hundred and thirty feet above the main street. It is nearly opposite the church, and commands a full view of the village, and the high lands on the opposite side of the broad meadows which spread out on each side of Mill Brook. The prospect from this hill is truly delightful, and the people in that part of the town have shown their good sense in giving it a name worthy of its character and the town where it is situated. On the 4th of July, 1824, a piece of ordnance was presented by a citizen of the village, for the use of the inhabitants; and the name of "Mount Independence" was given to this hill, under the folds of the Stars and Stripes, and amid the roar of cannon and the huzzas of the citizens. It was near the foot of this hill that the British on the morning of the 19th of April, 1775, committed one of their first acts of aggression, by disarming one of the Lexington Militia (Mr. Benjamin Wellington), who was on his way to join his fellow townsmen in arms at the Common.

Farther to the south, this elevated range¹ rises still higher,

¹ The town has had brought before it at intervals a proposition to construct a

with a more extended prospect, particularly to the south and east, enabling the eye to take in Newton, and the great extent of beautiful country intervening. At the lower end of the East Village, this range is considerably depressed, but soon rises again as it approaches the line of Arlington, giving a good view toward the north.

Being an elevated township, the water is pure and the air salubrious; and hence Lexington in all periods of her history has been regarded as one of the most healthful places in the vicinity. This fact is so well known and acknowledged that invalids from the city frequently resort here for the improvement of their health. The topography of the country, the rural scenery, the orderly quiet of the place, and the purity of the atmosphere render Lexington a desirable place of residence.

The sanitary character of the town may be seen in the longevity of its inhabitants. In 1776, among the recorded deaths were one person aged 88 years, one aged 84, three aged 83, and two aged 79. Between 1779 and 1790 inclusive, there were one aged 96, one aged 95, one aged 93, two aged 92, three aged 90, one aged 88, and four aged 85. Nor was this longevity confined to the last century. In 1819, there were among the recorded deaths, one person aged 99, one aged 94½, and two aged 94; and in 1822, two aged 92. In the Church Records of 1835 is the following entry: "Deaths during the preceding fifteen years, three hundred and twenty-one. Over 80 years of age, forty; over 90, ten; 95, one; 99, one."

In 1854, there died in Lexington persons of the following ages: one of 80, one of 87, one of 90, one of 92, and one of 95; in 1855, one of 86, one of 88; in 1856, one of 93, one of 81, one of 80; in 1858, one of 82, one of 83, one of 88, and one of 91; in 1860, one of 82, one of 83, and one of 88; in 1861, two of 80, one of 81, one of 86, and one of 92; in 1862, one of 85, and two of 86; in 1863, one of 83, and one of 87; in 1864, one of 83, and one of 87; in 1865, one of 80, one of 82, and two of 84; in 1866, two of 80, one of 91, and one of 93. One other case deserves mention. Mary Sanderson, great-grand-daughter of William Munroe, the original emigrant, died October 15, 1852, aged 104 years and 5 days.

Lexington, from its geographical position, has been pretty boulevard along this range, from Lexington Centre to Arlington Heights. No definite action has as yet resulted. *Ed.*

thoroughly cut up by roads. Before railroads diverted the travel, there were three great thoroughfares from Boston into the country, running through the entire length of the town: the Concord Turnpike through the southern, the Middlesex Turnpike¹ through the northern, and the Old Concord Road² through the central part of the town. These, with the roads to Bedford, Lincoln, Weston, Waltham, Watertown, Woburn, and Burlington, brought a large amount of travel through the place. Stages were run daily, and large teams from the northern part of the State, and from New Hampshire and Vermont, to and from Boston, could be seen upon the roads almost any hour in the day.

But the introduction of railroads has diverted all the long travel from the town; and were it not for the increased local travel, our roads would be left almost desolate. Seeing this diversion of travel, the people of the town felt the necessity of doing something to prevent the population, as well as travel, from leaving the place. Railroads being the order of the day, that mode of communication seemed to be the only thing which would keep Lexington within the list of prosperous towns and connect her with the commercial metropolis. One of her most enterprising citizens, Benjamin Muzzey, Esq., took the matter in hand, and by his zeal and perseverance, he was enabled, by the aid of others and the liberality of our citizens, to build a railroad connecting Lexington with Boston.³ This road has been a blessing to the town, and the people owe a debt of gratitude to the memory of him by whose zeal and energy this has been obtained.

Lexington, considering her territory, has a large extent of roads to support. The aggregate length of her roads is about sixty-five miles — making at least three hundred acres devoted to public ways. The town is not particularly burdened with bridges, having only two or three of any magnitude. But the greatest grievance which the town has ever suffered

¹ Owing to the destruction, many years ago, of the bridge over the Concord River, this old turnpike has long been abandoned as a through road to Lowell. It constitutes, however, as does also the Concord Turnpike, one of the many beautiful drives in Lexington. *Ed.*

² Both these roads to Concord have been in large measure superseded by the "State Road," which, leaving Massachusetts Avenue in East Lexington, follows Middle Street, midway between the older avenues, to a point beyond Fiske Hill, where it rejoins Massachusetts Avenue. *Ed.*

³ See Origin of the Lexington and West Cambridge Branch Railroad, by George Y. Wellington. *Proc. Lex. Hist. Soc.*, Vol. III, p. 58. *Ed.*

has been the support of the "Great Bridge," so called, between the city of Cambridge and the town of Brighton. After paying tribute to the town of Cambridge about a century and a half, in 1859, by the effort of the Chairman of the Selectmen, an act was obtained from the Legislature, exempting the town from any further support of a bridge eight miles distant from them, and one over which they rarely, if ever, travelled.

Lexington is almost entirely destitute of manufactures.¹ In the easterly part of the town, the dressing of furs² used to be carried on to some extent; but at the present time that has ceased.

¹ The M. H. Merriam Company has a factory for leather findings on Oakland Street, and the Jefferson Union Company one for steam fittings on Grant Street. *Ed.*

² See *Reminiscences of the Fur Industry*, by George O. Smith. *Proc. Lex. Hist. Soc.*, Vol. II, p. 171. *Ed.*

CHAPTER XXIII

STATISTICS ¹

Origin of the name "Lexington" — Population — Valuation — Slavery.

WE have already seen that Lexington was incorporated, March 20, 1712, *Old Style*, which, by our present mode of reckoning, would be March 31, 1713.² It took its name from Robert Sutton, who bore the title of LORD LEXINGTON.³ The family of Lexington, of which Sir Robert was, in the female line, the representative, was of considerable antiquity and note in England. Robert Sutton, Baron de Lexington, lived in the time of Henry III and died June 4, 1250, without issue.

¹ Taken from Mr. Hudson's chapter headed "Miscellaneous," the statistics of population and valuation being brought down to 1910. *Ed.*

² It may be interesting to some to state the occasion for the change from Old to New Style. The Julian Year consisted of three hundred and sixty-five days and six hours — making the year too long by about eleven minutes. In 1582, Pope Gregory XIII attempted to reform the Calendar. From the time of the Council of Nice to the time of Gregory, this excess of eleven minutes amounted to ten days. In order to obviate this error, it was ordained that the year 1582 should consist of only three hundred and sixty-five days, and that ten days, between the 4th and 14th of October, should be thrown out of the Calendar for that year; and also, to prevent any further irregularity, that no year commencing a century should be leap-year, excepting each four hundredth year; whereby three days are abated every four hundred years, that being nearly equal to eleven minutes for every year during that period, leaving an error of only one day in fifty-two hundred years.

The Calendar before the days of Gregory was called the "Julian," after Julius Cæsar, who regulated it, and has since the change been commonly denominated "Old Style," and the Calendar of Gregory has been denominated "New Style." Though the New Style was at once adopted in Romish countries, such was the prejudice of Great Britain to the Romanists that it was not adopted by her or in her Colonies till 1752. Previous to that year, two methods of beginning the year prevailed in England; the *ecclesiastical* and *legal* year beginning on the 25th of March, and the *historical* year on the 1st of January. The change of Style adopted by England in 1752, fixed the 1st of January as the commencement of the year, and abolished the distinction between the legal and historical year.

This difference in the commencement of the respective years led to a system of double dating from the 1st of January to the 25th of March — thus: January 10, 1724-5 or 1724, the 4 denoting the ecclesiastical, and the 5 the historical year. From 1582 to 1699 the difference in the Styles was ten days; from 1700 to 1800, eleven days; and since 1800, twelve days. In changing Old to New Style, care should be taken not to confound the centuries. Many mistakes have arisen from not regarding the century in which the event occurred.

³ See "Origin of the Name Lexington" by A. E. Scott, Esq. *Proc. Lex. Hist. Soc.*, Vol. 1, p. 9.

John de Lexington, a younger brother of Robert, was four times appointed Keeper of the Seal by the King. Another brother, Henry de Lexington, was Bishop of Lincoln in 1254. With this generation the line of Lexington became extinct. But a sister, Alice, married Roland de Sutton, from whom descended Robert, Lord Lexington. His father was made Baron of Lexington by Charles I, and died in 1688. Robert was his only son, and sustained several important offices, the duties of which he discharged with ability and honor. In 1698, he was appointed Envoy Extraordinary to the Imperial Court of Vienna, where he remained till the Peace of Ryswick, when he returned to England, and was appointed one of the Lords of the Bedchamber. He was, in 1712, selected to conduct the negotiations with Spain. He died in 1723.

When the Precinct of North Cambridge was incorporated as a town in 1713, Lord Lexington was in the very height of his popularity, and his name was familiar among all who stood near the throne. A custom is said to have prevailed in Massachusetts in those days, when a town was incorporated, to pass the order or act, and send it to the Governor with a blank for the name to be filled by him. Joseph Dudley was at that time Governor of the Province, and the fame of Lord Lexington would naturally suggest his name to any Chief Magistrate as a suitable one for the town. But there is another reason why Governor Dudley should wish to do honor to the popular English negotiator, viz.: they were distant relatives; the Dudleys being of the Sutton family, and taking the surname of Dudley from the barony of that name. So that the name of Lexington given to this town, would, if given by the Legislature, be a compliment to the Governor, and if given by the Governor himself, would be a compliment to his friend and relative.

But little thought they when they were honoring a British Lord, by giving his name to this township, that LEXINGTON was to become a watchword for freemen throughout British America. It has been stated elsewhere that the deeds of the 19th of April so warmed the hearts of the hardy hunters in the wilds of Kentucky that they baptized their camp by the name of *Lexington*. The veneration for this town, and for the associations which cluster around it, has been such that the authorities of remote States have recurred to the opening scene of the Revolution, and have given to a portion of their territory the name of our own beloved town. Hence, we have

twenty-four counties, cities, and towns by the name of *Lexington*, scattered over every section of our wide, extended country, including the Pacific States — a fact of which the inhabitants of old Lexington have just reason to be proud.

It will be interesting to witness the growth of the town through every period of its history from the first settlement to the present day. It will be seen by the following tables that its progress has not been rapid. In 1754, a portion of the territory and population was taken from Lexington to form the town of Lincoln. The French and Revolutionary wars which followed kept the population nearly stationary for thirty or forty years.

As Lexington was a part of Cambridge till 1713, we have no records of her population till after that period. Nor have we any authentic census till 1790. But from a careful analysis of all the documents which bear upon the subject, and a full consideration of scattering tax-bills, number of polls, the effects of Philip's, the French, and the Revolutionary wars, the known emigration and immigration from and to the township, the change of the town lines, and the general laws of population, we can safely estimate the population of Lexington for each decennial period; and though the numbers may not be perfectly accurate, they are a close approximation, sufficiently near for all practical purposes.

The following table will show the population at the commencement of each decade: —

Year.	Population.	Year.	Population.	Year.	Population.
1650	30	1700	350	1750	761
1660	60	1710	453	1760	760
1670	90	1720	568	1770	755
1680	160	1730	681	1780	750
1690	256	1740	724		

The above is unofficial.

1790

White males under 16 yrs.	212	White females (of all ages)	470
“ 16 yrs. and upwards	251	“All other free persons”	8
Total males	463	Aggregate	941

1800

White males under 10 yrs.	148	White females under 10 yrs.	129
" 10 yrs. and under 16	91	" 10 yrs. and under 16	78
" 16 " " 26	90	" 16 " " 26	96
" 26 " " 45	96	" 26 " " 45	98
" 45 " and upwards	81	" 45 " and upwards	98
Total males	506	Total females	494
"All other free persons, except Indians, not taxed"			
Aggregate			

1810

White males under 10 yrs.	123	White females under 10 yrs.	130
" 10 yrs. and under 16	82	" 10 yrs. and under 16	68
" 16 " " 26	105	" 16 " " 26	119
" 26 " " 45	103	" 26 " " 45	95
" 45 " and upwards	102	" 45 " and upwards	115
Total males	515	Total females	527
"All other free persons except Indians, not taxed"			
Aggregate			

1820

White males under 10 yrs.	141	White females under 10 yrs.	153
" 10 yrs. and under 16	81	" 10 yrs. and under 16	77
" 16 " " 26	119	" 16 " " 26	105
" 26 " " 45	140	" 26 " " 45	139
" 45 " and upwards	111	" 45 " and upwards	130
Total males	592	Total females	604
Free colored, under 14 yrs. 1 male and 1 female; 45 yrs. and upwards, 2 females.			
Aggregate			

1830

White males under 5 yrs.	105	White females under 5 yrs.	92
" 5 yrs. and under 10	106	" 5 yrs. and under 10	91
" 10 " " 15	80	" 10 " " 15	81
" 15 " " 20	76	" 15 " " 20	93
" 20 " " 30	141	" 20 " " 30	122
" 30 " " 40	117	" 30 " " 40	99
" 40 " " 50	57	" 40 " " 50	74
" 50 " " 60	38	" 50 " " 60	42
" 60 " " 70	30	" 60 " " 70	40
" 70 " " 80	22	" 70 " " 80	19
" 80 " " 90	5	" 80 " " 90	10
Total males	777	Total females	763
Free colored, 10 years and under 24, 2 males and one female.			
Aggregate			

STATISTICS

479

1840

White males under 5 yrs.	85	White females under 5 yrs.	82
" 5 yrs. and under 10	94	" 5 yrs. and under 10	92
" 10 " " 15	88	" 10 " " 15	73
" 15 " " 20	83	" 15 " " 20	104
" 20 " " 30	169	" 20 " " 30	143
" 30 " " 40	105	" 30 " " 40	99
" 40 " " 50	78	" 40 " " 50	87
" 50 " " 60	70	" 50 " " 60	64
" 60 " " 70	27	" 60 " " 70	42
" 70 " " 80	18	" 70 " " 80	24
" 80 " " 90	6	" 80 " " 90	6
" 90 " " 100	1	" 90 " " 100	2
Total males	824	Total females	818
Aggregate			1,642

1850

White males under 1 year	17	White females under 1 year	23
" 1 year and under 5	75	" 1 year and under 5	67
" 5 yrs. " 10	90	" 5 yrs. " 10	96
" 10 " " 15	96	" 10 " " 15	79
" 15 " " 20	67	" 15 " " 20	90
" 20 " " 30	191	" 20 " " 30	195
" 30 " " 40	125	" 30 " " 40	130
" 40 " " 50	113	" 40 " " 50	103
" 50 " " 60	67	" 50 " " 60	87
" 60 " " 70	55	" 60 " " 70	57
" 70 " " 80	26	" 70 " " 80	19
" 80 " " 90	6	" 80 " " 90	12
" 90 " " 100	2	" 90 " " 100	1
" 100 and upwards		" 100 " and upwards	1
Total males	923	Total females	960
Free colored, 1 male and 4 females.			
Aggregate			1,893

1860

White males under 1 year	19	White females under 1 year	18
" 1 year and under 5	105	" 1 year and under 5	112
" 5 yrs. " 10	132	" 5 yrs. " 10	101
" 10 " " 15	98	" 10 " " 15	103
" 15 " " 20	98	" 15 " " 20	113
" 20 " " 30	206	" 20 " " 30	223
" 30 " " 40	179	" 30 " " 40	174
" 40 " " 50	122	" 40 " " 50	109
" 50 " " 60	98	" 50 " " 60	85
" 60 " " 70	63	" 60 " " 70	76
" 70 " " 80	32	" 70 " " 80	38
" 80 " " 90	9	" 80 " " 90	14
" 90 " " 100	1		
Total males	1,162	Total females	1,166
Free colored, 1 male.			
Aggregate			2,329

The succeeding population by age-periods, according to the State Censuses of Massachusetts, was as follows:—

Age-Periods	1845		1875		1885		1895		1905	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Under 5 years	119	135	94	98	86	98	132	141	165	164
5 years and under 10	118	115	115	111	108	87	136	137	192	210
10 years and under 15	117	81	122	110	118	106	105	155	189	205
15 years and under 20	79	108	130	126	126	123	125	125	167	173
20 years and under 30	141	210	201	195	207	278	246	376	323	421
30 years and under 40	139	178	174	196	169	171	206	297	309	427
40 years and under 50	121	113	137	173	134	183	200	193	313	351
50 years and under 60	111	98	120	114	106	123	153	163	196	188
60 years and under 70	57	70	95	73	100	104	96	136	122	151
70 years and under 80	42	41	40	39	53	60	65	74	66	39
80 years and under 90	7	15	10	17	17	18	23	26	24	35
90 years and under 100	1	2	—	1	1	—	2	3	1	3
Unknown	4	3	6	11	—	—	—	—	—	1
Totals	1066	1164	1242	1263	1357	1361	1692	1806	2127	2403

The total population by even ten-year periods, according to the United States census, was as follows:—

1870	2277	1890	3197	1910	4918
1880	2460	1900	3831		

The valuation of the town is more uncertain than its population. The mode of valuing property and the fluctuating character of the currency make it almost impossible, for the first one hundred years, to give any just and connected view of the growth of the town in wealth. Up to 1693, there was no valuation or tax separate from that of Cambridge. The first tax-bill for the minister's salary in 1693 shows the relative wealth of the different individuals, but furnishes no data for the valuation of the precinct. By presenting in a tabular form the polls and valuations at different periods, we are enabled to form some idea of the growth of the place. Though it must be borne in mind that the basis of polls and of the valuations differed somewhat in different periods.

List of Polls and Valuations at Different Periods.

Years.	Polls.	Valuation.	Years.	Polls.	Valuation.
1729	191		1820	306	234,366
1735	202		1830	368	247,466
1745	206		1840	489	561,549
1750	219		1850	522	1,869,453
1769	192		1860	581	1,813,634
1771	185		1865	615	1,747,459
1775	208		1870	629	2,254,831
1785	196		1880	708	2,589,337
1790	205		1890	955	3,878,189
1800	219	\$ 251,052	1900	1168	5,182,060
1810	304	310,967	1910	1490	7,826,980

The fidelity of history requires that something should be said on the subject of slavery.¹ This evil was introduced into the country before the planting of the Massachusetts Colony; and though our laws were hostile to the institution, yet the love of gain prompted its gradual introduction into the Colony, till our seaports, and all the towns near the coast, had more or less slaves. Dr. Belknap informs us that rum distilled in Massachusetts was one fruitful source of the slave trade; that vessels engaged in that base traffic generally carried out a cargo of our rum.

Lexington did not escape the contamination of this evil. In 1735, it appears from the town valuation that there were twenty slaves in the town, held by the following persons, viz.: Francis Bowman, Esq., held two; Deacon Samuel Stone, one; Captain Joseph Bowman, one; John Overing, two; Francis Bowman, Jr., one; John Bridge, one; Nehemiah Abbott, one; Joseph Merriam, one; Ebenezer Fiske, one; Isaac Stone, two; Thomas Cutler, one; Edward Winship, one; Jonathan Harrington, one; Joseph Simonds, one; John Muzzy, one; Samuel Locke, one; and Samuel Green, one. In 1744, the number was eighteen, and they were owned singly by different persons, except Francis Bowman, Joseph Bowman, and Amos Muzzy, who had two each. This number gradually diminished, till in 1775 there were but five slaves in the town, — owned respectively by Ebenezer Fiske, Samuel Bridge, Robert Harrington, William Tidd, and Benjamin Estabrook. Though slaves to

¹ See *The Existence and the Extinction of Slavery in Massachusetts*, by Rev. C. A. Staples. *Proc. Lex. Hist. Soc.*, Vol. iv, p. 48. *Ed.*

some extent were held in Lexington, they were in most cases kept as house servants. Not more than one family, that we are aware of, ever engaged in the traffic of slaves. One who did engage in this trade was subjected to an inconvenience attendant upon owning property in man. In 1727, Benjamin —, of Lexington, offered a reward for a runaway, whom he describes thus: "He speaks very good English, is about twenty-six years of age, had no hat on, but had a *horse lock* about one of his legs; and was lately the property of John Muzzy, of Mendon."

Though slavery existed in Massachusetts, it was exempt from many of the evils which were connected with it in the Southern States. The slaves were generally taken into the families, and were treated like the other servants. They also enjoyed the same religious privileges as the whites. They had seats in the meeting-houses; they owned the covenant, had their children baptized, were admitted to the churches, and sat down at the same communion table with their masters. Lexington Records contain full evidence of the enjoyment of these rights. By the Laws of Massachusetts, slaves were capable of holding property, had free access to our courts, and whenever they sued for their liberty, it was granted either by the court or by the jury. Slavery in Massachusetts was never hereditary by law. There never was a time when our courts would not have given freedom to the children of slaves.

These facts show that slavery existed here in a modified form; and Massachusetts was one of the first States to blot it out entirely, which was done by her Constitution in 1780. Though these facts do not justify, they extenuate the conduct of our fathers, and should teach us to judge them by the practice and spirit of the age in which they lived.

CHAPTER XXIV

CIVIC ORGANIZATIONS

Lexington Field and Garden Club — Founding, and Officers — Field Meetings — Civic Improvements — Lexington Historical Society — Its Organization — The Old Belfry — Hancock-Clarke House — Bequests — Publications — Revision of Hudson's History of Lexington.

THE LEXINGTON FIELD AND GARDEN CLUB.¹ A few public-spirited and progressive men, earnestly interested in the welfare and development of Lexington, met at various times in the spring of 1876 to discuss certain projects for public improvement in the town, resulting in the appointment of a committee of three, Messrs. A. E. Scott, M. H. Merriam, and J. J. Rayner, to consider the matter of a permanent association, and to report upon a plan of organization.

Notices of a meeting to be held at the house of Mr. M. H. Merriam were very generally circulated, and at this meeting, which was well attended, the Committee reported a Preamble setting forth the objects of the Association, together with a Constitution and By-Laws.

The Preamble reads as follows: —

“The object of this Association shall be the care and protection of trees and shrubs in the streets and public places of Lexington, and the improvement of the town by the planting of additional trees and ornamental plants, the study and development of the natural resources of this vicinity, the cultivation of taste in arboriculture and horticulture,² and the discussion of these and kindred subjects.”

Fifteen years later, in May, 1891, the Club was incorporated, to enable it to receive and hold property.

¹ The Committee is indebted to Miss Whitman and to Mr. F. L. Emery for the account of the Field and Garden Club. *Ed.*

² In 1880 or 1881, Daniel Chandler built the first hothouse in Lexington, filling it with passion-flowers, century plants, fig and orange trees, hydrangeas, and other things rare in those days. *Ed.*

The officers chosen to serve the first year of the Club were:

President,	M. H. Merriam.
Vice-Presidents,	{ A. E. Scott.
	{ G. W. Robinson.
	{ Miss E. W. Harrington.
Secretary,	Miss K. Whitman.
Treasurer,	A. C. Stone.
Executive Committee,	{ Rev. E. G. Porter.
	{ Mr. Levi Prosser.
	{ Miss M. F. Whitman.
	{ Mrs. G. O. Whiting.
	{ Miss Caroline Wellington.

In the more than thirty years of the Club's existence, there have been only four presidents and the same number of secretaries. There have been more frequent changes in the executive committee, many leading citizens, both men and women, having served as officers. The four presidents have been: Mr. M. H. Merriam, Mr. G. O. Whiting, Mr. A. S. Parsons, and Mr. F. L. Emery (now serving). The four secretaries have been: Miss Whitman, Miss E. W. Harrington, Mr. G. O. Davis, and Mr. E. M. Mulliken (now serving).

Many of the earlier meetings took place at the homes of the president and secretary. Later they were all held at the Selectmen's Room in the Town Hall. The adoption of a name caused much discussion; but, finally, "The Field and Garden Club" was unanimously voted.

In view of the improvements now under way at the Centre Railroad station, it is interesting to note that the first subject of town improvement brought up for discussion was relative to the plot in front of the station. At this day it is hard to realize the unsightly condition of the depot yard more than thirty years ago, a veritable "slough of despond," right in the centre of the village. This plot, since dignified by the name of Railroad Park, was then in sad need of grading, with miserable driveways and insufficient lighting. From the beginning to the end of the old records, this subject was continually coming up for discussion.

Field meetings were a very popular feature of the Club's activities, and in the old records are full and enthusiastic reports of them. The first one took place on June 17, 1876, in the glen near Listening Hill in Woburn, known as Shaker

Glen, with about fifty people participating. The success of this first field meeting caused many more to follow. At one of them, June 18, 1877, the Appalachian Club of Boston was the guest and Shaker Glen the chosen spot. Laurel outings were much enjoyed, and were nearly always taken in the direction of Wilton, New Hampshire.

An excursion (1888) to Mount Wachusett, described in the records, and another to Rutland, Massachusetts (1890), both full of interest and enjoyment, bring to a close the field meetings which had proved such a social as well as instructive feature of the Club's activities. A notable social event was the reunion and banquet of the Club, given at the Russell House, which brought together a large assemblage of townspeople.

The attention of the Club was early directed to the Common, or Battle Green, which from its conspicuous position and historic interest should be one of the most attractive spots in the village, and which greatly needed attention. There was considerable opposition to any change being made in that sacred spot; but the committee chosen for the undertaking, with Mr. J. S. Munroe as Chairman, did, with the coöperation of the town, such judicious work that it is now admitted by all that the town has been much improved and beautified.

The purchase and preservation of the lot of land at the junction of the Concord and Lincoln roads, known now as Hastings Park, was one of the works of the Club. The land being about to be sold, members of the Club subscribed liberally for its purchase. The land was presented to the town for future care, after being graded, trees, vines, and shrubs planted, and otherwise improved under the direction of the Club.

The triangle at the junction of Hancock and Revere Streets was one of the unsightly spots graded and put in order by the Club. Another triangle in East Lexington, at the junction of Main and Pleasant Streets, has been cared for under its supervision.

Trees were planted and taken care of in various parts of the town, and many of those which now ornament the village were planted under the auspices of the Field and Garden Club. For a considerable period the Club arranged in the spring of each year for citizens to purchase, at reasonable prices, trees and shrubs, thus encouraging a larger planting.

Roused to action by the wanton cutting-down of some fine old trees, the Club secured the annual election of a tree warden, with authority in the matter of cutting. In this connection should be noted the expensive but successful war which the citizens, in coöperation with the town, the State, and the Department of Agriculture, have been obliged to wage against the gypsy and brown-tail moths and other tree pests.

The neglected condition of the cemeteries and their approaches was considered, and the town was asked for an appropriation to be expended under the auspices of the Club, which it readily granted, and the improvements have been made.

The attention of the Club having been called to the bad condition of the gutters during the summer months, a committee was chosen to look into the matter and to insist on the vote of the town in regard to that subject being enforced. Much in this direction and in that of the care of the grassed spaces between the roadways and sidewalks has been accomplished.

The Club's activities were not confined merely to village improvement and social field meetings. There were attempts in a literary direction. Two or more courses of lectures, given under the auspices of the Club, proved very popular and netted a small increase in its funds.

The Club has each year directed the attention of the Selectmen to such poles of the telephone and other companies along the highways of the town as required painting, and, in nearly every instance, the Selectmen have been able, through the owners of the poles, to have them promptly painted so as to render them as inconspicuous as possible.

Touching this matter, the Club, for a number of years, assisted the Selectmen in an effort to secure the elimination of unnecessary poles along Massachusetts Avenue from a point in East Lexington to Lexington Centre. For much of this distance there had existed for years, on one side of the avenue, three separate lines of poles, occupied respectively by the telephone, the electric light, and the street-railroad company. These have now been combined into a single line.

Among the more recent public works executed by the Club is the triangular plot at the junction of Massachusetts Avenue and Woburn Street. Later the improvement of the grounds surrounding the Town Hall was taken in hand, and here

again, with the cordial coöperation of the Selectmen, the Club caused the necessary plans to be drawn, and completed the improvements as they at present exist.

Perhaps the most important recent work of the Club has been the further improvement of the railroad yard at Lexington Centre. Few appreciate how difficult it has been to bring about and carry into effect a change involving the joint action of a large railroad corporation, the town and other officials, and individual property owners. In this work the Club has had the close coöperation of the Chairman of the Board of Selectmen, many conferences with the railroad officials having been required both in Boston and on the grounds.

In connection with the improvement of the main yard, fronting upon Massachusetts Avenue, the railroad found it necessary to build a freight house in a lot of land between Meriam and Hancock Streets. The typical freight house erected in this location would have been very unsightly and detrimental to the neighborhood, so the Field and Garden Club sought to secure a more attractive building. After repeated conferences with the railroad, at which different plans were submitted, the railroad finally consented to adopt plans furnished by the Club and contributed by Mr. Willard D. Brown, of Lexington, which have been the means of obtaining a freight house that is not only inoffensive but really ornamental. In adopting these plans the railroad incurred an expense amounting to several hundred dollars more than the building originally contemplated would have cost.

Under the plan of improvement now under way, the fence at the northerly end of the railroad yard abutting on Meriam Street is to be removed, a curbing laid, and grass and shrubbery planted, extending inward for a distance of from fifteen to twenty-five feet. The shrubbery and trees at the back will completely screen the yard from Meriam Street. The freight track extending along the railroad station is to be set in a distance of fifteen feet and a hedge about four hundred feet long is to be planted. This is to consist of shrubs and poplar trees so arranged in groups as practically to screen the yard from Massachusetts Avenue and the station platform.

One of the older members and active workers of the Club, Mr. George O. Smith, at his death showed his appreciation of the Field and Garden Club, and his desire that the good work

should be continued, by leaving to it a legacy of twenty-five hundred dollars.

THE LEXINGTON HISTORICAL SOCIETY. The Society¹ was organized on March 16, 1886, in response to the following circular letter which had been sent to numerous citizens of the town: —

“DEAR SIR:

“It is proposed to form a Society in Lexington for historical research and study in matters connected with the history of the town, and of families and individuals who have been identified with it; also for the suitable commemoration from year to year, by appropriate services, of the great event which has rendered the town forever memorable in the annals of our country, the object being to perpetuate a knowledge of our local history and to awaken and sustain new interest in the honor and good name of Lexington.

“For the purpose of organizing this Society, a meeting will be held in the Selectmen’s Room at the Town Hall on Tuesday evening, March 16, 1886, at 7.30 o’clock, to which you are cordially invited.

“E. G. PORTER.

“C. A. STAPLES.”

At this first meeting, Mr. George O. Whiting was chosen temporary Chairman, and Mr. Herbert G. Locke, temporary Secretary.

The project was discussed by Rev. Carlton A. Staples, Rev. Edward G. Porter, Rev. George W. Porter, Messrs. H. G. Locke, William A. Tower, A. E. Scott, M. H. Merriam, and others. Upon motion of Mr. Herbert G. Locke, it was voted unanimously that a society be formed in accordance with the purposes set forth in the circular letter dated March 1, 1886.

Eighty-four names were subscribed as members, and a committee chosen to draft a constitution and by-laws. March 23, 1886, a constitution was adopted, and on April 13, 1886, officers were elected as follows: —

President,	Augustus E. Scott.
Vice-Presidents,	Mary E. Hudson, Matthew H. Merriam, Herbert G. Locke, William A. Tower, and Katharine Whitman.
Treasurer,	Leonard A. Saville.
Corresponding Secretary,	Rev. Edward G. Porter.
Recording Secretary,	Alonzo E. Locke.
Historian,	Rev. Carlton A. Staples.
Custodian,	Dr. Robert M. Lawrence.

¹ This account has been prepared by Dr. Fred S. Piper, of the Committee. *Ed.*

Article II of the By-Laws reads as follows: —

“The objects of this Society shall be the study of the history of Lexington and of individuals and families identified with it; the preservation of such knowledge and of such relics as illustrate its history; and the commemoration by fitting public services of the event which has rendered the town forever memorable in the annals of our country.”

At this meeting, seven valuable relics from Mr. Frederick Hassam were presented, and a committee of nine members was appointed “to consider and treat with Mr. Henry Sandham for the purchase of his painting, The Battle of Lexington.”

July 20, 1886. *Voted:* That the Council cause a corporation to be formed of as many of their number as is convenient; that the organization and by-laws conform as nearly as possible to the present organization and constitution of the Society; and that the by-laws provide that all members of the Society shall become members of the Corporation.

July 28, 1886. A corporation to be known as “Lexington Historical Society” was duly effected, by-laws adopted, and the same officers elected as previously chosen by the Society.

August 11, 1886. *Voted:* To transfer all money and property belonging to the Society to the Corporation and to discontinue further meetings of the Society.

A special meeting was held in the Town Hall August 11, 1886, for the reception and unveiling of Sandham’s painting, The Dawn of Liberty.

The picture was presented by Mr. Matthew H. Merriam on behalf of the Picture Committee, and was received by the President in the name of the Society. Over thirty-one hundred dollars had been raised by subscriptions and contributed to the purchase of this picture in the first six months’ existence of the Society. The painting, representing the conflict on Lexington Green, April 19, 1775, is on a canvas six by ten feet, and remains where it was first hung in Lexington Town Hall. Mr. Sandham, the painter, was born in Montreal, Canada, 1842, and died in London, England, June 21, 1910.

October 12, 1886. Fourteen new members were elected and two papers were read by members of the Society.

December 14, 1886. Sixteen new members were elected and three papers were read, all by members of the Society.

April 10, 1888. Rev. Carlton A. Staples read a paper on the Hancock-Clarke House and made a plea for its preservation.

At the meeting of March 12, 1891, Carlton A. Staples, Charles M. Parker, and James S. Munroe were chosen a committee to purchase the Old Belfry (then on the Parker estate) and restore it to a suitable location near its original position.

On March 24, 1891, the Society voted to place the Old Belfry on the New (Hancock) School grounds.

April 14, 1891. *Voted*: To hold dedicatory service relative to the restoration of the Old Belfry, on Saturday, April 18, 1891, at 4 p.m. [Badly decayed and beyond repair, the Old Belfry was destroyed by a gale June 20, 1909, and reproduced by the Society in March, 1910.]

April 14, 1892. *Voted*: To hold two meetings, the coming year, in the "Stone Building," and on December 12, 1892, a meeting was held there.

A course of five public lectures was held in 1893 and 1894 and another course in 1894 and 1895.

March 20, 1894. A resolution was adopted favoring the change of the name of Main Street to Massachusetts Avenue.

March 10, 1896. Rev. C. A. Staples urged the Society to take action to preserve the Hancock-Clarke House, as the owner proposed to tear it down soon; and the Society voted to appoint a committee to consider the matter.

October 24, 1896. This committee reported to the Society; whereupon it was voted to purchase the Hancock-Clarke House and procure a new location for it on Hancock Street, inasmuch as the owner positively refused to allow it to remain on the original lot where it was built, about 1698.

The house was purchased and presented to the Society by Mrs. Helen L. Ware Greene, a great-grand-daughter of Rev. Jonas Clarke. The necessary funds for purchasing a new location, moving and repairing the building were contributed by patriotic societies and public-spirited citizens, and the Hancock-Clarke House was moved from the site it had occupied for almost two hundred years to its present location on the opposite side of Hancock Street, late in the fall of 1896. The total expense assumed by the Society in purchasing, moving, and restoring the house and the purchase of the new lot was approximately thirty-two hundred dollars.¹

In the fall of 1902 an addition was built in the rear of the

¹ See Proc. Lex. Hist. Soc., Vol. III, p. 138. *Ed.*

house as a shelter for a commodious fireproof vault which has been provided for the more valuable possessions.

The Hancock-Clarke House is kept open every day in the year and no admission fee is charged to visitors. For the successful management and good care of the house the Society is indebted to Mrs. Ellen B. Lane, who has devoted herself to the task for the past ten years.

Thus within the first ten years of the Society's existence, it had raised and expended for public purposes more than six thousand dollars.

In 1896 the Society was instrumental in securing action by the town for the preservation, by a process of placing the pages between sheets of silk, of the original Town Records, at a cost to the town of about five hundred dollars; and in 1898 the publication by the town of its Vital Statistics (8vo, Cloth, 484 pp.), Robert P. Clapp, Carlton A. Staples, and George O. Smith, Committee.

Bequests. October 11, 1904, the Society received a bequest of three thousand dollars from the estate of the late Robert Charles Billings, through Mr. Thomas Minns, surviving executor. The principal is invested as the Robert Charles Billings Fund, and the income is used for the general purposes of the Society.

January 18, 1905, a gift — not a trust — of one hundred dollars was received from the estate of Elvira M. Harrington.

In 1905 and 1906 a bequest of ten thousand dollars was received from the estate of Mr. George Orlando Smith, a past president of the Society. This bequest is invested, and the income, for a period of fifteen years, must be expended for specific purposes, after which time the income may be used for the general purposes of the Society. The uses to which this income must be put for the first fifteen years are "historical research for matter pertaining to the efforts of citizens or natives of the town of Lexington in the Revolutionary period for the freedom and independence or for the advancement and welfare of the people of the United States of America, and for the publication of the same."¹

Mr. Smith also left a generous sum of money to the town of Lexington for educational purposes, with some restrictions as to its uses.²

¹ See *Proc. Lex. Hist. Soc.*, Vol. III, p. 165. *Ed.*

² See Chapter XXVI, *infra*, p. 521. *Ed.*

The notice for the regular meeting of the Society in February, 1911, reads as follows:—

“The February meeting of the Society will be held in the Hancock-Clarke House on Tuesday, February 14, at 7.30 P.M.

“The Society will take action at this time upon the bequest of our late fellow member, Mr. James S. Munroe. The fourth clause in Mr. Munroe’s will is as follows:—

“Fourth:— Believing that those landmarks in our country’s history, which have become identified as monuments of great social and political events, ought to be preserved to posterity, not alone for their intrinsic interest but more especially for their power in bringing to the minds and hearts of that posterity a realization of the courage, self-sacrifice and loyal devotion of our forefathers, — I make the following bequest:— I give, devise and bequeath unto the Lexington Historical Society, a corporation organized under the laws of this Commonwealth, that portion of my real estate known as the Munroe Tavern. The estate herein devised is bounded northerly by Massachusetts Avenue, easterly, southerly and westerly by the driveways lying nearest to the Tavern Building. This devise is made upon the express condition that said Historical Society shall keep the premises in good repair and forever maintain the same in substantially their present or original condition, — shall pay all taxes and other municipal charges and assessments, if any, which may be levied thereon, — shall appoint a suitable custodian to have charge thereof, and shall at stated and suitable times open the house for the inspection of the public. Said Society shall make such reasonable rules and regulations for the care of said Munroe Tavern as it may deem expedient, and shall have the right to charge a reasonable admission fee. If, however, said Society shall refuse to accept this devise, or in case of such acceptance, shall cease to exist, or shall fail to comply with the conditions herein set forth, I give, devise and bequeath said real estate to the Town of Lexington upon the same conditions; but if said Town shall refuse to accept said devise, or having accepted said devise, shall not comply with the conditions herein set forth, I devise said real estate to the Commonwealth of Massachusetts upon the same terms and conditions as above set forth, but if said Commonwealth shall refuse said gift, then I devise said real estate to my heirs at law. I direct my executors in case the aforesaid devise shall be accepted as aforesaid, to erect within said Munroe Tavern in some suitable place, a bronze tablet reciting in appropriate language that the aforesaid devise is the gift of my late brother, William H. Munroe, and myself. I further authorize and empower my executors in their discretion to give to said Historical Society, or to said Town or Commonwealth to be placed in said Tavern, such pieces of furniture or other articles of household furnishing, belonging to my estate as have an historical interest.’

“Upon receipt of the notice of this bequest, the President referred the matter to a committee of five for consideration, with the request that it should report to the Society at this meeting. The President took this action in order to give the matter the most careful and intelligent consideration and to facilitate the business.

"The Committee appointed to make arrangements for a suitable observance of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the organization of this Society, desires to report that plans are made for a banquet, to be held on the evening of March 16 in the social rooms of the First Parish House. Suitable music and after-dinner speaking will form a part of the programme. Hon. James O. Lyford, of Concord, New Hampshire, Naval Officer at the port of Boston, will be the guest of the Society and make an address."

At the meeting, February 14, 1911, the Committee to whom Mr. Munroe's bequest had been referred, reported in writing in detail, whereupon the Society voted:—

"That the Lexington Historical Society hereby accepts the devise made to it by the will of the late James S. Munroe of that portion of his real estate known as Munroe Tavern, and that the Society regards and will treat the gift as a sacred trust, receiving, maintaining, and caring for the property agreeably to the express conditions named in the will.

"The Society also records its appreciation of the generosity and public spirit on the part of Mr. Munroe which prompted the bequest, and directs the Recording Secretary to send to the executors of his will a copy of this vote."

This old hostelry is now in good repair and open daily to visitors in accord with Mr. Munroe's wishes.

Robert Charles Billings, son of Ebenezer and Elizabeth (Cleverly) Billings, was born on Fort Hill in Boston, January 3, 1819, lived all his life in Boston, and died there June 12, 1899.

He came from Colonial stock, his father being of the Billings family of West Roxbury and his mother of the old Nash family of Weymouth.

He attended Boston public schools, and entered the dry-goods business of Thomas Tarbell & Co., when fourteen years of age.

He filled responsible positions in this firm with ability, was taken into partnership, and after an active and very successful business life for sixty-six years in this company, he died its senior member and chief owner.¹ He was twice married but left no children.

George Orlando Smith, son of William L. and Hannah Lane Smith, was born in East Lexington, January 5, 1832.

¹ Extract from *Technology Review*, Vol. II, pp. 4-5. *Ed.*

His boyhood was in a home where hard work and strict economy taught lessons in industry and self-reliance. His schooling was limited to the public schools of Lexington, but his education went on as long as he lived, and in his later years he possessed qualities of mind and character typical of the true gentleman above any culture guaranteed by the colleges.

For a large part of his life he conducted, very successfully, a cigar-store in Boston, where he accumulated a modest fortune which he bequeathed to public purposes. Mr. Smith never married. He was one of the most interested members and faithful workers in the Lexington Historical Society, of which he was Corresponding Secretary for many years and President in 1902, declining a reelection in 1903.

For the last few years of his life he resided in Somerville, where he died November 16, 1903.¹

Miss Elvira Mead Harrington was born in Lexington, near the Common, February 18, 1832.

Her father was Nathan Harrington, son of Nathan, born in Lexington, February 29, 1792, and her mother was Martha I. Mead, born June 6, 1797. During her girlhood Miss Harrington lived in Lexington, always in sight of the Common, but after the death of her parents, resided elsewhere most of the time.

For many years she was a teacher in the Boston public schools, and later was connected with the Boston Provident Association.

She died in Arlington October 15, 1904, and is buried in the Old Cemetery in Lexington.

Publications. The Society has published four volumes of Proceedings, each octavo, cloth, and one volume octavo, square, cloth, of epitaphs and inscriptions taken from the gravestones of the old cemeteries of the town. It also has in manuscript the inscriptions from all remaining gravestones in town up to 1910.

The several volumes of Proceedings are made up of brief extracts from the records, and of papers read before the Society, — the papers being limited to those only which treat of Lexington history.

¹ See Proc. Lex. Hist. Soc., Vol. III, p. 164. Ed.

Volume I, pp. 223, was published in 1889;
Volume II, pp. 248, in 1900;
Volume III, pp. 206, in 1905;
Volume IV, pp. 192, in 1912;
Epitaphs, pp. 169, with chart, in 1905.

In 1891, *A Handbook of Lexington*, freely illustrated and bound in cloth, was prepared by a Committee of the Society, and published. In 1910 a guide-book, prepared by Dr. Fred S. Piper, was purchased from its former publisher, Mr. Irving P. Fox, and re-issued in an edition of three thousand copies by the Society. The volumes of *Proceedings* have been in demand very extensively all over the United States.

The Archives contain many manuscripts and pamphlets relating to local history, and valuable relics of bygone days.

To mention only a few of its many possessions, the Society owns the Sandham painting; oil portraits of Rev. and Mrs. John Hancock, by Smibert; an oil portrait of Colonel William Munroe, by Greenwood; an oil portrait of Hon. Francis B. Hayes; three original engravings of the Battle of Lexington and Concord, by Doolittle; three badges of honor presented to the late Baroness von Olnhausen, one of which is the Iron Cross presented by the Emperor of Germany (Clara Barton was the only other woman in America to receive this honor); drum and muskets used at the Battle of Lexington; sword of Robert Newman; lantern owned by Paul Revere; rare pamphlet, *Instructions of General Thomas Gage to Captain Brown and Ensign de Berniere in February, 1775*, with Appendix Giving Brief Account of the Happenings of April 19, 1775, published in Boston, in 1779; ink-well and sermon-case and traveling-bag used by Theodore Parker; dress-coat worn by Hon. William Eustis as Minister at the Court of The Hague; stamp of the British Stamp Act, etc. There is a complete card index to the more than thirteen hundred articles now owned by the Lexington Historical Society. The Society maintains a "Committee on Library and Exchange," and makes an annual appropriation for the purchase and preservation of books, engravings, and photographs of historical importance.

Public commemoration services have been held annually on the 19th of April for many years, at the expense of the Society and have been addressed by many noted speakers,

Governors of the Commonwealth, statesmen, and other public officials.

In October, 1908, largely in recognition of the approaching two hundredth anniversary of the incorporation of the town of Lexington, the Historical Society voted to revise and republish the History of Lexington, by Hon. Charles Hudson, and to make a new and complete genealogy. The following committee was chosen to supervise the work: —

Mr. James P. Munroe, Chairman;
 Mr. John N. Morse, Secretary;
 Miss Mary E. Hudson;
 Rev. Charles F. Carter;
 Miss Sarah E. Robinson;
 Dr. Fred S. Piper;
 Mr. Albert S. Parsons.

This work, involving much time, labor, and an expense approximating six thousand dollars, has been the greatest undertaking upon which the Society has entered.

The membership of the Society has averaged about two hundred; at present it exceeds three hundred, and it possesses funds and property to the value of twenty-five or thirty thousand dollars, its trusts being carefully administered.

The following gentlemen have been honored as presidents for the years set against their respective names: —

Augustus E. Scott,	1886-87.
Matthew H. Merriam,	1888-89.
Rev. George W. Porter,	1890-91.
Albert S. Parsons,	1892-93-94.
Robert P. Clapp,	1895-96.
James P. Munroe,	1897 (declined reelection).
Edward P. Nichols,	1898-99.
Rev. Carlton A. Staples,	1900-01.
George Orlando Smith,	1902 (declined reelection).
Rev. Charles F. Carter,	1903-04.
Edward P. Bliss,	1905-06.
George O. Whiting,	1907-08.
Dr. Fred S. Piper,	1909-10.
Alonzo E. Locke.	1911- .

CHAPTER XXV

OTHER ORGANIZATIONS ¹

S. W. Robinson Lodge, A. F. and A. M. — Old Belfry Club — Lexington Chapter, D. A. R. — Musical Organizations — Dramatic Clubs — Monday Club — Art Class — Tourist Club — Friday Club — Outlook Club — Colonial Club — Waverley Club — Shakespeare Club — Knights of Columbus — Lexington Grange — Equal Suffrage League — Golf Club — Finance Clubs.

SIMON W. ROBINSON LODGE, A. F. and A. M. Lexington possessed a Masonic Lodge in the eighteenth century, Hiram Lodge, A. F. and A. M., having been instituted December 12, 1797. For many years its meetings were held in the hall of the Munroe Tavern. Subsequently it was removed to West Cambridge (now Arlington), where its hundredth anniversary was duly celebrated in 1897.

In 1870, the Masons of Lexington, because of difficulty in getting to Hiram Lodge, and because of a desire to extend Freemasonry, secured a charter for a lodge in their town. It was named after Simon W. Robinson, a resident of Lexington, who was very prominent in Masonic matters and who had held almost all the high offices in the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts.²

¹ For the information contained in this chapter the Committee is under obligation to Mrs. Fred K. Brown, Mrs. Edward H. Crosby, Mrs. Charles C. Goodwin, Miss Mary E. Hudson, Mrs. Frank H. Locke, Mrs. George W. Taylor, Mrs. Sarah Bowman Van Ness, Miss Katharine Whitman, Mrs. H. A. C. Woodward, Messrs. Charles B. Davis, E. M. Mulliken, Albert S. Parsons, Alfred Pierce, James P. Prince, Christopher S. Ryan, Allen C. Smith, and Edward C. Stone. *Ed.*

² "Brother Robinson was made a Mason in 1819, in Mount Lebanon Lodge, of which Lodge he was made an honorary member in 1849, for his long and valuable service.

"Having filled the more important chairs in Royal Arch Chapter, also in the Grand Royal Arch Chapter, Grand Scribe of the Grand Royal Arch Chapter of Massachusetts, Grand King in 1836, Grand High Priest in 1837-8-9, and also filling important offices in the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts, he was elected Grand Master in 1840, presiding during his term with marked ability and benefit to the Craft in the oldest Masonic jurisdiction in our country.

"In Templar Masonry he also filled the highest positions, and presided as Grand Commander over the Grand Encampment of Massachusetts and Rhode Island.

"In 1851 he received the 33d degree from the Supreme Council at Boston.

"He was Grand Treasurer of the H. E. in 1859, and Lieutenant Grand Commander under the distinguished Brother Raymond in 1861, which office he held until

Following is a list of the Worshipful Masters:—

John C. Blasdel,	1870-71	George C. Goodwin,	1891-92
George O. Davis,	1872-73	George W. Sampson,	1893-94
Augustus E. Scott,	1874-75	Charles W. Swan,	1895-96
George O. Davis,	1876	Frank H. Locke,	1897-98
Everett S. Locke,	1877-78	Frank Peabody,	1899-00
James E. Crone,	1879-80	John McKay,	1901-02
Quincy Bicknell,	1881-82	George A. Warner,	1903-04
Charles G. Kauffmann,	1883-84	Charles F. Nourse,	1905-06
Quincy Bicknell,	1885-86	William H. Whitaker,	1907-08
Edwin J. Nourse,	1887-88	Arthur D. Stone,	1909-10
Alfred Pierce,	1889-90	Edward C. Stone,	1911-12
Herbert T. Richardson,	1891		

The office of treasurer was filled from almost the beginning down to 1900 by Charles C. Goodwin or Walter Wellington (both deceased); from 1900 to 1910, Frank Peabody; 1910 to date, John McKay.

After Leonard G. Babcock gave up the secretaryship, Henry M. Reed was elected. He was followed by George H. Cutter, who in turn was succeeded by Charles W. Swan. When the latter gave it up, Byron C. Earle was elected and still fills the position.

During the first years, the membership was small, and up to 1905, had increased to only about one hundred. In 1911, however, there are one hundred and eighty-five members. The Lodge is prospering, fills an acceptable niche in the town's life, and in a quiet way does much good.

The charter members were:—

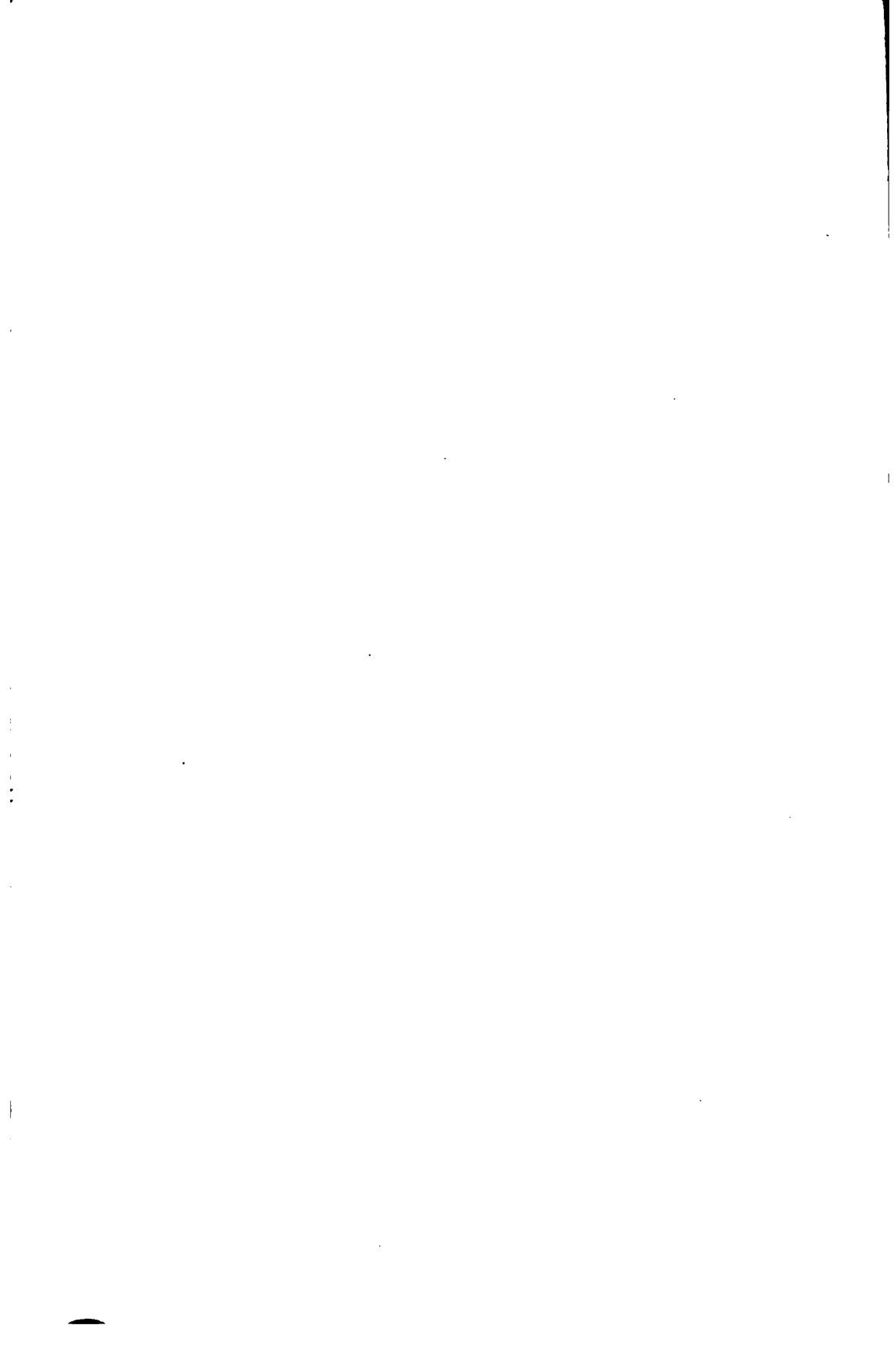
John C. Blasdel.*	Warren E. Russell.*
George O. Davis.	Augustus E. Scott.
Leonard G. Babcock.*	George S. Butters.*
Josiah Bryant.*	Asa Cottrell.*
Chas. C. Goodwin.*	Sergeant C. Whitcher.*
Horace B. Davis.*	Bradley C. Whitcher.*
Geo. D. Harrington.	George E. Muzzey.*
Chas. K. Tucker.*	

1865, when he became M. P. Sovereign Grand Commander of the Supreme Council, Ancient Accepted Rite, for the Northern Masonic jurisdiction of the United States, duties which he discharged with credit to himself and satisfaction to the brethren, until his resignation of that office on the 16th day of May, 1867, being the last official position he held in the Masonic Society, in which he had devoted over forty years."

(From the By-Laws of Simon W. Robinson Lodge.) *Ed.*

* Deceased.

GEORGE W. ROBINSON **BENJAMIN MUZZEY**
 REV. CALEB STETSON
GEN. SAMUEL CHANDLER **SIMON W. ROBINSON**



The first organization, on March 13, 1871, was as follows:

John C. Blasdell,	Worshipful Master.
Geo. O. Davis,	Senior Warden.
Augustus E. Scott,	Junior Warden.
Leonard G. Babcock,	Secretary.
Sergeant C. Whitcher,	Treasurer.
Chas. C. Goodwin,	Senior Deacon.
Chas. K. Tucker,	Junior Deacon.
George E. Muzzey,	Senior Steward.
George F. Jones,	Junior Steward.
Alamander L. Ball,	Tyler.

THE OLD BELFRY CLUB was organized on the 13th of June, 1892, at a gathering in Cary Hall, in the Town Hall Building, of some of the prominent citizens as follows: —

Rev. Irving Meredith, Dr. J. O. Tilton, E. K. Houghton, A. M. Redman, John F. Hutchinson, Walter K. Shaw, Frederick O. Vaille, F. Foster Sherburne, Edward P. Bliss, William W. Reed, Theodore P. Robinson, L. E. Bennink, Robert P. Clapp, and W. E. Harmon.

The Club was incorporated under the provisions of the 115th Chapter of the Public Statutes of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts and its purpose stated as follows: —

“The association and accommodation of a Society or Club in the town of Lexington in this Commonwealth, having for its object the promotion of good fellowship, social intercourse, temperance, and morality in said town, and the encouragement of athletic exercises; such accommodation to consist in part of a Club-House wherein shall be maintained places for reading rooms, libraries, and social meetings.”

The first meeting after organization was held in Cary Hall on June 21, 1892, and Robert P. Clapp was elected Chairman, and L. E. Bennink, Clerk. At this meeting a code of By-Laws was adopted and the following temporary officers of the Club were elected: —

President,	Robert P. Clapp.
1st Vice-President,	William W. Reed.
2d Vice-President,	Dr. J. O. Tilton.
3d Vice-President,	Kelsey M. Gilmore.
Secretary,	L. E. Bennink.
Treasurer,	Theodore P. Robinson.

At a meeting of the Club held on July 13, 1892, President Clapp in the Chair, a list of one hundred and seventy-nine members, principally citizens of the town of Lexington, were elected.

On July 19, 1892, a meeting was called in the Town Hall, and the following permanent officers were elected:—

President,	Robert P. Clapp.
1st Vice-President,	F. O. Vaille.
2d Vice-President,	Miss Alice B. Cary.
3d Vice-President,	Mrs. B. F. Brown.
Secretary,	L. E. Bennink.
Treasurer,	William W. Reed.
Executive Committee,	Walter K. Shaw,
	William E. Hammon,
	Dr. J. O. Tilton,
	Kelsey M. Gilmore,
	Rev. Irving Meredith.

Plans were immediately begun for securing a piece of ground and building a Club-House; and a Bond Committee was appointed to raise the necessary funds for this purpose. At this meeting the membership was limited to two hundred and fifty.

The Executive Committee first secured a lot of land for the Club-House at the corner of Muzzey and Forest Streets, and then proceeded to secure plans from several architects. The plan finally chosen was that of Mr. R. M. Bailey, of Boston, and the building of the house was commenced in the summer of 1893.

The Club voted to issue \$15,000 of first mortgage bonds to raise the necessary amount to pay for the land, building, and furnishings; and subscriptions were obtained by the Bond Committee. Messrs. B. F. Brown, George O. Whiting, and F. E. Ballard were made trustees of the bonds.

The Building Committee consisted of E. K. Houghton, Chairman; R. P. Clapp, Hammon Reed, E. A. Shaw, and J. F. Turner. The building was completed and dedicated on January 24, 1894; and the total cost of land, building, and furnishings was \$13,775.

The plans for the organization of this Club and the house thereon were somewhat different from the ordinary club, inasmuch as women were made full members to the same extent as men. They have the same freedom of the Club-

House as the men at all times, no restrictions whatever being placed upon their use of it. The plan has proven most successful, and the Old Belfry Club, no doubt, owes in great part its success to the support given it by the ladies since the beginning.

The Presidents of the Club have been as follows:—

Robert P. Clapp,	1892-94
John F. Hutchinson,	1895
A. M. Redman,	1896-98
Dr. Nathaniel H. Merriam,	1899
Herbert G. Locke,	1900
Frank E. Clark,	1901-02
Walter W. Rowse,	1903-04
Edward P. Merriam,	1905-06
Edwin B. Worthen,	1907
Charles B. Davis,	1908-09
George E. Briggs,	1910-11
Elwyn G. Preston,	1912-

The membership of the Club has been increased from time to time, and under the presidency of Mr. Rowse, when a winter series of entertainments at the expense of the Club was inaugurated, grew to four hundred, where it remains at the present time. The membership is now full, and there are thirty-three applications for resident membership on the waiting list.

Financially the Club has been successful from the start, and the bonds have been reduced from the original issue of \$13,775 to a present issue of \$7,850.

The Club for many years past has given a most excellent series of entertainments during the winter, free to all members; has carried through each season a successful series of informal parties; has been the gathering-place for nearly all the social events of the town; and has been the means of getting together and entertaining the young people in a very much more satisfactory manner than was ever possible before. The Club is considered by all as a great success and as a distinct asset to the town.

LEXINGTON CHAPTER, DAUGHTERS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION. In the winter of 1894, at the request of the State Regent, Mrs. Charles M. Green (Helen Ware Lincoln), the ladies of Lexington, descendants of Revolutionary

patriots, were invited to meet her at the home of Miss Susan Wood Muzzey, Massachusetts Avenue, Lexington, and to present their names for membership in a Lexington Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution, when it should be formed.

Miss Emma C. Hamlin, daughter of Rev. Cyrus Hamlin, well known for his work in Robert College, Constantinople, was appointed Regent to organize the chapter; and on March 12, 1894, a certificate authorizing her to fulfil such duties was issued by the National Society, D. A. R., at Washington by the President-General, Mrs. Letitia Green Stevenson.

On January 1, 1895, another meeting was called by Mrs. Green at the home of Miss Muzzey, Mrs. Daniel Lothrop, of Concord, being present and addressing the meeting.

On September 19, 1895, the ladies who were to constitute the charter members of the chapter met with Mrs. Green in the vestry of the First Parish Church of Lexington. Miss Hamlin having resigned the regency, Mrs. Sarah Bowman Van Ness, a former member of the Warren and Prescott Chapter of Boston, was appointed to complete the work; and the election of Mrs. Van Ness as Regent by the Executive Board of the National Society, D. A. R., took place at Washington, D. C., on October 3, 1895.

Mrs. Van Ness is a descendant of the early Puritans and Pilgrims of Massachusetts on her paternal side and from the Cavaliers, who made the first settlement in Virginia and were the founders of Maryland, on her maternal side.

The charter of the chapter bears the name of "Lexington," and was granted by the Executive Board of the National Society, D. A. R., at Washington, on October 19, 1895, with the following sixteen names of officers and members: —

Regent,	Mrs. Sarah Bowman Van Ness.
Secretary and Treasurer,	Miss Emma Catherine Hamlin.
Registrar,	Mrs. Helen Hilgar Gookin Munroe.
Miss Mary E. Hudson,	Mrs. Etta C. Pierce,
Mrs. Rebekah Eliza Robinson,	Miss Theodora Robinson,
Miss M. Alice Munroe,	Miss Elmira Munroe,
Miss Susan Wood Muzzey,	Mrs. Carrie E. Locke,
Mrs. Eli M. Robbins,	Mrs. Ella C. Bigelow,
Mrs. Esther M. Tidd Barrett,	Miss Sarah E. Holmes.
Mrs. Fannie Russell Herrick,	

But it was not until November 7, 1895, that the organization became legal. The first regular meeting was held Saturday, October 19, 1895, at two o'clock, at the home of Mrs. Van Ness, Pleasant Street, East Lexington, when Mrs. James W. Cartwright, of the Paul Revere Chapter, read a paper.

Included in the early work of the Chapter was the awarding of prizes to the school-children of Lexington for creditable papers on historical subjects; also the supplying of the schools with copies of the coat of arms of each of the original thirteen States. By personal solicitation of the Regent, Mrs. Van Ness, the sum of \$904 was collected and given to the Lexington Historical Society towards the preservation of the Hancock-Clarke House in Lexington.

After serving for eight years as Regent of the Lexington Chapter, Mrs. Van Ness resigned in February, 1903, and was succeeded by Mrs. Medora Robbins Crosby in April, 1903, as Regent. Mrs. Crosby had resigned from the Paul Revere Chapter of Boston, of which she was a charter member, to accept the office. Mrs. Crosby had a number of direct ancestors who participated in the Battle of Lexington. They were Thomas Robbins, Stephen Robbins, Stephen Robbins, Jr., Samuel Winship, and Joshua Simonds.

Mrs. Charles M. Green, who was a direct descendant of Rev. Jonas Clarke, joined the Chapter January 11, 1905, and was elected Vice-Regent, an office which she held until her death, November 2, 1911.

During the administration of Mrs. Crosby, the Chapter has adhered to the general lines followed by the national organization, subscribing to the work of patriotic education and contributing to the Southern Mountaineers' schools for both blacks and whites.

Regular meetings are held the third Thursday of each month from September to June, when papers on historical subjects are read, followed by a social hour.

From 1906 up to 1912, the Chapter has contributed towards the Continental Hall at Washington, a chair for the Banquet Hall, also for the Massachusetts State Room, and one hundred dollars to the general building fund which enrolled the names of Eli M. Robbins and Henrietta Gaines Robbins on the Roll of Honor Book. It has also aided in the preservation of the Royall House, Medford, Massachusetts.

The most important work of the Chapter has been the

placing of a boulder with a tablet on the Battle Green at Lexington, marking the site of the Old Belfry from which the alarm was rung to call the Minute-Men on April 19, 1775. In 1910, a committee was formed, comprising Mrs. Medora Robbins Crosby, Regent, Mrs. Charles M. Green, Vice-Regent, Miss Susan Wood Muzzey, Mrs. Ralph E. Lane, and Mrs. Carrie E. Locke. October 19, 1910 was the day selected for the unveiling exercises.

The programme consisted of a procession headed by a band from the United States Navy Yard at Charlestown, Massachusetts, which had been especially detailed for this occasion by the Secretary of the Navy at Washington, D. C.; a company of Lexington Minute-Men under command of Captain Alfred Pierce; the Lexington Fife and Drum Corps; the color-guard and the school-children singing "America." It was an imposing spectacle as it marched from Munroe Tavern up Massachusetts Avenue to the Battle Green, where the dedicatory exercises were held. Rev. Samuel Knowles, Chaplain of the Minute-Men Company, offered a prayer, followed by Mrs. Charles H. Masury, Honorary State Regent of Massachusetts, D. A. R.; Mr. James P. Munroe made an eloquent historical address, and J. Willard Brown, Commander of the G. A. R., impressed upon the vast audience the importance of marking and preserving historic spots. Mr. Edwin A. Bayley closed with an address on "Patriotism and Politics."

The boulder was then unveiled by Miss Elizabeth S. Parker, great-grand-daughter of Captain John Parker, who commanded the Minute-Men April 19, 1775. The Regent, Mrs. Crosby, then in the name of the Lexington Chapter, D. A. R., presented the boulder and tablet to the town of Lexington, which was appropriately accepted by Mr. Frank D. Pierce, Chairman of the Board of Selectmen.

Lexington has always been interested in music and musical organizations, and although it is impossible to present a complete account of the various instrumental and vocal societies which have flourished here, we find evidence that the townspeople have shown activity for many years in musical matters.

About the year 1855, a singing-school, conducted by Mr. Leonard Marshall, was held in Robinson Hall. All ages were

represented; indeed, both old and young joined in making a joyful sound, and the youthful accompanist was so small that she needed an unusually high stool to reach the piano.

Later, Mr. Bird, of Watertown, conducted a school in the same hall, and for many winters these classes were a popular form of amusement and instruction. At the close of a successful course of lessons conducted by Mr. H. S. Thompson in the High School Building, the cantata of "Esther" was presented in the First Parish Church before a large and enthusiastic audience, and later "The Haymakers" was given, with Mr. Prentiss, of Arlington, as conductor. It is a fact worthy of note that chorals, cantatas, and what were known as "psalm tunes" were given much prominence in all the singing-schools of the day.

Lexington furnished its full quota of singers when the Peace Jubilee was held in Boston in June, 1872. Professor Torrington, who later became a leader in the musical life of Toronto, Ontario, instructed the Lexington vocalists who participated in this unique event.

It is also pleasant to recall the HOLT NORMAL SCHOOL OF MUSIC, which was conducted by Professor and Mrs. H. E. Holt for several years during the summer season. The members of this school were chiefly non-residents, but they were most generous in sharing their exercises and concerts with the public.¹

In 1886 was established the LEXINGTON MALE CHORUS, with twenty members, which number was later considerably increased. It continued for eight years, the conductor during the entire period being Mr. E. Cutter, Jr.

In 1891, the LEXINGTON ORCHESTRAL CLUB of about twenty-five members was formed, with Professor J. B. Claus, of Malden, as leader. Mr. Claus had been formerly a band-master in the German army, and his somewhat militant methods were decidedly stimulating to the members of the Orchestra. For several winters, the Club presented a series of concerts; and among the members were musicians of no mean ability. Later the organization changed its name to the VERDI ORCHESTRA, and Mr. Marshall, of Arlington, became the director. Mr. Charles C. Goodwin, a patron and lover of good music, devoted himself with untiring zeal to the welfare of these organizations.

¹ For an account of this school, see Chapter xviii, *ante*. Ed.

During the past few years, Lexington has had no large orchestra, but Mr. James Blodgett has directed a small group of amateur musicians who have generously given their services to entertainments in aid of charity.

The EAST LEXINGTON BRASS BAND, with eighteen members, flourished for five years under the direction of Mr. John H. Wright; and in 1898, the Colonial Orchestra, which is still active, was formed.

The LEXINGTON DRUM CORPS was organized in 1893, and has maintained its existence from that date uninterruptedly to the present time. Since its organization the Corps has appeared in every parade in Lexington, and has been prominent always on April 19. The members have participated in several large parades in other places and have always been well received.

A large percentage of the boys of Lexington has been connected with the Corps at some time, and the annual dances of the organization have been a feature in the social life of the town. The Corps has always enjoyed the friendship and assistance of the townspeople to a marked degree, and the patronage of two well-known citizens, Mr. F. E. Ballard and the late Mr. William A. Butler, was so highly appreciated that the Corps elected them honorary members.

In closing, it seems appropriate to remember not only those who participated actively in the various musical organizations, but to acknowledge the debt which each of the musical interests of Lexington owes to the public spirit of the citizens who gave their generous support and coöperation.

Lexington has always been enthusiastic in its support of dramatic entertainments, and has had a number of excellent amateur actors among its citizens. The earliest formal organization of which there seems to be record is the LEXINGTON SOCIAL AND DRAMATIC CLUB. It was established January 1, 1868. As its name indicates, it served the double purpose of stimulating the social life of the town and of cultivating the dramatic talent of some of its members.

Its membership was very large, including many who never appeared upon the boards in any way. A long hall, known as Robinson's, and as Seminary Hall, over the old stores formerly standing near the junction of Massachusetts Avenue and Waltham Street, was hired for the purpose, and for four

years was the headquarters of the Club. Here, during the season, which usually continued from early autumn till late in the spring, social dances and dramatic entertainments alternated at fortnightly intervals.

The dances were entirely informal, with music of a very simple character, sometimes furnished by home talent.

The dramatic entertainments were in charge of committees specially appointed for each evening. On these committees the names of Frank Whiting, George C. Dupee, Leonard G. Babcock, George O. Smith, and Dr. Dio Lewis were prominent. They were assisted in their labors by many well-known ladies of the town. To the gentlemen above named was due much of the success of the Club during its four years of existence. By their ingenuity, and their patience in overcoming obstacles seemingly insurmountable, a small, dark, and most unpromising stage was made convenient and attractive.

These entertainments were at first very simple, but gradually assumed a character somewhat more ambitious. "Still Waters Run Deep," "Meg's Diversion," "Nine Points of the Law," "Chimney Corner," and "Helping Hands" were among the plays produced, with scenery which, though of home manufacture, was often very effective and pleasing.

At the end of four years the members of the company became somewhat scattered, and the Social and Dramatic Club ceased to exist, although some of its members, early in 1872, rendered two plays on the stage of the newly dedicated Town Hall, in aid of the fund for the statuary in Memorial Hall.

Scarcely a winter since 1872 has failed to see one or more plays given in the Town Hall, in the Village Hall in East Lexington, or in other meeting-places. An organization, of which Mr. John F. Maynard was the leading spirit, presented a number of excellently given plays in the eighties, and later, on the somewhat inadequate stage of the Old Belfry Club, serious dramas were for several years well staged and acted by members of that organization; but not until 1906 (it is believed) was there created a formal organization, as a successor to the Social and Dramatic Club of 1868. The LEXINGTON DRAMATIC CLUB was in that year brought together, and in the ensuing six years it has given creditable presentations, in the Town Hall, of such plays as "David

Garrick," "Esmeralda," "The Private Secretary," and "The Amazons." The successive presidents of this Club have been: Messrs. W. M. Hatch, C. C. Doe, H. H. Putnam, and Mrs. Edwin Read.

THE MONDAY CLUB is an organization of women formed in 1882. Its meetings have been continued every season with unabated interest, although its limited membership of sixteen in number has had many changes from deaths and removals from town.

Its officers, elected for life, have been: President, Mrs. Benjamin F. Brown, succeeded in 1909 by Mrs. Charles C. Goodwin; Secretary and Treasurer, Mrs. William A. Harris.

The programmes of each year's work have been varied, consisting of studies in Art, Literature, Travel, History, and Drama, all interesting and profitable. Many social and literary entertainments have been given from time to time, to which the husbands of the members, and other friends, have been invited.

The cordial and informal hospitality, found in the homes where the meetings have been held, has helped to cement close ties of friendship among the Monday Club members, as they have shared in the joys and sorrows which thirty years have brought to one or another of this little company; and the fruits of their studies and neighborly intercourse are counted as some of the most precious and valuable experiences of their lives. The programmes have been as follows:—

The Study of French,	1882-84.
Chautauqua Course,	1884-88.
American Literature,	1888-89.
English Literature,	1889-90.
French History and Literature,	1890-91.
German History and Literature,	1891-92.
Study of Art,	1892-97.
Study of Shakespeare,	1897-99.
Roman History,	1899-1900.
Italian History,	1900-01.
American History,	1901-04.
Bible Study,	1904-05.
Cities and Countries of the Old World,	1905-06.
The Island World,	1906-08.
Selected Readings and Current Events,	1908-12.

THE ART CLASS had its origin in a Study Class of six women, who began meeting regularly in 1889. In 1893, its membership was increased to fourteen, with the title of "The Art Class," its President being Mrs. Sylvia R. Brown, and its Secretary, Mrs. Mary L. Russell. The Class has interpreted its name in its broadest sense, and has explored many of the paths radiating from "Art."

In its earlier years the history of painting, sculpture, and architecture received its attention, and more recently music and literature have been included in its study. A feature of its weekly, or fortnightly meetings, since its earliest organization, has been the free discussion of current events. There has been but one vacancy in its original membership, caused by removal from town. At the present time the Class numbers eighteen, with Mrs. Grace G. Merriam, President, and Mrs. Katie G. Reed, Secretary.

THE TOURIST CLUB was formed in October, 1890.

The charter members were fifteen, and the whole number, since the Club started, has been thirty-two.

The following outlines of study have been followed:—

Scotland,	1890-92.
England,	1892-95.
France,	1895-97.
Germany,	1897-99.
American History,	1900-03.
The Bible,	1904-05.
Italy,	1906-07.
The Netherlands,	1908-09.
English Novelists,	1909-10.
Literature,	1910-12.

Its presidents have been Mrs. H. A. C. Woodward, Mrs. E. A. Bayley, Miss Carrie E. Bacheller, Mrs. W. I. Bradley, Mrs. J. L. Norris and Mrs. J. P. Prince.

THE FRIDAY CLUB was organized December 26, 1895, by a committee appointed by the Follen Alliance, with which it was always affiliated.

Presidents: Mrs. Georgie E. Locke,	1896.
Mrs. Jeannette Worthen,	1897-1900.
Mrs. Annie Teele,	1901.
Mrs. Cora S. Cochrane,	1902.
Mrs. Frances A. Kendall,	1903-04.

Outline of its work. 1895-96, a trip to California under the leadership of Mrs. E. T. Harrington; also conducted a course of lectures.

1896-97. Life and works of some of the noted American authors; also the study of current events.

1897-98. Study of English history; alternating with current events.

1898-1900. Famous authors again, with fifteen minutes each day for current events.

1900-01. Study of astronomy; also of physiology under direction of Dr. Sanford, of Arlington.

1901-02. An imaginary journey through the British Isles, making a study of the country and cities through which the club passed. Fifteen minutes spent at each meeting discussing some popular book. In January, the Friday Club was invited to join with the other clubs of the town in forming a Literary Union, and it was unanimously voted to accept the invitation.

1902-03. Studied the *Rubáiyat*, by Omar Khayyám.

1903-04. Studied Browning.

THE OUTLOOK CLUB. In March, 1902, a society known as the Literary Union was formed with a membership of two hundred and fifty. For two years this society existed with Mrs. F. E. Ballard and Mrs. James P. Prince respectively as chairmen.

In the spring of 1904, the Union was organized under the name of The Lexington Outlook Club, a constitution adopted, and Mrs. James P. Prince elected as President. The object of the Club, as stated in the preamble of the constitution, is "the promotion of the ethical, social, and intellectual culture of its members." No philanthropic work has been undertaken by the Club, and it has never joined the Federation of Women's Clubs.

In 1909, the membership was increased to two hundred and seventy-five, where it still remains. The Club membership has been filled each year, and there has been a waiting list. The following persons have served as President: Mrs. James P. Prince, Mrs. Charles B. Davis, Mrs. Francis E. Tufts, Mrs. Clarence E. Sprague, Mrs. George D. Milne, Mrs. Edwin Read, Mrs. J. O. Tilton, Mrs. Frederic L. Fowle.

The meetings are held on Tuesday afternoons, with the

exception of the annual Guest Night, which occurs in the evening.

Once each year the Club gives a children's afternoon, to which the children of the higher grades in the public schools are invited.

It has been the aim of the Programme Committee to make each year's programme a well-balanced one. Music, literature, science, art, history, travel, research, economics, and current events have each received its share of attention. The talent engaged has always been of the highest order.

THE COLONIAL CLUB, limited to fourteen members, was organized for the study of colonial history, January 7, 1904, and was indefinitely suspended, May 18, 1909.

The first paper was written on the general geology and topography of Massachusetts Bay and the Islands. Then followed papers on the Stone Age, the Discoveries, Fire, Tin, etc., the Bronze Age, and the Iron Age, the causes that led up to the colonization of America; and papers on Oliver Cromwell; religious suppression in England; and the movements of the Puritans and Pilgrims.

Each of the States was taken in the order of its colonization; its growth, wars, religion, schools, social and industrial condition; also papers on architecture, furniture, and household arts. The history was carried down to the beginning of the Civil War.

THE WAVERLEY CLUB, under a different name, dates back to 1880, when a group of young women met and organized a Reading Club. Weekly meetings were held and informal readings of travels, literature, and biography were continued for eleven years.

In 1891, a regular course of study was undertaken, an experienced and competent teacher, Mrs. Edwin G. Champney, was secured, and, under the name of the History Class, the members gave four years of thorough and earnest study to English, French, German, and American history.

Since 1895, much time has been given to the reading of Shakespeare's plays, and to the study of the Lake poets, and other modern British and American writers.

In 1896, while deeply engaged in the life and works of Sir

Walter Scott, the name of Waverley Club was adopted, and is still retained.

While the membership has not been large, the work done has been thorough and profitable, the association always pleasant, and the Club still retains on its rolls some of the charter members of the Reading Club of 1880. It has had only two presidents, Mrs. Frank C. Childs and Miss Ellen E. Harrington.

SHAKESPEARE CLUB. Many literary and reading clubs have flourished in Lexington, but the Lexington Shakespeare Club, organized February 26, 1898, and continuing its activities for seven years, meeting weekly or fortnightly during the winter months for reading and the study of Shakespeare's plays, deserves special mention. It read every play attributed to Shakespeare, and many of them many times. It promoted frequent public lectures or readings upon them, and gave to the High School Library a fine edition of the works of the great dramatist.

Its founders were: Mr. A. W. Stevens, Mrs. Francis E. Tufts, and Mrs. Albert S. Parsons. Its Presidents were: Mr. A. W. Stevens, Mr. Albert S. Parsons, Rev. Charles F. Carter, James P. Prince, Esq., James R. Carret, Esq., and Mr. Benjamin F. Brown.

LEXINGTON COUNCIL No. 94, KNIGHTS OF COLUMBUS, was instituted in the Town Hall, July 10, 1894, with twenty-five charter members, Michael F. Collins being Grand Knight.

The present officers are: —

John G. Fitzgerald,	Grand Knight.
Eugene T. Buckley,	Deputy Grand Knight.
Charles J. Dailey,	Chancellor.
William Viano,	Recording Secretary.
Frederick J. Spencer,	Financial Secretary.
B. J. Harrington,	Treasurer.
James S. Montague,	Advocate.
William B. Gorman,	Warden.
James J. Waldron,	Inside Guard.
Peter J. Welch,	Outside Guard.
Christopher S. Ryan,	Lecturer.
Edward H. Mara,	Board of Trustees.
Joseph P. Ryan,	
Dennis H. Collins,	
Rev. Michael J. Owens,	Chaplain.

The hall of the Council is located at 434 Massachusetts Avenue, and the membership is one hundred.

LEXINGTON GRANGE, No. 233, PATRONS OF HUSBANDRY, was organized by Deputy William T. Herrick on December 3, 1903, with thirty-five charter members. The first Master of the Grange was Clarence H. Cutler, and D. F. Hutchinson was elected Chaplain, which office he has held to the present time. The Grange has at present two hundred and four members (one hundred and seven female and ninety-seven male), and meets the second and fourth Wednesday evenings of each month at Historic Hall.

THE LEXINGTON GOLF CLUB was organized April 12, 1895, with John B. Thomas as President. The Club established a nine-hole course on the south slope of the hill back of the Munroe Tavern, using the old barn of the Tavern as a club-house, and the course extending from Percy Road across Middle Street.

December 2, 1899, it was voted to lease the Vaille Farm on Hill Street, North Lexington; and on January 17, 1900, the Club was incorporated and the existing club-house on the Hill Street site constructed. The Vaille Farm was purchased for the use of the Club in September, 1906. The site is an unusually beautiful one, with extensive views of the New Hampshire hills; and, in addition to an excellent golf course, the Club has tennis-courts and a swimming-pool supplied from springs.

The present membership is one hundred and fifty.

THE LEXINGTON EQUAL SUFFRAGE LEAGUE was formed November 6, 1900, at a largely attended meeting in the home of Mr. and Mrs. George S. Jackson on Oakland Street. There were present several survivors of a society which had been formed for the same purpose in East Lexington, some years previous, in favor of the equal political rights of men and women, and much enthusiasm was shown.

Its first officers were its chief promoters: —

President,

Mr. A. W. Stevens.

Vice-Presidents,

{ Mrs. George S. Jackson.
Mrs. Hannah McLean Greeley.

Recording Secretary,	Mr. Francis J. Garrison.
Corresponding Secretary,	Mrs. Hannah McLean Greeley.
Treasurer,	Miss Elizabeth W. Harrington.

Regular meetings were held, first at members' houses, later in the Kindergarten Building, on Forest Street. Public meetings with distinguished speakers from Boston were held in the Town Hall, and a strong society of sixty to seventy members was active in the propaganda for several years.

It interested itself in securing an amendment to the Town By-Laws, requiring that two members of the School Committee of five should be women, and brought out a large vote by women for School Committee, — 293 being registered in 1903, of whom 239 voted.

Mrs. Mary C. Jackson has been President for several years.

There are four clubs in Lexington the purpose of which is to enable the members, by combining their resources, to secure good returns upon sound investments. The earliest of these was **THE LEXINGTON ASSOCIATES**, organized in 1885. Its officers are: —

President,	Alfred Pierce.
Vice-President,	Robert P. Clapp.
Treasurer,	Charles B. Davis.
Secretary,	George E. Stone.
	{ Alfred Pierce.
Trustees,	{ Robert P. Clapp.
	{ Charles B. Davis.

THE LEXINGTON CLUB was brought together in 1886, and was reorganized, under a declaration of trust, in March, 1892. Its present membership is eighteen, and its officers are: —

President,	J. F. Russell.
Vice-President,	F. F. Sherburne.
Secretary,	E. M. Mulliken.
Treasurer,	W. W. Reed.
	{ W. W. Reed.
Trustees,	{ G. E. Stone.
	{ G. L. Gilmore.

Its assets are mainly in mortgage loans and Boston real estate.

In 1892 was formed the EAST LEXINGTON FINANCE CLUB, with a membership of twenty-five. Its holdings are in real estate.

April 4, 1906, the LEXINGTON INVESTMENT CLUB organized with twenty members, increased in 1908 to twenty-five. Its present officers are:—

President,	Clifford W. Pierce.
Vice-President,	Ed. B. Worthen.
Secretary,	Allen C. Smith.
Treasurer,	G. I. Tuttle.
Trustees,	{ Lester T. Redman.
	{ George F. Smith.
	{ J. J. Walsh.

CHAPTER XXVI

BENEFACTIONS

Act creating Trustees of Public Trusts — Gammell Legacy — Bridge Gift — Beals Legacy — Gilmor Legacy — Hayes Fountain Fund — Smith Legacy — French Legacy — Residuary Estate of G. O. Smith — Fellowship of Charities — Home for Aged People — Flower Mission.

WHILE, in a town like Lexington, the problems of poverty and relief are not so difficult as in a manufacturing community, no place is free from the questions arising from the old age, orphanage, or mental or physical incapacity of certain of its citizens. As already pointed out by Mr. Hudson,¹ Lexington, as was true of other New England towns, was from the beginning extremely careful that no one likely to become a charge upon the town should be permitted to acquire rights of domicile. Eloquent, too, of the attitude of the forefathers, as contrasted with modern humanitarianism, is the fact that even Lexington was guilty of stealthily and at night transporting paupers, for whose support it did not feel itself responsible, to the common or other public place of the several towns to which it believed them chargeable, leaving them there as a visible evidence of repudiation.

As a whole, however, Lexington has always been both generous and humane in the treatment of her dependents;² and, as is indicated by the accounts of the work of philanthropy carried on in the several churches,³ her people have been unusually responsive to the calls of charity. Through the religious and fraternal organizations, as well as through individual giving, sums aggregating large amounts have been provided, not only for the relief of Lexington citizens, but also for the help of good causes everywhere. The charities of Boston and of Massachusetts, the work of home and foreign missions, the needs arising from great disasters, such as the Chicago fire and the San Francisco earthquake, have found

¹ Page 63, *ante*. Ed.

² It is worthy of note that until quite far into the nineteenth century inmates of the "poor-farm" were compelled to wear a distinctive and rather conspicuous uniform. Ed.

³ See Chapter xvi, *ante*. Ed.

OLD BELFRY CLUB
TOWN HALL

CARY MEMORIAL LIBRARY
STONE BUILDING



in the citizens of Lexington a response much greater and more prompt, it is generally conceded, than from many other towns with far larger financial resources.

Gifts and bequests having been made from time to time to the town, it has seemed good business policy to create a special board to administer them. Therefore, at the request of the town meeting, the Legislature of 1910 passed the following act, which was then accepted by the town:—

“AN ACT to authorize the town of Lexington to borrow money to repay or reimburse its Trust Funds and to provide for the Custody and Management of its Trust Property.

“*Be it enacted* by the Senate and House of Representatives in General Court assembled, and by the authority of the same, as follows:—

“SECTION 1. The town of Lexington, for the purpose of repaying or reimbursing certain trust funds received by said town, and subsequently paid out and expended by it for the general expenses of the town, is hereby authorized to borrow a sum not exceeding thirty-five thousand dollars, and to issue notes or bonds therefor, payable at periods not exceeding twenty-five years from date of issue; such notes or bonds shall be signed by the treasurer and countersigned by the selectmen, shall bear interest, payable semi-annually, at a rate not exceeding four and one half per cent. per annum and shall be sold or disposed of in such manner, or upon such terms, as the treasurer and selectmen shall determine. At the time of issuing said notes or bonds the town shall provide for the payment thereof in such annual payments as shall extinguish the debt within the time prescribed within this act, and when a vote to that effect has been passed, the amount required therefor shall be raised annually by taxation in the same manner in which other taxes are raised without any further vote or action of the town.

“SECTION 2. The town may at its next annual meeting, or at a special meeting duly called for the purpose, elect by ballot in the same manner as other town officers are elected a board of three citizens who shall serve without compensation and who shall be called Trustees of Public Trusts, one of whom shall serve until the annual meeting in the year 1912, one until the annual meeting in the year 1914, and one until the annual meeting in the year 1916, and at the annual meeting in the year 1912 and biennially thereafter the town shall elect one trustee for the term of six years and until his successor is elected and qualified.

“SECTION 3. Unless it shall be otherwise provided or determined by vote of the town, or by the terms of the instrument creating the trust, said Board shall take, hold, manage, invest, reinvest, admin-

ister and dispense all the estates and properties, real and personal, and the proceeds thereof, which have already been, or which may hereafter be devised, bequeathed or otherwise given to or conferred upon said town of Lexington, for public or charitable objects, including the trust funds referred to in Section 1, and also any properties devised, bequeathed or otherwise conferred upon said Board for the benefit of said town or any public or charitable objects therein. Said Board may invest and reinvest all said estates and properties, real and personal, and the proceeds thereof, in such other estates and securities, real and personal, as it may deem safe and proper, having always in mind the security of the principal sums of said trusts.

"SECTION 4. A vacancy in said Board shall be created by the death, the removal for cause by the Supreme Judicial Court, the removal of his legal residence from said town, or the resignation in writing delivered to the selectmen, of any member of the Board, and any vacancy shall be filled by the election of a new member by ballot for the remainder of the term so vacated at a meeting of the voters duly called for the purpose.

"SECTION 5. Said Board shall take, hold, and manage all sums of money deposited with the treasurer of said town for the care and preservation of cemetery lots under the provisions of the laws of the Commonwealth, and may invest the same in the Lexington Savings Bank or other savings bank in this Commonwealth in separate accounts with each deposit and shall pay over from the income thereof to the proper persons the sums necessary to carry out the purposes of said deposits.

"SECTION 6. Said Board shall do all acts necessary to or proper to be done for the purpose of carrying into effect the provisions of this act, and shall annually make a full report to said town of the amounts and investments of all property and deposits held by them hereunder and of their doings in relation thereto.

"SECTION 7. Nothing in this act contained shall be construed as restricting, enlarging or in any way changing the terms of the bequests or donations under which said estates are devised or given.

"SECTION 8. This act shall take effect upon its acceptance by said town at a legal meeting duly called for the purpose."

The Board thus created administrators, in addition to the special funds bequeathed for the care of cemetery lots, the following trusts: —

The Jonas Gammell Legacy. Accepted by the town July 11, 1874: —

"I give and bequeath to the town of Lexington five hundred dollars (\$500) upon the condition that said town shall receive the same

and keep it safely invested, and expend the income thereof in purchasing such luxuries and delicacies for the inmates of the town almshouse as are not usually furnished them and shall tend to promote their health and comfort. Such income shall be expended by the Overseers of the Poor and two ladies, residents of the town, to be annually appointed for that purpose by the Selectmen of the town. This legacy is made upon the express condition that if that part of the town called East Lexington ever be incorporated as a separate town, the same shall be transferred and paid over to such new town, to be held by such new town upon the conditions and for the purpose aforesaid."

The Samuel J. Bridge Gift. Given 1880. Accepted March 7, 1881:—

"Know all men by these presents, that I, Samuel J. Bridge, hereby give to the inhabitants of the town of Lexington in the County of Middlesex and State of Massachusetts, the sum of two thousand dollars, a permanent fund to be called "The Bridge Charitable Fund" to be held in trust by said town, for the purposes and in manner hereafter mentioned, to wit: Said sum of two thousand dollars is to be invested in a note of said town of Lexington, or some other town in Massachusetts, or in some safe, good, and reliable security, and two-thirds of the annual income accruing from said fund shall be annually distributed or expended at Christmas or in December or January or other suitable time at the discretion of the Selectmen or the Overseers of the Poor of said town of Lexington among the deserving poor of said town of Lexington without distinction of sex or religion, and I wish no especial publicity to be given to the names of the parties receiving the benefit from said fund.

¶ "The remaining one-third of the income shall be reserved annually and placed at interest in some safe security, until the said one-third reserved shall with accumulated interest thereon, amount to two thousand dollars, then the annual income of said four thousand dollars may be distributed or expended on the deserving poor of said town of Lexington in the manner aforesaid."

Eleanor S. Beals Legacy. Accepted by the town June 8, 1891:—

"I bequeath to town of Lexington the sum of two thousand dollars, in trust, the income to be expended for the benefit of worthy, indigent, aged men and women, over sixty years of age, American born, to be called the Beals Fund."

Harriet R. Gilmor Legacy. Accepted March 5, 1894:—

"I give to the town of Lexington, in said Massachusetts, the

sum of five hundred dollars, to be safely invested and held in trust forever, and the income thereof to be expended under the direction of the Overseers of the Poor of said town, for the benefit of poor people in said Lexington, whether the same shall be inmates of the almshouse in said town or otherwise."

Hayes Fountain Fund. Created March 11, 1901:—

"Your committee [on the erection of the fountain] recommend that it [the balance remaining from the bequest of F. B. Hayes] be held by the town and known as 'The Hayes Fountain Trust Fund,' that it be invested in a town note or other security, and the income used for the perpetual care of the fountain, and the grounds immediately around it."

George O. Smith Legacy. Accepted October 23, 1905:—

"To the town of Lexington in trust twenty-five hundred dollars, the income thereof to be expended by the 'Field and Garden Club' so long as said 'Field and Garden Club' shall be in existence, and in case said 'Field and Garden Club' shall dissolve or cease its work, the income to be expended by a committee chosen by the citizens for that purpose, to serve without pay, in setting out and keeping in order shade and ornamental trees and shrubs in the streets and highways of said town, or the beautifying of unsightly places in the highways. In case this bequest shall not be accepted by the town, or if the income shall remain unexpended for a longer term than two years in succession, then this my bequest and any unexpended balance of income shall revert to my estate and be appropriated as hereinafter provided."

Charles E. French Legacy. Accepted October 10, 1907:—

"I give to the town of Lexington, Massachusetts, two thousand (\$2000) to be invested in the town of Lexington bonds, the annual income thereof to be expended for silver medals for its public grammar and high schools, subject to the same conditions, limitations and restrictions as in the medal bequest to the town of Braintree, Massachusetts.

"The conditions, limitations and restrictions contained in the medal bequest to the town of Braintree are as follows:—

"I give to the town of Braintree two thousand dollars (\$2000) in trust, the amount to be invested in town of Braintree bonds, such part of the annual income of which as may be necessary to be expended in the purchase of three (3) silver medals in each of the public high and grammar schools of said town, to be distributed for the best scholarship (military and mechanic arts not included) of the class graduating from each school, provided, however, that

a sufficient fund shall not (prior to my decease) have been set apart by others for the same purpose. The unexpended income to be added to and remain a part of the fund.'

"I give to the town of Lexington, Massachusetts, two thousand (\$2000) dollars in trust to be invested in town of Lexington bonds, the annual income thereof to be devoted to the care of the older part of the cemetery in which repose the remains of my great-great-grandparents Rev. John Hancock and wife. The vault inclosing their remains to receive due care."

Besides the legacy mentioned above, and in addition to the generous bequest to the Lexington Historical Society,¹ Mr. George O. Smith left two other funds in the following terms: —

"*Twelfth.* All the residue and remainder of my estate of every kind and nature, and in case of the non-acceptance or non-compliance with the conditions of the bequests of \$2500 to the town of Lexington and \$5000 to the Lexington Historical Society, those amounts are to be added thereto, I give, devise, and bequeath to Albert S. Parsons and Edwin S. Spaulding, the executors herein named, together with Charles A. Wellington (Edward P. Nichols, in codicil, Mr. Wellington having deceased), James P. Munroe and Charles B. Davis, all of Lexington, and their successors, in trust, for the following purposes: One thousand dollars set apart, the income thereof to be annually offered and paid in two prizes to the pupils of either of the Lexington Schools — High or Grammar — who shall write the best and second best essay or paper on Patriotic Statesmanship in contrast with Politicalism or Partisan Statesmanship in their effects on National Progress and Prosperity. Three-fifths of said income as a prize for the best, and two-fifths for the second-best essay, the award to be made by a competent committee chosen as judges, who shall not know who the authors are until their decisions have been made, the papers to be read in public if found to be feasible.

"The balance of this fund I wish devoted to furnishing of a technical education to graduates of the High School in Lexington — who were born in that town — such as may be furnished by the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, or schools of a similar character or grade — to such graduates as may from the poverty of their parents or other causes or circumstances be unable to procure means for such an education, but being fitted for and worthy of such expenditure, may, by loan or payment of tuition by the Trustees, be furnished with sufficient means to acquire it. A loan would seem preferable, as in that way the student would retain his

¹ See Chapter XXIV. *Ed.*

personal independence, and indications would point to a more successful result. It seems desirable that the income of this fund or a portion at least may be made available at as early a date as possible, but as it is not possible to fix the amount of such income, and as it is my wish to increase the amount to a sum sufficient to give to every worthy applicant the benefit of it, and moreover as I wish to encourage a desire for such education in the pupils of the 'Adams School' and to give an opportunity for one student perpetually from that school, I desire that the first applicant to receive its benefits shall be a graduate of the school now known as the 'Adams School' in East Lexington, and until a graduate from that school applies for a scholarship as a loan or for payment by the Trustees and receives such benefit, the income shall be added to the principal fund. . . .

"It is my wish that female graduates of the High School shall enjoy equal privileges and benefits of the fund with male graduates. By judicious management and the addition of a portion of the income each year, the principal fund will increase in time to an amount of considerable importance. The requirements of the future in matters of education will not stop short of the best, even in Lexington, and the increase in population, sure to come, may demand Technical Schools in this town, in which case — everything being equal as to facilities afforded — it might be wise and practicable to expend the income for tuition in such school. But unless affording first class opportunities for a thorough education in such branches as may be taught at the 'Massachusetts Institute of Technology,' I think it would yield better results if the older institution should be patronized. If from financial crises or other causes the income at any time be diminished and in the judgment of the Trustees it would be for the interest of the Trust to temporarily suspend the loans for, or the payment of tuitions, to increase the principal amount of the fund so as to afford greater usefulness at a later period, I authorize them to do so.

"The time when additions to the principal fund shall cease, must be left with the Trustees to decide, as the circumstances and requirements of future times may in their judgment dictate, but I hope not before the amount of the fund has increased to One hundred thousand dollars at least, which with the low rate of interest and income likely to prevail, will make the income of that sum meagre enough.

"*Eighth* — To Miss Ellen Dana, Edwin S. Spaulding, Mrs. Davis, wife of George O. Davis, Mrs. Munroe, wife of James P. Munroe and Francis E. Ballard, all of Lexington aforesaid and their survivors and successors, I give one thousand dollars, in trust, for the following purposes — such an amount never to exceed one

half of the principal sum — to be expended from time to time as may be needed in the purchase of such articles for the alleviation of sick persons in the town of Lexington as are not within reach of persons of small means, such as roller-chairs, patent beds, and like articles useful in other than ordinary illness, to be loaned without charge for their use, except to such as are amply able and willing to pay a moderate charge. The balance of the fund to be kept at interest, the income to be used for keeping such articles in repair or for purchasing other like articles for use in sickness and to pay for care and storage, when such articles are not in use. Should the funds increase at any time beyond the needs for these purposes, the surplus may be used for the purchase of flowers or delicacies for the sick who may be unable to purchase them.

"I modify Item eight of my said will by which I gave to certain persons in Lexington as trustees the sum of one thousand dollars for purchase and care of certain articles of furniture for the alleviation of persons sick with other than ordinary illness, and leave it discretionary with said trustees whether to buy or hire such articles from the income of the fund."

THE LEXINGTON FELLOWSHIP OF CHARITIES¹ was organized on May 14, 1901. Its purpose is the nursing of the sick, especially those of limited means, and the giving of instruction in home nursing and hygienic living. The Fellowship also aims to be a medium of communication between the charitable organizations of the town, and to that end the President confers with those who have in charge funds devoted to charitable work, whether in connection with town or church organizations.

There are two classes of membership, annual and life. Any person may become an annual member by the payment of at least one dollar. Life membership consists in the payment of fifty dollars at one time. Any town organization which contributes at least five dollars annually is entitled to one representative on the Board of Directors.

Since December, 1901, two nurses have been employed by the Fellowship, — Miss Manning from 1901 to 1903, and Miss Helen A. Hines from 1903 until the present time.

12,767 visits have been made, an average of 1232 yearly.

Contributions toward the support of the organization have amounted to \$7532 during the eleven years of its existence, an annual average of \$684.72.

¹ For this information the Committee is indebted to Miss Amy E. Taylor. *Ed.*

Whenever it is possible, the patients are expected to contribute to the funds of the Society. The collections from this source have been \$2422, averaging \$220 yearly.

October 1, 1912, there were one hundred and eleven annual members and four life members; the latter are Miss Alice B. Cary, Mrs. Mary C. Robinson, Miss Frances M. Robinson, and Miss Ellen M. Tower.

The annual meeting is held on the first Tuesday evening of November.

Officers

Presidents,	1901-10, Rev. Charles F. Carter. 1910-11, Rev. George G. Ballard, Jr. 1911- , Amy E. Taylor.
Vice-President,	1901- , Ellen M. Tower.
Secretaries,	1901-07, Mrs. George L. Gilmore. 1907-12, Ellen E. Harrington. 1912- , Mrs. H. L. Houghton.
Treasurers,	1901-06, Rose M. Tucker. 1906-08, Mrs. A. M. Redman. 1908- , Bertha M. Hutchinson.

The first directors elected were: —

George O. Davis.	Mrs. Walter B. Perkins.
Mrs. William A. Harris.	Mrs. George H. Reed.
Katharine A. Kiernan.	Edwin S. Spaulding.*
Mrs. S. W. Locke.	Rev. Carlton A. Staples.*
Dr. N. H. Merriam.	George W. Taylor.
Harry A. Patterson.	Mrs. A. C. Washburn.
Charles T. West.*	

In April, 1904, largely upon the initiative of Miss Elizabeth W. Harrington, who then gave one thousand dollars, there was formed a Corporation, the purpose of which is to raise funds for establishing a HOME FOR AGED PEOPLE. Under the will of Miss Harrington, who died May 16, 1906, two thousand dollars more was bequeathed to this Corporation, and, through gifts and annual dues, the funds now exceed six thousand five hundred dollars. The officers of the Corporation are: —

President, Frederick L. Emery.
Secretary, Everett M. Mulliken.
Treasurer, Alonzo E. Locke.

* Deceased.

Ever since 1890, Lexington has maintained a branch of the flower work carried on by the "Mutual Helpers" of Boston, the purpose of which is to send from the gardens of the country flowers to cheer and comfort the sick and "shut-ins" of the city.



APPENDIX

Jonas Clarke's Narrative of the Battle of Lexington — List of the Provincials "Killed, Wounded, and Missing" — Depositions (taken in 1824-25) of Survivors of the Battle — Inscriptions on Lexington Tablets — Lexington Physicians — The Birds of Lexington.

OPENING OF THE WAR OF THE REVOLUTION, 19TH OF APRIL, 1775. A BRIEF NARRATIVE OF THE PRINCIPAL TRANSACTIONS OF THAT DAY, BY JONAS CLARKE, PASTOR OF THE CHURCH IN LEXINGTON.¹

As it was not consistent with the limits of a single discourse to give a full account of the particulars of this most savage and murderous affair; the following plain and faithful narrative of facts, as they appeared to us in this place, may be matter of satisfaction.

On the evening of the eighteenth of April, 1775, we received two messages; the first verbal, the other by express, in writing, from the committee of safety, who were then sitting in the westerly part of Cambridge, directed to the honorable John Hancock, Esq; (who, with the honorable Samuel Adams, Esq; was then providentially with us) informing, "that eight or nine officers of the king's troops were seen, just before night, passing the road towards Lexington, in a musing, contemplative posture; and it was suspected that they were out upon some evil design."

As both these gentlemen had been frequently and even publicly, threatened, by the enemies of this people, both in England and America, with the vengeance of the British administration: — And as Mr. Hancock in particular had been, more than once, personally insulted, by some officers of the troops, in Boston; it was not without some just grounds supposed, that under cover of the darkness, sudden arrest, if not assassination might be attempted, by these instruments of tyranny!

To prevent any thing of this kind, ten or twelve men were immediately collected, in arms, to guard my house, through the night.

In the mean time, said officers passed through this town, on the road towards Concord: It was therefore thought expedient to watch their motions, and if possible make some discovery of their intentions. Accordingly, about 10 o'clock in the evening, three men, on horses, were dispatched for this purpose. As they were peaceably passing the road towards Concord, in the borders of Lincoln,

¹ Appended to a sermon preached by him in Lexington, April 19, 1776. (Lexington, Massachusetts, The Lexington Historical Society, 1901.) Ed.

they were suddenly stopped by said officers, who rode up to them, and putting pistols to their breasts and seizing their horses' bridles, swore, if they stirred another step, they should be all dead men! The officers detained them several hours, as prisoners, examined, searched, abused and insulted them; and in their hasty return (supposing themselves discovered) they left them in Lexington. Said officers also took into custody, abused and threatened with their lives several other persons; some of whom they met peaceably passing on the road, others even at the doors of their dwellings, without the least provocation, on the part of the inhabitants, or so much as a question asked by them.

Between the hours of twelve and one, on the morning of the nineteenth of April, we received intelligence, by express, from the Honorable Joseph Warren, Esq.; at Boston, "that a large body of the king's troops (supposed to be a brigade of about 12, or 1500) were embarked in boats from Boston, and gone over to land on Lechmere's point (so called) in Cambridge: And that it was shrewdly suspected, that they were ordered to seize and destroy the stores, belonging to the colony, then deposited at Concord," in consequence of General Gage's unjustifiable seizure of the provincial magazine of powder at Medford, and other colony stores in several other places.

Upon this intelligence, as also upon information of the conduct of the officers as above-mentioned, the militia of this town were alarmed, and ordered to meet on the usual place of parade; not with any design of commencing hostilities upon the king's troops, but to consult what might be done for our own and the people's safety: And also to be ready for whatever service providence might call us out to, upon this alarming occasion, in case overt acts of violence, or open hostilities should be committed by this mercenary band of armed and blood-thirsty oppressors.

About the same time, two persons were sent express to Cambridge, if possible, to gain intelligence of the motions of the troops, and what route they took.

The militia met according to order; and waited the return of the messengers, that they might order their measures as occasion should require. Between 3 and 4 o'clock, one of the expresses returned, informing, that there was no appearance of the troops, on the roads, either from Cambridge or Charlestown; and that it was supposed that the movements in the army the evening before, were only a feint to alarm the people. Upon this, therefore, the militia company were dismissed for the present, but with orders to be within call of the drum, — waiting the return of the other messenger, who was expected in about an hour, or sooner, if any discovery should be made of the motions of the troops. But he was prevented by their silent and sudden arrival at the place where he

was, waiting for intelligence. So that, after all this precaution, we had no notice of their approach, 'till the brigade was actually in the town, and upon a quick march within about a mile and a quarter of the meeting house and place of parade.

However, the commanding officer thought best to call the company together, — not with any design of opposing so superior a force, much less of commencing hostilities; but only with a view to determine what to do, when and where to meet, and to dismiss and disperse.

Accordingly, about half an hour after four o'clock, alarm guns were fired, and the drums beat to arms; and the militia were collecting together. Some, to the number of about 50, or 60, or possibly more, were on the parade, others were coming towards it. In the mean time, the troops having thus stolen a march upon us, and to prevent any intelligence of their approach, having seized and held prisoners several persons whom they met unarmed upon the road, seemed to come determined for murder and bloodshed; and that whether provoked to it, or not! When within about half a quarter of a mile of the meeting-house, they halted, and the command was given to prime and load; which being done, they marched on 'till they came up to the east end of said meeting-house, in sight of our militia (collecting as aforesaid) who were about 12, or 13 rods distant. Immediately upon their appearing so suddenly, and so nigh, Capt. Parker, who commanded the militia company, ordered the men to disperse, and take care of themselves; and not to fire. Upon this, our men dispersed;¹ — but, many of them, not so speedily as they might have done, not having the most distant idea of such brutal barbarity and more than savage cruelty, from the troops of a British king, as they immediately experienced! — ! — For, no sooner did they come in sight of our company, but one of them, supposed to be an officer of rank, was heard to say to the troops, "Damn them; we will have them!" Upon which the troops shouted aloud, huzza'd, and rushed furiously towards our men. About the same time, three officers (supposed to be Col. Smith, Major Pitcairn and another officer) advanced, on horse back, to the front of the body, and coming within 5 or 6 rods of the militia, one of them cried out, "ye villains, ye Rebels, disperse; Damn you, disperse!" — or words to this effect. One of them (whether the

¹ In reading Parson Clarke's Narrative, it should not be forgotten that he had every reason, in April, 1776, when the outcome of the revolt against Great Britain was still most uncertain, to emphasize the aggression of the British troops and to minimize the measure in which their fire was returned. On the other hand, after the successful termination of the Revolutionary War, there was every incentive to magnify the part which the Minute-Men played in meeting that first onslaught. All accounts of the Battle of Lexington, and all depositions regarding it, should be read with this change of attitude clearly in mind. *Ed.*

same, or not, is not easily determined) said, "Lay down your arms; Damn you, why don't you lay down your arms!" The second of these officers, about this time, fired a pistol towards the militia, as they were dispersing. The foremost, who was within a few yards of our men, brandishing his sword, and then pointing towards them, with a loud voice said to the troops, "Fire! By God, fire!" — which was instantly followed by a discharge of arms from the said troops, succeeded by a very heavy and close fire upon our party, dispersing, so long as any of them were within reach. Eight were left dead upon the ground! Ten were wounded. The rest of the company, through divine goodness, were (to a miracle) preserved unhurt in this murderous action!

As to the question, "Who fired first?" — if it can be a question with any; we may observe, that though General Gage hath been pleased to tell the world, in his account of this savage transaction, "that the troops were fired upon by the rebels out of the meeting-house, and the neighboring houses, as well as by those that were in the field; and that the troops only returned the fire, and passed on their way to Concord;" — yet nothing can be more certain than the contrary, and nothing more false, weak or wicked, than such a representation.

To say nothing of the absurdity of the supposition, that 50, 60, or even 70 men, should, in the open field, commence hostilities with 12, or 1500, of the best troops of Britain,¹ nor of the known determination of this small party of Americans, upon no consideration whatever, to begin the scene of blood² — A cloud of witnesses, whose veracity cannot be justly disputed, upon oath have declared, in the most express and positive terms, that the British troops fired first:³ — And I think, we may safely add, without the least reason or provocation. Nor was there opportunity given, for our men to have saved themselves, either by laying down their arms, or dispersing, as directed, had they been disposed to; as the command to fire upon them was given almost at the same instant, that they were ordered, by the British officers, to disperse, to lay down their arms, etc.

In short, so far from firing first upon the king's troops; upon the most careful enquiry, it appears, ~~that~~ but very few of our people fired at all; and even they did not fire till after being fired upon by the troops, they were wounded themselves, or saw others killed, or

¹ "1200 or 1500, was the number we then supposed the brigade to consist of: though afterwards, by the best accounts, it appeared, that there were but about 800."

² "From a most intimate acquaintance with the sentiments of the inhabitants of this town, then collected in arms, I think I may boldly assert, that it was their known determination not to commence hostilities, upon the king's troops; though they were equally determined to stand by their rights to the last."

³ "See narrative and depositions, published by authority."

wounded by them, and looked upon it next to impossible for them to escape.

As to any firing from the meeting-house, as Gage represents; it is certain, that there were but four men in the meeting-house, when the troops came up: and they were then getting some ammunition, from the town stock, and had not so much as loaded their guns (except one, who never discharged it) when the troops fired upon the militia. And as to the neighbouring houses, it is equally certain, that there was no firing from them, unless after the dispersion of our men, some, who had fled to them for shelter, might fire from them upon the troops.

One circumstance more, before the brigade quitted Lexington, I beg leave to mention, as what may give a further specimen of the spirit and character, of the officers and men, of this body of troops. After the militia company were dispersed and the firing ceased, the troops drew up and formed in a body, on the common, fired a volley and gave three huzzas, by way of triumph, and as expressive of the joy of victory and glory of conquest! — ! Of this transaction, I was a witness, having, at that time, a fair view of their motions, and being at the distance of not more than 70 or 80 rods from them.

Whether this step was honorary to the detachment, or agreeable to the rules of war — or how far it was expressive of bravery, heroism and true military glory, for 800 disciplined troops of Great Britain, without notice or provocation, to fall upon 60, or 70, undisciplined Americans, who neither opposed nor molested them, and murder some and disperse the rest, and then to give the shout and make the triumph of victory, is not for me to determine; but must be submitted to the impartial world to judge. That "there is a God with whom is the power, and the glory, and the victory," is certain: but whether he will set his seal to the triumph, made upon this most peculiar occasion, by following it with further successes, and finally giving up this people into the hands of those, that have thus cruelly commenced hostilities against them, must be left to time to discover. But to return from this digression, if it may be called a digression.

Having thus vanquished the party in Lexington, the troops marched on for Concord, to execute their orders, in destroying the stores belonging to the colony, deposited there. They met with no interruption in their march to Concord. But by some means or other, the people of Concord had notice of their approach and designs, and were alarmed about break of day; and collecting as soon, and as many as possible, improved the time they had before the troops came upon them, to the best advantage, both for concealing and securing as many of the public stores as they could, and in preparing for defence. By the stop of the troops at Lexington, many

thousands were saved to the colony, and they were, in a great measure, frustrated in their design.

When the troops made their approach to the easterly part of the town, the provincials of Concord and some neighbouring towns, were collected and collecting in an advantageous post, on a hill, a little distance from the meeting-house, north of the road, to the number of about 150, or 200: but finding the troops to be more than three times as many, they wisely retreated, first to a hill about 80 rods further north, and then over the north-bridge (so-called) about a mile from the town: and there they waited the coming of the militia of the towns adjacent, to their assistance.

In the mean time, the British detachment marched into the center of the town. A party of about 200, was ordered to take possession of said bridge, other parties were dispatched to various parts of the town, in search of public stores, while the remainder were employed in seizing and destroying, whatever they could find in the town-house, and other places, where stores had been lodged. But before they had accomplished their design, they were interrupted by a discharge of arms, at said bridge.

It seems, that of the party above mentioned, as ordered to take possession of the bridge, one half were marched on about two miles, in search of stores, at Col. Barret's and that part of the town: while the other half, consisting of towards 100 men, under Capt. Lawrie, were left to guard the bridge. The provincials, who were in sight of the bridge, observing the troops attempting to take up the planks of said bridge, thought it necessary to dislodge them, and gain possession of the bridge. They accordingly marched, but with express orders not to fire, unless first fired upon by the king's troops. Upon their approach towards the bridge, Capt. Lawrie's party fired upon them, killed Capt. Davis and another man dead upon the spot, and wounded several others. Upon this our militia rushed on, with a spirit becoming free-born Americans, returned the fire upon the enemy, killed 2, wounded several and drove them from the bridge, and pursued them towards the town, 'till they were covered by a reinforcement from the main body. The provincials then took post on a hill, at some distance, north of the town: and as their numbers were continually increasing, they were preparing to give the troops a proper discharge, on their departure from the town.

In the mean time, the king's troops collected; and having dressed their wounded, destroyed what stores they could find, and insulted and plundered a number of the inhabitants, prepared for a retreat.

"While at Concord, the troops disabled two 24 pounders; destroyed their 2 carriages, and seven wheels for the same, with their limbers. Sixteen wheels for brass 3 pounders, and 2 carriages with limber and wheels for two 4 pounders. They threw into the river

wells, etc. about 500 weight of ball: and stove about 60 barrels of flour; but not having time to perfect their work, one half of the flour was afterwards saved." ¹

The troops began a hasty retreat about the middle of the day: and were no sooner out of the town, but they began to meet the effects of the just resentments of this injured people. The provincials fired upon them from various quarters, and pursued them (though without any military order) with a firmness and intrepidity, beyond what could have been expected, on the first onset, and in such a day of confusion and distress! The fire was returned, for a time, with great fury, by the troops as they retreated, though (through divine goodness) with but little execution. This scene continued, with but little intermission, till they returned to Lexington; when it was evident, that, having lost numbers in killed, wounded, and prisoners that fell into our hands, they began to be, not only fatigued, but greatly disheartened. And it is supposed they must have soon surrendered at discretion, had they not been reinforced. But Lord Percy's arrival with another brigade, of about 1000 men, and 2 field pieces, about half a mile from Lexington meeting-house, towards Cambridge, gave them a seasonable respite.

The coming of the reinforcement, with the cannon, (which our people were not so well acquainted with then, as they have been since) put the provincials also to a pause, for a time. But no sooner were the king's troops in motion, but our men renewed the pursuit with equal, and even greater ardour and intrepidity than before, and the firing on both sides continued, with but little intermission, to the close of the day, when the troops entered Charlestown, where the provincials could not follow them, without exposing the worthy inhabitants of that truly patriotic town, to their rage and revenge. That night and the next day, they were conveyed in boats, over Charles-River to Boston, glad to secure themselves, under the cover of the shipping, and by strengthening and perfecting the fortifications, at every part, against the further attacks of a justly incensed people, who, upon intelligence of the murderous transactions of this fatal day, were collecting in arms, round the town, in great numbers, and from every quarter.

In the retreat of the king's troops from Concord to Lexington, they ravaged and plundered, as they had opportunity, more or less, in most of the houses that were upon the road. But after they were joined by Percy's brigade, in Lexington, it seemed as if all the little remains of humanity had left them; and rage and revenge had taken the reins, and knew no bounds! Clothing, furniture, provisions, goods, plundered, broken, carried off, or destroyed! Buildings (especially dwelling-houses) abused, defaced, battered, shattered, and almost ruined! And as if this had not been enough, numbers of

¹ "See Rev. Mr. Gordon's account."

them doomed to the flames! Three dwelling houses, two shops and a barn, were laid in ashes, in Lexington! ¹ Many others were set on fire, in this town, in Cambridge, etc. and must have shared the same fate, had not the close pursuit of the provincials prevented, and the flames been seasonably quenched! Add to all this; the unarmed, the aged and infirm, who were unable to flee, are inhumanly stabbed and murdered in their habitations! Yea, even women in child-bed, with their helpless babes in their arms, do not escape the horrid alternative, of being either cruelly murdered in their beds, burnt in their habitations, or turned into the streets to perish with cold, nakedness and distress! But I forbear — words are too insignificant to express, the horrid barbarities of that distressing day! ! ! ²

Our loss, in the several actions of that day, was 49 killed, 34 wounded, and 5 missing, who were taken prisoners, and have since been exchanged. The enemy's loss, according to the best accounts, in killed, wounded and missing, about 300.

As the war was thus began with savage cruelty, in the aggressors; so it has been carried on with the same temper and spirit, by the enemy in but too many instances. Witness the wanton cruelty, discovered in burning Charlestown, Norfolk, Falmouth, etc. But as events which have taken place since the ever memorable nineteenth of April, 1775, do not properly come within the compass of this narrative, they must be left for some abler pen to relate.

¹ "Deacon Loring's house and barn, Mrs. Lydia Mulliken's house, and her son's shop, and Mr. Joshua Bond's house and shop."

² "'Quorum pars magna fui.' Vir."

Town.		Killed.	Wound.	Missing.
NEEDHAM				
Lieut. John Bourn, Elisha Mills, Amos Mills, Nathaniel Chamberlain, Jonathan Parker, Eleazer Kingsbury, Tolman,	<i>Killed.</i> <i>Wounded.</i>	5	2	
SUDBURY				
Josiah Haynes, Asahel Reed, Joshua Haynes, Jun.	<i>Killed.</i> <i>Wounded.</i>	2	1	
ACTON				
Capt. Isaac Davis, Abner Hosmer, James Heywood, ¹	<i>Killed.</i>	3		
BEDFORD				
Jonathan Wilson, Job Lane,	<i>Killed.</i> <i>Wounded.</i>	1	1	
WOBURN				
Asahel Porter, Daniel Thompson, George Reed, Jacob Bacon, Johnson,	<i>Killed.</i> <i>Wounded.</i>	2	3	
MEDFORD				
Henry Putnam, William Polly,	<i>Killed.</i>	2		
CHARLESTOWN				
James Miller, C. Barber's son,	<i>Killed.</i>	2.		

¹ Killed in Lexington, at the house formerly owned by Benjamin Fisk. He was coming to the house, and met a British soldier coming out. They both took aim and fired, and both fell.

Town.		Killed.	Wound.	Missing.
WATERTOWN				
Joseph Coolidge,	<i>Killed.</i>	1		
FRAMINGHAM				
Daniel Hemenway,	<i>Wounded.</i>		1	
DEDHAM				
Elias Haven,	<i>Killed.</i>	1		
Israel Everett,	<i>Wounded.</i>		1	
STOW				
Daniel Conant,	<i>Wounded.</i>		1	
ROXBURY				
Elijah Seaver,	<i>Missing.</i>			1
BROOKLINE				
Isaac Gardner, Esq.,	<i>Killed.</i>	1		
BILLERICA				
John Nickols,	} <i>Wounded.</i>		2	
Timothy Blanchard,				
CHELMSFORD				
Aaron Chamberlain,	} <i>Wounded.</i>		2	
Oliver Barron,				
SALEM				
Benjamin Pierce,	<i>Killed.</i>	1		
NEWTON				
Noah Wiswall,	<i>Wounded.</i>		1	

Town.		Killed.	Wound.	Missing.
DANVERS				
Henry Jacobs, Samuel Cook, Ebenezer Goldthwait, George Southwick, Benjamin Daland, Jotham Webb, Perley Putnam, Nathan Putnam, Dennis Wallace, Joseph Bell,	<i>Killed.</i> <i>Wounded.</i> <i>Missing.</i>	7	2	1
BEVERLY				
Reuben Kenyme, Nathaniel Cleves, Samuel Woodbury, William Dodge, 3d,	<i>Killed.</i> <i>Wounded.</i>	1	3	
LYNN				
Abednego Ramsdell, Daniel Townsend, William Flint, Thomas Hadley, Joshua Felt, Timothy Munroe, Josiah Breed,	<i>Killed.</i> <i>Wounded.</i> <i>Missing.</i>	4	2	1
		49	36	5

The enemy lost 65 killed: 180 were wounded, and 28 taken prisoners. *Holmes's Annals.*

An English account, published in the Historical Collections, states their loss to have been 73 killed, 174 wounded, and 26 missing.

DEPOSITIONS (TAKEN IN 1824-25) OF TEN SURVIVORS OF THE
BATTLE OF LEXINGTON¹

No. 1

I, ELIJAH SANDERSON, of Salem, in the county of Essex, cabinet-maker, aged seventy-three years, on oath depose as follows:

In the spring of 1775, I resided at Lexington, and had resided there then more than a year. In the spring of that year, the officers of the British regular troops in Boston were frequently making excursions, in small parties, into the country, and often, in the early part of the day, in pleasant weather, passed through Lexington, and usually were seen returning before evening. I lived then on the main road, about three quarters of a mile east of the meeting-house.

On the evening of the 18th April, 1775, we saw a party of officers pass up from Boston, all dressed in blue wrappers. The unusually late hour of their passing excited the attention of the citizens. I took my gun and cartridge-box, and, thinking something must be going on more than common, walked up to John Buckman's tavern, near the meeting-house. After some conversation among the citizens assembled there, an old gentleman advised, that some one should follow those officers, and endeavour to ascertain their object. I then observed, that, if any one would let me have a horse, I would go in pursuit. Thaddeus Harrington told me, I might take his, which was there. I took his, and Solomon Brown proposed to accompany me on his own horse. Jonathan Loring also went with us. We started, probably, about nine o'clock; and we agreed, if we could find the officers, we would return and give information, as the fears were, that their object was, to come back in the night, and seize Hancock and Adams, and carry them into Boston. It had been rumoured, that the British officers had threatened, that Hancock and Adams should not stay at Lexington. They had been boarding some time at Parson Clarke's.

We set out in pursuit. Just before we got to Brooks's in Lincoln, while riding along, we were stopped by nine British officers, who were paraded across the road. They were all mounted. One rode up and seized my bridle, and another my arm, and one put his pistol to my breast, and told me, if I resisted, I was a dead man. I asked, what he wanted. He replied, he wanted to detain me a little while. He ordered me to get off my horse. Several of them dismounted and threw down the wall, and led us into the field. They examined and questioned us where we were going, &c. Two of them staid in the road, and the other seven with us, relieving each other from time to time. They detained us in that vicinity till a quarter

¹ Appended to Pinney's History of the Battle at Lexington, Boston, 1825. *Ed.*

past two o'clock at night. An officer, who took out his watch, informed me what the time was. It was a bright moon-light after the rising of the moon, and a pleasant evening. During our detention, they put many questions to us, which I evaded. They kept us separately, and treated us very civilly. They particularly inquired where Hancock and Adams were; also about the population. One said, "You've been numbering the inhabitants, haven't ye?" I told him how many it was reported there were. One of them spoke up and said, "There were not so many, men, women and children." They asked as many questions as a yankee could.

While we were under detention, they took two other prisoners, one Allen, a one-handed pedlar, and Col. Paul Revere; also, they attempted to stop a man on horseback, who, we immediately after understood, was Dr. Prescott's son. He was well mounted, and, after turning from the road into the field toward us, he put spurs to his horse and escaped. Several of the officers pursued him, but could not overtake him.

After they had taken Revere, they brought him within half a rod of me, and I heard him speak up with energy to them, "Gentlemen, you've missed of your aim!" One said, rather hardly, "What of our aim!" Revere replied, "I came out of Boston an hour after your troops had come out of Boston and landed at Lechmere's Point, and if I had not known people had been sent out to give information to the country, and time enough to get fifty miles, I would have ventured one shot from you, before I would have suffered you to have stopped me." Upon this, they went a little aside and conversed together. They then ordered me to untie my horse, (which was tied to a little birch,) and mount. They kept us in the middle of the road, and rode on each side of us. We went toward Lexington. They took all of us, (Revere, Loring, and Brown, and myself.) My horse not being swift, and they riding at considerable speed, one of the officers pressed my horse forward, by striking him with his hanger. When we had arrived within fifty or one hundred rods of the meeting-house, Loring (as he afterwards informed me) told them, "The bell's a ringing, the town's alarmed, and you're all dead men." They then stopped — conferred together. One then dismounted, and ordered me to dismount, and said to me, "I must do you an injury." I asked, what he was going to do to me now? He made no reply, but with his hanger cut my bridle and girth, and then mounted, and they rode in a good smart trot on toward Boston. We then turned off to pass through the swamp, through the mud and water, intending to arrive at the meeting-house before they could pass, to give information to our people. Just before they got to the meeting-house, they had halted, which led us to hope, we should get there first; but they soon started off again at full speed, and we saw no more of them.

I went to the tavern. The citizens were coming and going; some went down to find whether the British were coming; some came back, and said there was no truth in it. I went into the tavern, and, after a while, went to sleep in my chair by the fire. In a short time after, the drum beat, and I ran out to the common, where the militia were parading. The captain ordered them to fall in. I then fell in. 'T was all in the utmost haste. The British troops were then coming on in full sight. I had no musket, having sent it home, the night previous, by my brother, before I started for Concord; and, reflecting I was of no use, I stepped out again from the company about two rods, and was gazing at the British, coming on in full career. Several mounted British officers were forward; I think, five. The commander rode up, with his pistol in his hand, on a canter, the others following, to about eight or ten rods from the company, perhaps nearer, and ordered them to disperse. The words he used were harsh. I cannot remember them exactly. He then said, "Fire!" and he fired his own pistol, and the other officers soon fired, and with that the main body came up and fired, but did not take sight. They loaded again as soon as possible. All was smoke when the foot fired. I heard no particular orders after what the commander first said. I looked, and, seeing nobody fall, thought to be sure they could n't be firing balls, and I did n't move off. After our militia had dispersed, I saw them firing at one man, (Solomon Brown,) who was stationed behind a wall. I saw the wall smoke with the bullets hitting it. I then knew they were firing balls. After the affair was over, he told me he fired into a solid column of them, and then retreated. He was in the cow yard. The wall saved him. He legged it just about the time I went away. In a minute or two after, the British musick struck up, and their troops paraded and marched right off for Concord.

I went home after my gun, — found it was gone. My brother had it. I returned to the meeting-house, and saw to the dead. I saw blood where the column of the British had stood when Solomon Brown fired at them. This was several rods from where any of our militia stood; and I then supposed, as well as the rest of us, that that was the blood of the British.

I assisted in carrying some of the dead into the meeting-house.

Some days before the battle, I was conversing with Jonas Parker, who was killed, and heard him express his determination never to run from before the British troops.

In the afternoon I saw the reinforcement come up under Lord Percy. I then had no musket, and retired to Estabrook's Hill, whence I saw the reinforcement meet the troops retreating from Concord. When they met, they halted some time. After this, they set fire to Deacon Loring's barn; then to his house; then to widow Mulliken's house; then to the shop of Nathaniel Mulliken, a watch

and clock maker; and to the house and shop of Joshua Bond. All these were near the place where the reinforcements took refreshments. They hove fire into several other buildings. It was extinguished after their retreat.

During the day, the women and children had been so scattered and dispersed, that most of them were out of the way when the reinforcements arrived.

I now own the musket, which I then owned, and which my brother had that day, and told me he fired at the British with it.

ELIJAH SANDERSON.

COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS.

ESSEX, ss. *December 17th, 1824.* — Then the above-named Elijah Sanderson, a gentleman of truth and respectability, subscribed and made oath to the above-written affidavit, before

BENJ. MERRILL, *Just. Peace and Quorum.*

No. 2

I, WILLIAM MUNROE, of Lexington, on oath do testify, that I acted as orderly sergeant in the company commanded by Capt. John Parker, on the 19th of April, 1775; that, early in the evening of the 18th of the same April, I was informed by Solomon Brown, who had just returned from Boston, that he had seen nine British officers on the road, travelling leisurely, sometimes before and sometimes behind him; that he had discovered, by the occasional blowing aside of their top coats, that they were armed. On learning this, I supposed they had some design upon Hancock and Adams, who were then at the house of the Rev. Mr. Clarke, and immediately assembled a guard of eight men, with their arms, to guard the house. About midnight, Col. Paul Revere rode up and requested admittance. I told him the family had just retired, and had requested, that they might not be disturbed by any noise about the house. "Noise!" said he, "you'll have noise enough before long. The regulars are coming out." We then permitted him to pass. Soon after, Mr. Lincoln came. These gentlemen came different routes. Revere came over the ferry to Charlestown, and Lincoln over the neck through Roxbury; and both brought letters from Dr. Warren in Boston to Hancock and Adams, stating, that a large body of British troops had left Boston, and were on their march to Lexington. On this, it was thought advisable, that Hancock and Adams should withdraw to some distant part of the town. To this Hancock consented with great reluctance, and said, as he went off, "If I had my musket, I would never turn my back upon these troops." I however conducted them to the north part of the town, and then returned to the meeting-house, where I arrived at about

two o'clock on the morning of the 19th. On the arrival of Col. Revere, the alarm had been given, and, on my return, I found Capt. Parker and his militia company paraded on the common, a little in the rear of the meeting-house. About that time, one of our messengers, who had been sent toward Cambridge to get information of the movement of the regulars, returned and reported, that he could not learn, that there were any troops on the road from Boston to Lexington, which raised some doubt as to their coming, and Capt. Parker dismissed his company, with orders to assemble again at the beat of the drum. Between day-light and sun-rise, Capt. Thaddeus Bowman rode up and informed, that the regulars were near. The drum was then ordered to be beat, and I was commanded by Capt. Parker to parade the company, which I accordingly did, in two ranks, a few rods northerly of the meeting-house.

When the British troops had arrived within about a hundred rods of the meeting-house, as I was afterwards told by a prisoner, which we took, "they heard our drum, and supposing it to be a challenge, they were ordered to load their muskets, and to move at double quick time." They came up almost upon a run. Col. Smith and Maj. Pitcairn rode up some rods in advance of their troops, and within a few rods of our company, and exclaimed, "Lay down your arms, you rebels, and disperse!" and immediately fired his pistol. Pitcairn then advanced, and, after a moment's conversation with Col. Smith, he advanced with his troops, and, finding we did not disperse, they being within four rods of us, he brought his sword down with great force, and said to his men, "Fire, damn you, fire!" The front platoon, consisting of eight or nine, then fired, without killing or wounding any of our men. They immediately gave a second fire, when our company began to retreat, and, as I left the field, I saw a person firing at the British troops from Buckman's back door, which was near our left, where I was parading the men when I retreated. I was afterward told, of the truth of which I have no doubt, that the same person, after firing from the back door, went to the front door of Buckman's house, and fired there. How many of our company fired before they retreated, I cannot say; but I am confident some of them did. When the British troops came up, I saw Jonas Parker standing in the ranks, with his balls and flints in his hat, on the ground, between his feet, and heard him declare, that he would never run. He was shot down at the second fire of the British, and, when I left, I saw him struggling on the ground, attempting to load his gun, which I have no doubt he had once discharged at the British. As he lay on the ground, they run him through with the bayonet. In the course of the day, I was on the ground where the British troops were when they first heard our drum beat, which was about one hundred rods below the meeting-house, and saw the ends of a large number, I should judge

two hundred, of cartridges, which they had dropped, when they charged their pieces. About noon, I was at the north part of the town, at the house of a Mr. Simonds, where I saw the late Col. Baldwin, who informed me, that he had the custody of some prisoners, that had been put under his charge, and requested to know of me what should be done with them. I gave my opinion, that they should be sent to that part of Woburn, now Burlington, or to Chelmsford. On the return of the British troops from Concord, they stopped at my tavern house in Lexington, and dressed their wounded. I had left my house in the care of a lame man, by the name of Raymond, who supplied them with whatever the house afforded, and afterward, when he was leaving the house, he was shot by the regulars, and found dead within a few rods of the house.

WILLIAM MUNROE.

MIDDLESEX, 7th March, 1825. — Then personally appeared the aforesaid William Munroe, and made oath to the truth of the foregoing affidavit, by him subscribed, before me,

AMOS MUZZY, *Justice Peace.*

No. 3

I, JOHN MUNROE, of Lexington, a collector of tolls for the Middlesex Turnpike, being in the seventy-seventh year of my age, on oath do depose and say, that I was a corporal in the Lexington company of militia, which was commanded by the late Capt. John Parker, in the year 1775; that, for some weeks previous to the 19th of April of that year, the company was frequently called out for exercise, and desired to furnish ourselves with arms and ammunition, and to be in constant readiness for action.

On the morning of the 19th, at about two o'clock, as near as I can recollect, Francis Brown, who was sergeant in the same company, called me out of my bed, and said, the British troops had left Boston, and were on their march to Lexington. I immediately repaired to the place of parade, which was the common, adjoining the meeting-house, where sixty or seventy of the company had assembled in arms. Capt. Parker ordered the roll to be called, and every man to load his piece with powder and ball. After remaining on parade some time, and there being no further accounts of the approach of the regulars, we were dismissed, but ordered to remain within call of the drum. About day-light, Capt. Parker had information, that a regiment of British troops were near, and immediately ordered the drum beat to arms. I took my station on the right. While the company were collecting, Capt. Parker, then on the left, gave orders for every man to stand his ground until he should order them to leave. Many of the company had withdrawn to a considerable distance, and, by the time sixty or seventy of them had collected,

the drum still beating to arms, the front ranks of the British troops appeared within twelve or fifteen rods of our line. They continued their march to within about eight rods of us, when an officer on horseback, Lt. Col. Smith, who rode in front of the troops, exclaimed, "Lay down your arms, and disperse, you rebels!" Finding our company kept their ground, Col. Smith ordered his troops *to fire*. This order not being obeyed, he then said to them, "G—d damn you, fire!" The front platoon then discharged their pieces, and, another order being given to fire, there was a general discharge from the front ranks. After the first fire of the regulars, I thought, and so stated to Ebenezer Munroe, Jun. who stood next to me on the left, that they had fired nothing but powder; but, on the second firing, Munroe said, they had fired something more than powder, for he had received a wound in his arm; and now, said he, to use his own words, "I'll give them the guts of my gun." We then both took aim at the main body of the British troops, — the smoke preventing our seeing any thing but the heads of some of their horses, — and discharged our pieces. After the second fire from the British troops, I distinctly saw Jonas Parker struggling on the ground, with his gun in his hand, apparently attempting to load it. In this situation the British came up, run him through with the bayonet, and killed him on the spot. After I had fired the first time, I retreated about ten rods, and then loaded my gun a second time, with two balls, and, on firing at the British, the strength of the charge took off about a foot of my gun barrel.

Such was the general confusion, and so much firing on the part of the British, that it was impossible for me to know the number of our men, who fired immediately on receiving the second fire from the British troops; but that some of them fired, besides Ebenezer Munroe and myself, I am very confident. The regulars kept up a fire, in all directions, as long as they could see a man of our company in arms. Isaac Muzzy, Jonathan Harrington, and my father, Robert Munroe, were found dead near the place where our line was formed. Samuel Hadley and John Brown were killed after they had gotten off the common. Asahel Porter, of Woburn, who had been taken a prisoner by the British on their march to Lexington, attempted to make his escape, and was shot within a few rods of the common. Caleb Harrington was shot down on attempting to leave the meeting-house, where he and some others had gone, before the British soldiers came up, for the purpose of removing a quantity of powder that was stored there.

On the morning of the 19th, two of the British soldiers, who were in the rear of the main body of their troops, were taken prisoners and disarmed by our men, and, a little after sun-rise, they were put under the care of Thomas R. Willard and myself, with orders to march them to Woburn Precinct, now Burlington. We con-

ducted them as far as Capt. James Read's, where they were put into custody of some other persons, but whom I do not now recollect.

JOHN MUNROE.

MIDDLESEX, ss. *December 28th, 1824.* — Then the above-named John Munroe made oath to the truth of the foregoing affidavit, by him subscribed, before me,

NATHAN CHANDLER, *Justice of the Peace.*

No. 4

I, EBENEZER MUNROE, of Ashburnham, in the county of Worcester and commonwealth of Massachusetts, in the seventy-third year of my age, on oath depose and say, that I was an inhabitant of Lexington in the county of Middlesex in the year 1775; that, during the night of the 18th of April of that year, I was alarmed by one Micah Nagles, who stated, that the British troops were on their march from Boston, and that Lieut. Tidd requested myself and others to meet on the common as soon as possible. I accordingly repaired to the common, the usual place of parade, where I found Capt. Parker, and, I should think, about forty of the company had collected. The weather being rather chilly, after calling the roll, we were dismissed, but ordered to remain within call of the drum. The men generally went into the tavern adjoining the common. In the mean time, persons were sent toward Boston to get some intelligence, if possible, of the regulars. The last person sent was Thaddeus Bowman, who returned between day-light and sun-rise, and informed Capt. Parker, that the British troops were within a mile of the meeting-house. Capt. Parker immediately ordered the drum beat to arms. I was the first that followed the drum. I took my station on the right of our line, which was formed from six to ten rods back of the meeting-house, facing south. About seventy of our company had assembled when the British troops appeared. Some of our men went into the meeting-house, where the town's powder was kept, for the purpose of replenishing their stock of ammunition. When the regulars had arrived within eighty or one hundred rods, they, hearing our drum beat, halted, charged their guns, and doubled their ranks, and marched up at quick step. Capt. Parker ordered his men to stand their ground, and not to molest the regulars, unless they meddled with us. The British troops came up directly in our front. The commanding officer advanced within a few rods of us, and exclaimed, "Disperse, you damned rebels! you dogs, run!— Rush on my boys!" and fired his pistol. The fire from their front ranks soon followed. After the first fire, I received a wound in my arm, and then, as I turned to run, I discharged my gun into the main body of the enemy. As I fired, my face being

toward them, one ball cut off a part of one of my ear-locks, which was then pinned up. Another ball passed between my arm and my body, and just marked my clothes. The first fire of the British was regular; after that, they fired promiscuously. As we retreated, one of our company, Benjamin Sampson, I believe, who was running with me, turned his piece and fired. When I fired, I perfectly well recollect of taking aim at the regulars. The smoke, however, prevented my being able to see many of them. The balls flew so thick, I thought there was no chance for escape, and that I might as well fire my gun as stand still and do nothing. I am confident, that it was the determination of most of our company, in case they were fired upon, to return the fire. I did not hear Capt. Parker's orders to his company to disperse. When the British came up in front of the meeting-house, Joshua Simonds was in the upper gallery, an open cask of powder standing near him, and he afterward told me, that he cocked his gun and placed the muzzle of it close to the cask of powder, and determined to "touch it off," in case the troops had come into the gallery. After our company had all dispersed, and the British had done firing, they gave three cheers. After they had marched off for Concord, we took two prisoners, who were considerably in the rear of the main body. I carried their arms into Buckman's tavern, and they were taken by some of our men, who had none of their own. I believed, at the time, that some of our shots must have done execution. I was afterward confirmed in this opinion, by the observations of some prisoners, whom we took in the afternoon, who stated, that one of their soldiers was wounded in the thigh, and that another received a shot through his hand.

EBENEZER MUNROE.

MIDDLESEX, ss. *2d April, 1825.* — Then personally appeared the aforesaid Ebenezer Munroe, and made oath to the truth of the foregoing statement, before me,

STEPHEN PATCH, *Justice Peace.*

NO. 5

I, WILLIAM TIDD, of Lexington, in the county of Middlesex, do testify and declare, that I was a lieutenant in the company of Lexington militia, commanded by Capt. John Parker, in the year 1775; that, previous to the 19th of April of that year, it was expected the British would soon commence hostilities upon the then Provincials; that said company frequently met for exercise, the better to be prepared for defence; that, on the evening previous to the 19th, a number of the militia met at my house for the above purpose; that, about two o'clock on the morning of the 19th, I was notified, that, the evening previous, several of the British officers had been discovered riding up and down the road leading to Con-

cord; that they had detained and insulted the passing inhabitants; and that a body of the regulars were then on the march from Boston towards Lexington; — I then immediately repaired to the parade ground of said company, where, after its assemblage and roll call, we were dismissed by Capt. Parker, with orders to assemble at the beat of the drum; — that, at about five o'clock of said morning, intelligence was received, that the British were within a short distance; and, on the beat to arms, I immediately repaired to where our company were fast assembling; that when about sixty or seventy of them had taken post, the British had arrived within sight, and were advancing on a quick march towards us, when I distinctly heard one of their officers say, "Lay down your arms and disperse, ye rebels!" They then fired upon us. I then retreated up the north road, and was pursued about thirty rods by an officer on horseback, (supposed to be Maj. Pitcairn,) calling out to me, "Damn you, stop, or you are a dead man!" — I found I could not escape him, unless I left the road. Therefore I sprang over a pair of bars, made a stand, and discharged my gun at him; upon which he immediately returned to the main body, which shortly after took up their march for Concord.

WILLIAM TIDD.

MIDDLESEX, ss. *December 29, 1824.* — William Tidd, aforementioned, personally made oath to the truth of the foregoing declaration, by him subscribed, before,

NATHAN CHANDLER, *Justice of the Peace.*

No. 6

I, NATHAN MUNROE, of Lexington, in the county of Middlesex and state of Massachusetts, do testify and say, that I was enrolled as a soldier in the company commanded by Capt. John Parker of said Lexington, in the year 1775; and, knowing that several British officers went up the road towards Concord in the evening of the 18th of April of said year, I, with Benjamin Tidd, at the request of my captain, went to Bedford in the evening, and notified the inhabitants through the town, to the great road at Merriam's Corner, so called, in Concord, and then returned to Lexington. When arrived at the common, the bell was ringing, and the company collecting. I immediately got my arms and went to the parade. Capt. Parker gave orders to us to load our guns, but not to fire, unless we were fired upon first. About five o'clock in the morning, the British made their appearance at the east end of the meeting-house, near where our men were, and immediately commenced firing on us. I got over the wall into Buckman's land, about six rods from the British, and then turned and fired at them. About the middle of the forenoon, Capt. Parker, having collected part of his company,

marched them towards Concord, I being with them. We met the regulars in the bounds of Lincoln, about noon, retreating towards Boston. We fired on them, and continued so to do until they met their reinforcement in Lexington.

NATHAN MUNROE.

MIDDLESEX, ss. LEXINGTON, *December 22, 1824.* — Then the above-named Nathan Munroe made oath to the above, and subscribed his name to the same, before me,

AMOS MUZZY, *Justice of the Peace.*

No. 7

I, AMOS LOCK, of Lexington, in the county of Middlesex, testify and declare, that, between two and three o'clock on the morning of April the 19th, 1775, I heard the bell ring, which I considered as an alarm, in consequence of a report, that, John Hancock and Samuel Adams were at the house of the Rev. Jonas Clarke, and that it was expected, the British would attempt to take them. Therefore Ebenezer Lock and myself, both being armed, repaired, with all possible speed, to the meeting-house. On our arrival, we found the militia were collecting; but, shortly after, some person came up the road with a report, that there were not any regulars between Boston and Lexington. Consequently we concluded to return to our families. We had not proceeded far, before we heard a firing; upon which we immediately returned, coming up towards the easterly side of the common, where, under the cover of a wall, about twenty rods distant from the common, where the British then were, we found Asahel Porter, of Woburn, shot through the body; upon which Ebenezer Lock took aim, and discharged his gun at the Britons, who were then but about twenty rods from us. We then fell back a short distance, and the enemy, soon after, commenced their march for Concord.

AMOS LOCK.

MIDDLESEX, ss. *December 29, 1824.* — Then the above-named Amos Lock personally appeared, and made oath to the truth of the foregoing affidavit, by him subscribed, before me,

NATHAN CHANDLER, *Justice of the Peace.*

No. 8

I, JOSEPH UNDERWOOD, of Lexington, in the seventy-sixth year of my age, on oath do testify, that, on the evening of the 18th April, 1775, in consequence of a report, that some British officers had passed through town toward Concord, about forty of the militia company assembled, early in the evening, at Buckman's tavern, near the meeting-house, for the purpose of consulting what meas-

ures should be adopted. It was concluded to send persons toward Concord to watch the motions of the British officers; and others towards Boston, to ascertain if there were any movements of the British troops. A guard was stationed at the house of the Rev. Mr. Clarke, for the purpose of protecting Hancock and Adams, who were then residing at Mr. Clarke's. The first certain information we had of the approach of the British troops, was given by Thaddeus Bowman, between four and five o'clock on the morning of the 19th, when Capt. Parker's company were summoned by the beat of the drum, and the line formed. When the regulars had arrived within about one hundred rods of our line, they charged their pieces, and then moved toward us at a quick step. Some of our men, on seeing them, proposed to quit the field, but Capt. Parker gave orders for every man to stand his ground, and said he would order the first man shot, that offered to leave his post. I stood very near Capt. Parker, when the regulars came up, and am confident he did not order his men to disperse, till the British troops had fired upon us the second time.

JOSEPH UNDERWOOD.

MIDDLESEX, ss. 7 *March*, 1825. — Then personally appeared the said Joseph Underwood, and made oath to the within statements by him subscribed, before me,

AMOS MUZZY, *Justice of Peace.*

No. 9

I, ABIAH HARRINGTON, one of the representatives to the General Court from the town of Lexington, on oath do testify, that, in April, 1775, I lived about a mile and a quarter below the meeting-house in Lexington. After hearing the firing, on the morning of the 19th, and not getting any certain information whether the British had killed any of our men, I went up to the meeting-house, soon after the regulars had marched off for Concord, and, at the distance of about ten or twelve rods below the meeting-house, where I was told the main body of their troops stood, when they were fired upon by our militia, I distinctly saw blood on the ground, in the road, and, the ground being a little descending, the blood had run along the road about six or eight feet. A day or two after the 19th, I was telling Solomon Brown of the circumstance of my having seen blood in the road, and where it was. He then stated to me, that he fired in that direction, and the road was then full of regulars, and he thought he must have hit some of them.

I further testify, that I have heard the late Deacon Benjamin Brown repeatedly say, that he took a British soldier prisoner, on the morning of the 19th, a few rods below the meeting-house, im-

mediately after the regulars left the common for Concord, and took his gun from him.

ABIJAH HARRINGTON.

MIDDLESEX, ss. *4th April, 1825.* — Then personally appeared the aforesaid Abijah Harrington, and made oath to the foregoing affidavit, before me.

AMOS MUZZY, *Justice of Peace.*

No. 10

I, JAMES REED, of Burlington, in the county of Middlesex and commonwealth of Massachusetts, do testify and declare, that, soon after the British troops had fired upon the militia at Lexington, on the morning of the 19th of April, 1775, and had taken up their march towards Concord, I arrived at the common, near the meeting-house, where I found several of the militia dead, and others wounded. I also saw a British soldier march up the road, near said meeting-house, and Joshua Reed of Woburn met him, and demanded him to surrender. He then took his arms and equipments from him, and I took charge of him, and took him to my house, then in Woburn Precinct. I also testify, that E. Welsh brought to my house, soon after I returned home with my prisoner, two more of said British troops; and two more were immediately brought, and I suppose, by John Munroe and Thomas R. Willard of Lexington; and I am confident, that one more was brought, but by whom, I don't now recollect. All the above prisoners were taken at Lexington immediately after the main body had left the common, and were conveyed to my house early in the morning; and I took charge of them. In the afternoon five or six more of said British troops, that were taken prisoners in the afternoon, when on the retreat from Concord, were brought to my house and put under my care. Towards evening, it was thought best to remove them from my house. I, with the assistance of some others, marched them to one Johnson's in Woburn Precinct, and there kept a guard over them during the night. The next morning, we marched them to Billerica; but the people were so alarmed, and not willing to have them left there, we then took them to Chelmsford, and there the people were much frightened; but the Committee of Safety consented to have them left, provided, that we would leave a guard. Accordingly, some of our men agreed to stay.

JAMES REED.

MIDDLESEX, ss. *January 19, 1825.* — Then the within-named James Reed subscribed and swore to the aforesaid statement, before

AMOS MUZZY, *Justice of Peace.*

INSCRIPTIONS ON ALL THE HISTORIC TABLETS IN THE TOWN OF LEXINGTON¹

On the Stone Pulpit on the Common

SITE OF THE FIRST THREE MEETING HOUSES IN LEXINGTON

- I. BUILT 1692 WHEN THE TOWN WAS A
PARISH OF CAMBRIDGE.
- II. BUILT 1713 ON THE INCORPORATION OF
LEXINGTON.
- III. BUILT 1794. BURNED 1846. THIS SPOT IS
THUS IDENTIFIED WITH THE TOWN'S
HISTORY FOR 150 YEARS.

PASTORATES

BENJAMIN ESTABROOK	1692-1697
JOHN HANCOCK	1698-1752
JONAS CLARKE	1758-1805
AVERY WILLIAMS	1807-1815
CHARLES BRIGGS	1819-1835
WILLIAM G. SWETT	1836-1839
JASON WHITMAN	1845-1846

Tablets on Houses facing the Common

HOUSE BUILT 1690
KNOWN AS THE
BUCKMAN TAVERN
A RENDEZVOUS OF THE
MINUTE MEN
A MARK FOR BRITISH BULLETS
APRIL 19 1775

HOUSE OF
JONATHAN HARRINGTON
WHO WOUNDED ON THE COMMON
APRIL 19 1775
DROGGED HIMSELF TO THE
DOOR AND DIED AT HIS
WIFE'S FEET

HOUSE OF
MARRETT AND NATHAN
MUNROE
BUILT 1729
A WITNESS OF THE BATTLE

BIRTHPLACE OF
DELIVERANCE MUNROE
DAUGHTER OF
MARRETT AND DELIVERANCE MUNROE
AND WIFE OF
ENSIGN JOHN WINSHIP
THIS TABLET PLACED BY DELIVERANCE MUNROE
CHAPTER DAUGHTERS OF REVOLUTION
MARCH 1900

On the Boulder

LINE OF THE MINUTE MEN

APRIL 19 1775

STAND YOUR GROUND DON'T FIRE UNLESS
FIRED UPON BUT IF THEY MEAN TO HAVE A WAR
LET IT BEGIN HERE

— *Captain Parker*

On the Common

THE SITE OF THE BELFRY

FROM WHICH THE ALARM WAS RUNG APRIL 19, 1775

THIS TABLET WAS ERECTED BY THE

LEXINGTON CHAPTER

DAUGHTERS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

Tablet on the Old Belfry

THIS BELFRY WAS ERECTED ON THIS HILL IN 1761
AND REMOVED TO THE COMMON IN 1768. IN IT
WAS RUNG THE BELL WHICH RANG OUT THE
ALARM ON THE 19TH OF APRIL 1775

IN 1797 IT WAS REMOVED TO THE PARKER HOME-
STEAD IN THE SOUTH PART OF THE TOWN
IN 1891 IT WAS BROUGHT BACK TO THIS SPOT BY THE
LEXINGTON HISTORICAL SOCIETY

¹ Taken from Lexington: A Handbook, by Fred S. Piper, 1904. *Ed.*

APPENDIX

Tablets on Hancock Street

BUILT 1698 ENLARGED 1734
 RESIDENCE OF
 REV. JOHN HANCOCK 55 YEARS
 AND OF HIS SUCCESSOR
 REV. JONAS CLARKE 50 YEARS
 HERE SAMUEL ADAMS AND JOHN HANCOCK
 WERE SLEEPING WHEN ASSAULTED BY
 PAUL REVERE APRIL 19 1775

BUILT 1732
 HOUSE OF
 DR. JOSEPH FISK
 WHO ATTENDED THE WOUNDED APRIL 19 1775
 AND SERVED IN THE CONTINENTAL ARMY
 AS SURGEON THROUGHOUT THE WAR

Stone Tablets on the Concord Road

AT THIS WELL APRIL 19 1775
 JAMES HAYWARD OF ACTON
 MET A BRITISH SOLDIER WHO RAISING HIS GUN
 SAID YOU ARE A DEAD MAN
 AND SO ARE YOU REPLIED HAYWARD
 BOTH FIRED THE SOLDIER WAS INSTANTLY
 KILLED AND HAYWARD MORTALLY
 WOUNDED

THIS BLUFF WAS USED AS A RALLYING
 POINT BY THE BRITISH
 APRIL 19 1775
 AFTER A SHARP FIGHT THEY RETREATED TO
 FINEE HILL FROM WHICH THEY WERE
 DRIVEN IN GREAT CONFUSION

Stone Cannon on the Grounds of the High School

NEAR THIS SPOT
 EARL PERCY
 WITH REINFORCEMENTS PLANTED A
 FIELDPIECE TO COVER THE RETREAT OF THE
 BRITISH TROOPS
 APRIL 19 1775

Massachusetts Avenue

ON THE HILL TO THE SOUTH WAS PLANTED
 ONE OF THE BRITISH FIELDPIECES
 APRIL 19 1775
 TO COMMAND THE VILLAGE
 AND ITS APPROACHES AND NEAR THIS PLACE
 SEVERAL BUILDINGS WERE BURNED

EARL PERCY'S
 HEADQUARTERS AND HOSPITAL
 APRIL 19 1775
 THE MUNROE TAVERN
 BUILT 1695

Woburn Street

HOUSE OF
 BENJAMIN MERRIAM
 ONE OF THE MINUTE MEN WHOSE FAMILY FLED
 ON THE APPROACH OF THE BRITISH
 WHO PILLAGED THE HOUSE
 APRIL 19 1775

East Lexington

HOME OF
 JONATHAN HARRINGTON
 THE LAST
 SURVIVOR OF THE BATTLE OF LEXINGTON
 BORN JULY 8 1758 DIED MARCH 27 1854

PHYSICIANS WHO HAVE LIVED AND PRACTISED MEDICINE IN
LEXINGTON ¹

ROBERT⁴ FISKE was born at Lexington March 8, 1689; died at Lexington April 18, 1752, son of David and Sarah.

He married at Woburn, May 26, 1718, Mary Stimpson, of Reading. They had nine children, of whom Robert, the third, and Joseph, the fifth, became physicians in Lexington. He resided on Hancock Street, now No. 63, and is buried in Old Cemetery, Lexington. His inventory shows a library consisting of "General Practice of Physic," "English Dispensatory," and "The Structure and Condition of Bones."

JOSEPH⁵ FISKE was born at Lexington October 13, 1726; died at Lexington January 8, 1808, son of Dr. Robert⁴ and Mary (Stimpson).

He married at Lexington, December 12, 1751, Hepsibah Raymond, daughter of Jonathan. They had three children. He practised medicine in Lexington from 1751 to 1808, residing on Hancock Street, where his father had lived. He is buried in the Old Cemetery, but has no gravestone. He was in active practice at the time of the Battle of Lexington, and cared for the wounded, assisted by his son Joseph.

ROBERT⁵ FISKE was born at Lexington January 23, 1722; died about 1762. Son of Robert⁴ and Mary (Stimpson).

He married, first, Mrs. Abigail Glover; secondly, Betty Wilson (intention Woburn July 27, 1748). He appears to have wandered about considerably, and came from Woburn to Lexington only a year or two before he died. He was in the French War of 1760, and was taxed in Woburn from 1752 to 1762.

JOSEPH⁶ FISKE was born at Lexington December 25, 1752; died at Lexington September 27, 1837, son of Joseph⁵ and Hepsibah (Raymond).

He married at Lexington, July 31, 1794, Elizabeth Stone, daughter of Jonas. He studied medicine with his father and Dr. John Warren, and surgery with Dr. J. C. Warren; established his residence on Hancock Street, now No. 63, and practised medicine from 1773 or 1774 to 1837. He was a member of Captain Parker's company of Minute-Men, assisted his father in caring for the wounded April 19, 1775, and was later in the Continental Army. He was Second-Lieutenant June 1 to December 3, 1776; Surgeon's Mate June 1, 1777, and Surgeon April 17, 1779, to close of the

¹ Compiled by Dr. Fred S. Piper, of the Committee. Ed.

war. He was present at the surrenders of both Burgoyne and Cornwallis. He was an original member of the Massachusetts Society of Cincinnati and of the Massachusetts Medical Society. Buried in the Old Cemetery, Lexington. (See illustrations.)

DAVID⁸ FISKE was born at Lexington November 23, 1760; died at Lexington November 20, 1803, son of Robert⁵ and Betty (Wilson).

He married (probably at Lexington), August 9, 1754, Abigail Harrington, daughter of Robert. He resided at the corner of Bedford Street and Elm Avenue, where he purchased the house and land of Mrs. Ruth Harrington in 1777. He probably practised medicine in Lexington about twenty-five years. He was buried with Masonic honors, probably in the Old Cemetery, but has no gravestone.

THOMAS⁶ WHITCOMB was born at Lancaster, Massachusetts, in 1774, son of Asa and Betty (Sawyer); died in Lexington March 8, 1829 (G. S.). (V. S. give date of death as March 26, 1829.) Buried in Old Cemetery.

His father was one of the wealthiest and most prominent citizens of Lancaster, representing the town in the General Court for eight successive years from 1766 to 1774, and held a commission of Colonel in the Revolution.¹ He married at Lexington, June 7, 1810, Mrs. Hannah Chandler, widow of Joseph and daughter of John Bridge. They had one child, Elizabeth Bridge, who married N. H. Gerry.² Dr. Whitcomb resided on Lincoln Street, on the estate now known as Vine Brook Farm or Estabrook and Blodgett Farm. He bought the Dr. David Fiske residence, now No. 8 Elm Avenue, but probably never lived there.

In a letter dated May 27, 1886, Rev. Artemas B. Muzzey says of Dr. Whitcomb: "I remember him well (1812-15) . . . He was tall and slender, had large, dark, and piercing eyes: looked like one who felt he was born to command. Ambition was written on every feature and movement. He was orderly sergeant in the Lexington Artillery Company. . . . In February, 1815, when the news of peace between England and our country reached Lexington, although the snow was deep, her two field-pieces were dragged through its depths and placed in front of the meeting-house, and Dr. Whitcomb commanded their discharge."

He practised in Lexington about twenty-five years, and was a member of the Massachusetts Medical Society from 1817 to 1829.

¹ See Sparks's *Life of Washington*, pp. 160-61; and *Whitcomb Genealogy*, 1904, by Charlotte Whitcomb. *Ed.*

² See *Genealogy*, Vol. II. *Ed.*

STILLMAN⁷ SPAULDING was born at Chelmsford August 17, 1788; died at Lexington May 28, 1860; son of Job and Sarah (Proctor).

He married, at Chelmsford, May 13, 1819, Lucy Butterfield, daughter of John and Rebecca (Kendall). They had five children. He received the degree of A.B. from Harvard in 1798, and of M.D. from Middlebury College in 1810. He was a member of the Massachusetts Medical Society, of Hiram Lodge, A. F. and A.M. and of the First Church in Lexington. He located in Lexington in 1811, and for a time lived at Buckman Tavern, but later he resided at the corner of Massachusetts Avenue and Clarke Street. Buried in Cemetery opposite Bloomfield Street. (See Proc. Lex. Hist. Soc., Vol. III, p. 19. See also illustrations.)

JOHN NELSON was born at Milford, September 8, 1790; died in Woburn March 21, 1864.

He married Lucinda Parkhurst of Milford. Their adopted daughter, Catharine, married John Viles, 1845. He studied medicine with Dr. Thurber of Mendon and began practice in Carlisle in 1816. He moved from Carlisle to Lexington in 1835, and from Lexington to Woburn in 1846. While in Lexington, he lived where the Russell House now stands, 347 Massachusetts Avenue. He was a member of the Massachusetts Medical Society from 1826 to 1855. He was Trial Justice in Woburn, and for a time held a position in the Custom-House, Boston.

WILLIAM JACKSON⁸ CURRIER was born at Bow, New Hampshire, February 21, 1815; died at Lexington October 27, 1884; son of Jonathan and Cynthia (Whitney).

He married at Lexington, January 23, 1845, Susan Butterfield Spaulding, daughter of Dr. Stillman Spaulding. They had two children, Charles, who died in 1870, and William B. He received the degree of M.D. from Berkshire Medical Institute in 1839, and located in Lexington in 1840, where he spent the remainder of his life. He located first in the East Village, now No. 153 Massachusetts Avenue, but removed to the Centre, now 416 Massachusetts Avenue, and later to the house on Muzzey Street, corner of Raymond Street. Dr. Currier's sympathy, honesty, and professional skill commanded the enduring respect and affection of his fellow-citizens to an unusual degree. He was a member of the Massachusetts Medical Society from 1843 to 1882. Buried in Cemetery opposite Bloomfield Street. (See illustrations.)

HOWLAND⁴ HOLMES was born in Halifax, Massachusetts, January 16, 1815; died in his carriage at Arlington November 16, 1893; son of Howland and Huldah (Copeland).

He married at Albany, New York, August 28, 1840, Sarah Maria Wellington Cotting, of Arlington, daughter of William. He was educated at Bridgewater and Phillips Exeter Academies, Harvard A.B. 1843, Harvard A.M. 1846, Harvard M.D. 1848, and L'École de Médecine, Paris. He was a member of the First Church, Lexington, the New England Historic Genealogical Society, the Farmers' Club of Lexington, and the Massachusetts Medical Society. He was Justice of the Peace for twenty-five years, and member of the School Committee. He practised medicine for forty-two years, having settled in Lexington in 1851. His last residence was Massachusetts Avenue, corner of Waltham Street. Buried in Cemetery opposite Bloomfield Street. (See illustrations.)

JOHN PRESTON SUTHERLAND was born at Charlestown February 9, 1854, son of John and Mary (Ross).

He married at Boston, March 10, 1879, Evelyn Greenleaf Baker, daughter of James. He received the degree of M.D. from Boston University School of Medicine in 1879. He located in Lexington in 1879, and removed to Concord in 1880. He was Professor of Anatomy in Boston University School of Medicine, for nearly twenty years, and since 1908 has been Professor of Theory and Practice of Medicine. He has been Dean of Boston University School of Medicine the past dozen years. As a physician and scientist, he has an international reputation. He is a member of the Massachusetts Homœopathic Medical Society, the American Institute of Homœopathy, and is Secretary of the International Homœopathic Congress.

SETH² SALTMARSH was born at Salem November 14, 1811; died at Lexington, February 8, 1897; son of Seth and Anna (Andrews).

He married at Philadelphia, Mary Henrietta Sandford, daughter of Isaac. He received the degree of M.D. from the University of Pennsylvania in 1837. He studied at Harvard Divinity School and was ordained a Unitarian clergyman at Windsor, Vermont, in 1848. He held several pastorates covering about twenty-five years. He located in Lexington in 1880, and practised medicine the remainder of his life; with office at 464 Massachusetts Avenue. He was a member of the Massachusetts Homœopathic Medical Society. (See illustrations.)

JOSIAH ODIN⁹ TILTON was born at Limerick, Maine, July 29, 1853; son of Jeremiah and Abigail Stearns (Freese).

He married, first, at Peterboro, New Hampshire, April 30, 1884, Hattie Amanda French, daughter of Henry K.; secondly, at Concord, New Hampshire, October 31, 1894, Florence Gard-

DR. WILLIAM J. CURRIER

DR. STILLMAN SPAULDING

DR. JOSEPH^d FISKE

DR. HOWLAND HOLMES

DR. SETH SALTMARSH



ner Stratton, daughter of George L. He received the degree of A.B. from Colby in 1875, of A.M. Colby, in 1878, of M.D. from the University of the City of New York in 1882. He is a Freemason, a member of the Appalachian Mountain Club, Massachusetts Medical Society, and American Medical Association. He has served the town on the Board of Health, and is school physician. He located in Lexington September 1, 1883, and resides at No. 1 Elm Avenue.

GEORGE BRACKETT RICE was born at Westford, July 19, 1859, son of Rev. George M. and Percis Fayette (Weeks).

He married at Andover in 1886, Mrs. Jeannette Noyes. He received the degree of M.D. from Boston University School of Medicine in 1886. He located in Lexington in June, 1886, and removed from town in October, 1886. He is a skillful surgeon in diseases of the nose and throat, and holds the Professorship in this subject at Boston University School of Medicine. He is a member of the Massachusetts Homœopathic Medical Society and the American Institute of Homœopathy. His father supplied the First Church, Lexington, in 1840-41.

HENRY CHARLES * VALENTINE was born at Plymouth, Michigan, October 24, 1863, son of Charles Wesley and Mary Antoinette (Fralick).

He married at Lexington, April 15, 1896, Mary Foster Sherburne, daughter of Warren. He received the degree of M.D. from the University of Michigan in 1892, and located in Lexington in the same year. He is a Knight Templar, member of the Massachusetts Medical Society, American Medical Association, and Boston Medical Library Association. He served the town on the Board of Health from 1894 to 1900, and has been town physician since 1894. He resides at 408 Massachusetts Avenue.

FRED SMITH ' PIPER was born at Dublin, New Hampshire, November 21, 1867, son of Jonas Brooks and Elizabeth Melville (Gowing).

He married, first, at Peterboro, New Hampshire, August 27, 1891, Mable Marion Scott, daughter of John; secondly, at Skowhegan, Maine, October 3, 1900, Grace Elise Judkins, daughter of John. He received the degree of M.D. from Boston University School of Medicine in 1890, and has done post-graduate work at the Harvard Medical School. He located, in 1890, in Hillsboro, New Hampshire, and moved to Lexington January 5, 1897. He is a member of the Massachusetts Medical Society, American Medical Association, Massachusetts Homœopathic Medical Society, and American Institute of Homœopathy. He is a Lecturer

on Practice in Boston University School of Medicine, a Knight Templar, and Past President of Lexington Historical Society. He resides at 462 Massachusetts Avenue.

SHERWIN GIBBONS was born at Boston, August 7, 1871, son of William Taylor and Elizabeth Shepherd (Gibbens).

He married, first, at West Roxbury, October 15, 1899, Anna Judson Pearce, daughter of William B.; secondly, at Dedham February 16, 1903, Dr. Mary Alice Pearce (M.D., Boston University 1896), daughter of William B. He received the degrees of A.B., 1894, and M.D., 1898, from Harvard. He located in Lexington in 1898, and removed to Los Angeles, California, in 1901. He is a Thirty-Second Degree Mason, and has served on the Board of Health in Los Angeles since 1909.

SAMUEL DANFORTH BARTLETT was born at Boston April 25, 1875, son of Dr. George Pinkham, of Woburn and Boston, and Adelaide L. (Danforth).

He received the degree of M.D. from Harvard in 1898, and located in Lexington in 1901, succeeding Dr. Gibbons. He removed from Lexington in 1908 or 1909.

BERTHA C. DOWNING was born at Kennebunk, Maine, March 22, 1863, daughter of Justin Streeter and Jane Alcock (Stiles).

She received the degree of M.D. from the Woman's Medical College of Pennsylvania in 1896, and of Ph.D. from Clark University in 1910; thesis "Subnormal Children." She located in Lexington in 1902, and removed from town about 1909. While here, she lived in three or four different houses, including 8 Elm Avenue, 522 Massachusetts Avenue, and lastly at the corner of Massachusetts Avenue and Middle Street, East Lexington.

WILLIAM LESTER² BARNES was born at Providence, Rhode Island, May 28, 1878, son of William Henry and Caddie Eva (Porter).

He married at Boston in 1906, Esther Ritchie Wyman, daughter of James. He received the degrees of A.B., 1900, and M.D., 1904, from Harvard, and served in Boston City Hospital in 1904-1906. He is a member of the Massachusetts Medical Society and American Medical Association. He located in Lexington in 1906, — first at 386 Massachusetts Avenue, and later at 362 Massachusetts Avenue.

WINBOR MARRETT⁴ TYLER was born at Cambridge April 28, 1876, son of Daniel G. and Mary E. (Marrett).

He married at Lexington, October 22, 1910, Gertrude Mabel Ball, daughter of Lucius W. and M. Carrie (Harrington). He re-

ceived the degrees of A.B., 1899, and of M.D., 1903, from Harvard, served in Boston City Hospital in 1903-05, and in Lying-in Hospital of the City of New York. He is a member of the Massachusetts Medical Society and of the American Medical Association, and is much interested in Ornithology. He located in Lexington in 1906, first at 454 Massachusetts Avenue, and later at 522 Massachusetts Avenue.

JAMES JOSEPH⁸ WALSH was born at Woburn September 10, 1887, son of John A. and Mary E. (Shea).

He married at St. Lazare, P. Q., April 29, 1908, Celina Ville-neure, daughter of Jérémie and Victoreenne (Chevries). He received the degrees of M.D. and C.M. from McGill University, in 1909, and is a member of the Canadian Medical Association. He located at Lexington in 1910, first at 454 Massachusetts Avenue, and later at 390 Massachusetts Avenue.

A LIST OF THE BIRDS OF LEXINGTON, MASSACHUSETTS ¹

It is my hope that, with the exceptions noted below, the following list includes not only all the species of birds which occur in Lexington at the present time, but those species as well which during the last fifty years have ceased to frequent the town.

In dealing with an area as small as Lexington one is hampered by the absence of records for the town of some of the rarer birds which are known to occur in the vicinity. For this reason, although without much doubt they rarely visit Lexington, I have omitted from the list three hawks, — the red-tailed, the rough-legged, and the duck hawk, and the barred owl.

In the case of the birds which no longer visit the town, and in the case of those species which, although they still occur in Lexington, have recently decreased in abundance, I have made clear the distinction between their former and their present status by enclosing in parentheses all records which do not apply to the present time.

Mr. Walter Faxon has very kindly aided me in the preparation of the list.

I have used the following abbreviations: —

P R = Permanent Resident	T V ² = Transient Visitor	S R = Summer Resident
W V = Winter Visitor	A = Abundant	C = Common
U = Uncommon	R = Rare	I = Irregular
X = Of casual or accidental occurrence	() = Read "formerly"	a = autumn
s = spring		

1 Pied-billed grebe, (U S R) U T V	<i>Podilymbus podiceps</i> .
2 Dovekie, X	<i>Alle alle</i> .
3 Herring gull, R V s and a	<i>Larus argentatus</i> .
4 American merganser, C V s and a	<i>Mergus americanus</i> .
5 Mallard, R T V	<i>Anas platyrhynchos</i> .
6 Black duck, C T V and probably R S R	<i>Anas rubripes</i> .
7 Green-winged Teal, R T V	<i>Nettion carolinense</i> .
8 Pintail, R T V	<i>Dafila acuta</i> .
9 Wood duck, (R S R). Probably R T V	<i>Aix sponsa</i> .

¹ Compiled to May, 1912, by Dr. Winsor M. Tyler. *Ed.*

² Unless specified by the addition of "s" or "a," transient visitors occur during both northward and southward migrations. *Ed.*

- | | |
|---|--|
| 10 American golden eye,
U V s and a | <i>Clangula clangula americana</i> . |
| 11 Canada goose,
(C T V) U T V | <i>Branta canadensis</i> . |
| 12 American bittern,
U S R | <i>Botaurus lentiginosus</i> . |
| 13 Least bittern,
(R S R) | <i>Ixobrychus exilis</i> . |
| 14 Great blue heron,
U T V | <i>Ardea herodias</i> . |
| 15 Green heron,
U S R | <i>Butorides virescens</i> . |
| 16 Black-crowned night heron,
C S V | <i>Nycticorax nycticorax naevius</i> . |
| 17 Virginia rail,
R S R | <i>Rallus virginianus</i> . |
| 18 Sora,
R S R | <i>Porzana carolina</i> . |
| 19 Florida gallinule,
(R S R) | <i>Gallinula galeata</i> . |
| 20 American coot,
R T V | <i>Fulica americana</i> . |
| 21 American woodcock,
U T V and R S R | <i>Philohela minor</i> . |
| 22 Wilson's snipe,
U T V | <i>Gallinago delicata</i> . |
| 23 Pectoral sandpiper,
(U T V) Probably U T V | <i>Pisobia maculata</i> . |
| 24 Least sandpiper,
R T V | <i>Pisobia minutilla</i> . |
| 25 Semipalmated sandpiper,
R T V | <i>Ereunetes pusillus</i> . |
| 26 Greater yellow-legs,
R T V | <i>Totanus melanoleucus</i> . |
| 27 Yellow-legs,
R T V. Probably not present in spring. | <i>Totanus flavipes</i> . |
| 28 Solitary sandpiper,
C T V | <i>Helodromas solitarius</i> . |
| 29 Spotted sandpiper,
C S R | <i>Actitis macularia</i> . |
| 30 Semipalmated plover,
R T V | <i>Aegialitis semipalmata</i> . |
| 31 Bob-white,
C P R | <i>Colinus virginianus</i> . |
| 32 Ruffed grouse,
C P R | <i>Bonasa umbellus</i> . |
| 33 Mourning dove,
R T V and probably R S R | <i>Zenaidura macroura carolinensis</i> . |
| 34 Marsh hawk,
C T V | <i>Circus hudsonius</i> . |

- | | |
|--|--|
| 35 Sharp-shinned hawk,
C T V and R S R | <i>Accipiter velox.</i> |
| 36 Cooper's hawk,
C T V and U S R | <i>Accipiter cooperi.</i> |
| 37 American goshawk,
R W V | <i>Astur atricapillus.</i> |
| 38 Red-shouldered hawk,
C S R | <i>Buteo lineatus.</i> |
| 39 Broad-winged hawk,
U T V | <i>Buteo platypterus.</i> |
| 40 Golden eagle,
X | <i>Aquila chrysaëtus.</i> |
| 41 Bald eagle,
X | <i>Haliaeetus leucocephalus.</i> |
| 42 Pigeon hawk,
R T V | <i>Falco columbarius.</i> |
| 43 American sparrow hawk,
U P R and C S R | <i>Falco sparverius.</i> |
| 44 American osprey,
C T V | <i>Pandion haliaëtus carolinensis.</i> |
| 45 American long-eared owl,
R P R | <i>Asio wilsonianus.</i> |
| 46 Saw-whet owl,
R W V | <i>Cryptoglaux acadica.</i> |
| 47 Screech owl,
C P R | <i>Otus asio.</i> |
| 48 Great horned owl,
R W V Possibly R S R | <i>Bubo virginianus.</i> |
| 49 Snowy owl,
R W V | <i>Nyctea nyctea.</i> |
| 50 Yellow-billed cuckoo,
U S R | <i>Coccyzus americanus.</i> |
| 51 Black-billed cuckoo,
C S R | <i>Coccyzus erythrophthalmus.</i> |
| 52 Belted kingfisher,
C S R | <i>Ceryle alcyon.</i> |
| 53 Hairy woodpecker,
U P R | <i>Dryobates villosus.</i> |
| 54 Downy woodpecker,
C P R | <i>Dryobates pubescens medianus.</i> |
| 55 Yellow-bellied sapsucker,
U T V | <i>Sphyrapicus varius.</i> |
| 56 Red-headed woodpecker,
R at all seasons. | <i>Melanerpes erythrocephalus.</i> |
| 57 Northern flicker,
C P R and A S R | <i>Colaptes auratus luteus.</i> |
| 58 Whip-poor-will,
U S R | <i>Antrostomus vociferus.</i> |
| 59 Nighthawk,
(R S R) U T V | <i>Chordeiles virginianus.</i> |

60 Chimney swift, C S R	<i>Chaetura pelagica</i> .
61 Ruby-throated hummingbird, C T V and U S R	<i>Archilochus colubris</i> .
62 Kingbird, C S R	<i>Tyrannus tyrannus</i> .
63 Crested flycatcher, R S R	<i>Myiarchus crinitus</i> .
64 Phoebe, C S R	<i>Sayornis phoebe</i> .
65 Olive-sided flycatcher, R T V	<i>Nuttallornis borealis</i> .
66 Wood pewee, C S R	<i>Myiochanes virens</i> .
67 Yellow-bellied flycatcher, R T V	<i>Empidonax flaviventris</i> .
68 Alder flycatcher, R T V	<i>Empidonax trailli alnorum</i> .
69 Least flycatcher, C S R	<i>Empidonax minimus</i> .
70 Horned lark, C T V	<i>Otocoris alpestris</i> .
71 Prairie horned lark, R S R	<i>Otocoris alpestris praticola</i> .
72 Blue jay, C P R	<i>Cyanocitta cristata</i> .
73 Canada jay, X	<i>Perisoreus canadensis</i> .
74 American crow, C P R	<i>Corvus brachyrhynchos</i> .
75 Bobolink, C S R	<i>Dolichonyx oryzivorus</i> .
76 Cowbird, C S R	<i>Molothrus ater</i> .
77 Red-winged blackbird, A T V and C S R	<i>Agelaius phoeniceus</i> .
78 Meadowlark, R P R and C S R	<i>Sturnella magna</i> .
79 Orchard oriole, R S R	<i>Icterus spurius</i> .
80 Baltimore oriole, C S R	<i>Icterus galbula</i> .
81 Rusty blackbird, C T V	<i>Euphagus carolinus</i> .
82 Bronzed grackle, A T V and C S R	<i>Quiscalus quiscula aeneus</i> .
83 Pine grosbeak, I W V	<i>Pinicola enucleator leucura</i> .
84 Purple finch, C P R	<i>Carpodacus purpureus</i> .

85 American crossbill, I C W V	<i>Loxia curvirostra minor.</i>
86 White-winged crossbill, R W V	<i>Loxia leucoptera.</i>
87 Redpoll, I W V Sometimes A	<i>Acanthis linaria.</i>
88 Holboell's redpoll, One record	<i>Acanthis linaria holboelli.</i>
89 American goldfinch, C P R	<i>Astragalinus tristis.</i>
90 Pine siskin, C T V and I W V	<i>Spinus pinus.</i>
91 Snow bunting, R W V	<i>Plectrophenax nivalis.</i>
92 Vesper sparrow, C S R	<i>Poocetes gramineus.</i>
93 Savanna sparrow, C T V	<i>Passerculus sandwichensis savanna.</i>
94 Grasshopper sparrow, R S R	<i>Ammodramus savannarum australia.</i>
95 Henslow's sparrow, R S R	<i>Passerherbulus henslowi.</i>
96 White-crowned sparrow, U T V	<i>Zonotrichia leucophrys.</i>
97 White-throated sparrow, A T V	<i>Zonotrichia albicollis.</i>
98 Tree sparrow, A T V and C W V	<i>Spizella monticola.</i>
99 Chipping sparrow, A S R	<i>Spizella passerina.</i>
100 Field sparrow, C S R	<i>Spizella pusilla.</i>
101 Slate-colored junco, A T V and C W V	<i>Junco hyemalis.</i>
102 Song sparrow, R P R and A S R	<i>Melospiza melodia.</i>
103 Lincoln's sparrow, R T V	<i>Melospiza lincolni.</i>
104 Swamp sparrow, C S R	<i>Melospiza georgeana.</i>
105 Fox sparrow, C T V	<i>Passerella iliaca.</i>
106 Chewink, C S R	<i>Pipilo erythrophthalmus.</i>
107 Rose-breasted grosbeak, C S R	<i>Zamelodia ludoviciana.</i>
108 Indigo bunting, C S R	<i>Passerina cyanea.</i>
109 Scarlet tanager, C S R	<i>Piranga erythromelas.</i>

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| 110 Purple martin,
(U S R) R T V | <i>Progne subis.</i> |
| 111 Cliff swallow,
R S R | <i>Petrochelidon lunifrons.</i> |
| 112 Barn swallow,
C S R | <i>Hirundo erythrogaster.</i> |
| 113 Tree swallow,
U S R | <i>Iridoprocne bicolor.</i> |
| 114 Bank swallow,
R S R | <i>Riparia riparia.</i> |
| 115 Cedarbird,
A T V and U S R | <i>Bombycilla cedrorum.</i> |
| 116 Northern shrike,
U W V | <i>Lanius borealis.</i> |
| 117 Red-eyed vireo,
A S R | <i>Vireosylva olivacea.</i> |
| 118 Warbling vireo,
Locally C S R | <i>Vireosylva gilva.</i> |
| 119 Yellow-throated vireo.
C S R | <i>Lanivireo flavifrons.</i> |
| 120 Blue-headed vireo,
C T V and R S R | <i>Lanivireo solitarius.</i> |
| 121 White-eyed vireo,
(R S R) Very rare at the present time | <i>Vireo griseus.</i> |
| 122 Black and white warbler,
C S R | <i>Mniotilta varia.</i> |
| 123 Brewster's warbler,
R S R in one locality | <i>Vermivora leucobronchialis.</i> |
| 124 Golden-winged warbler,
U S R | <i>Vermivora chrysoptera.</i> |
| 125 Nashville Warbler,
U S R | <i>Vermivora rubricapilla.</i> |
| 126 Tennessee warbler,
R T V | <i>Vermivora peregrina.</i> |
| 127 Northern parula warbler,
C T V | <i>Compothlypis americana usneae.</i> |
| 128 Cape May warbler,
R T V | <i>Dendroica tigrina.</i> |
| 129 Yellow warbler,
C S R | <i>Dendroica aestiva.</i> |
| 130 Black-throated blue warbler,
C T V | <i>Dendroica caerulescens.</i> |
| 131 Myrtle warbler,
A T V | <i>Dendroica coronata.</i> |
| 132 Magnolia warbler,
C T V | <i>Dendroica magnolia.</i> |
| 133 Chestnut-sided warbler,
A S R | <i>Dendroica pensylvanica.</i> |
| 134 Bay-breasted warbler,
R T V | <i>Dendroica castanea.</i> |

135 Black-poll warbler, A T V	<i>Dendroica striata.</i>
136 Blackburnian warbler, U T V	<i>Dendroica fusca.</i>
137 Black-throated green warbler, C S R	<i>Dendroica virens.</i>
138 Pine warbler, Locally C S R	<i>Dendroica vigorsii.</i>
139 Palm warbler, R T V a	<i>Dendroica palmarum.</i>
140 Yellow palm warbler, C T V	<i>Dendroica palmarum hypochrysea.</i>
141 Prairie warbler, R S R	<i>Dendroica discolor.</i>
142 Oven-bird, A S R	<i>Seiurus aurocapillus.</i>
143 Water-thrush, C T V	<i>Seiurus noveboracensis.</i>
144 Connecticut warbler, Locally C T V a	<i>Oporornis agilis.</i>
145 Mourning warbler, R T V	<i>Oporornis philadelphia.</i>
146 Northern yellow-throat, C S R	<i>Geothlypis trichas.</i>
147 Yellow-breasted chat, (R S R) Very rare at the present time.	<i>Icteria virens.</i>
148 Wilson's warbler, U T V	<i>Wilsonia pusilla.</i>
149 Canadian warbler, C T V Possibly R S R	<i>Wilsonia canadensis.</i>
150 American redstart, C S R	<i>Setophaga ruticilla.</i>
151 Titlark, R T V s—C T V a	<i>Anthus rubescens.</i>
152 Mockingbird, Of very rare occurrence at any season; one recent record.	<i>Mimus polyglottos.</i>
153 Catbird, C S R	<i>Dumetella carolinensis.</i>
154 Brown thrasher, C S R	<i>Toxostoma rufum.</i>
155 House wren, R S R	<i>Troglodytes aedon.</i>
156 Winter wren, R T V s—C T V a	<i>Nannus hiemalis.</i>
157 Long-billed marsh wren, (U S R)	<i>Telmatodytes palustris.</i>
158 Brown creeper, C W V	<i>Certhia familiaris americana.</i>
159 White-breasted nuthatch, C P R	<i>Sitta carolinensis.</i>

160 Red-breasted nuthatch, I C T V and R W V	<i>Sitta canadensis.</i>
161 Chickadee, C P R	<i>Penthestes atricapillus.</i>
162 Golden-crowned kinglet, C T V and U W V	<i>Regulus satrapa.</i>
163 Ruby-crowned kinglet, C T V	<i>Regulus calendula.</i>
164 Wood thrush, R S R	<i>Hylocichla mustilina.</i>
165 Wilson's thrush, C S R	<i>Hylocichla fuscescens.</i>
166 Grey-cheeked thrush, R T V	<i>Hylocichla aliciae.</i>
167 Bicknell's thrush, R T V	<i>Hylocichla aliciae bicknelli.</i>
168 Olive-backed thrush, C T V	<i>Hylocichla ustulata swainsoni.</i>
169 Hermit thrush, C T V	<i>Hylocichla guttata pallasi.</i>
170 American robin, A S R and I W V	<i>Planesticus migratorius.</i>
171 Bluebird C S R	<i>Sialia sialis.</i>

Introduced Species

172 Ring-necked pheasant, Increasingly C P R	<i>Phasianus torquatus.</i>
173 Domestic pigeon, Sometimes breeds in wild state.	<i>Columba domestica.</i>
174 House sparrow, Less C P R than formerly.	<i>Passer domesticus.</i>



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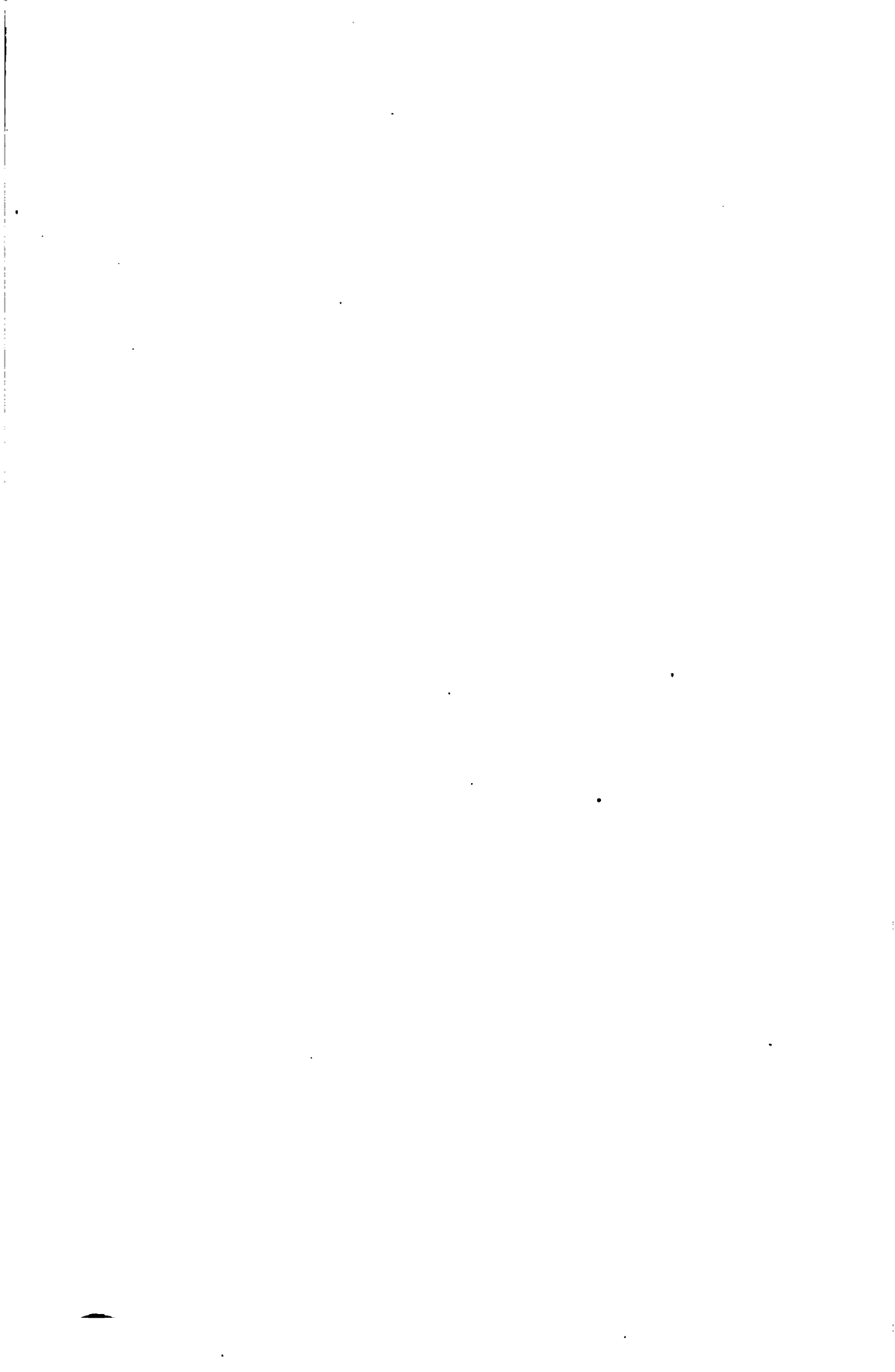
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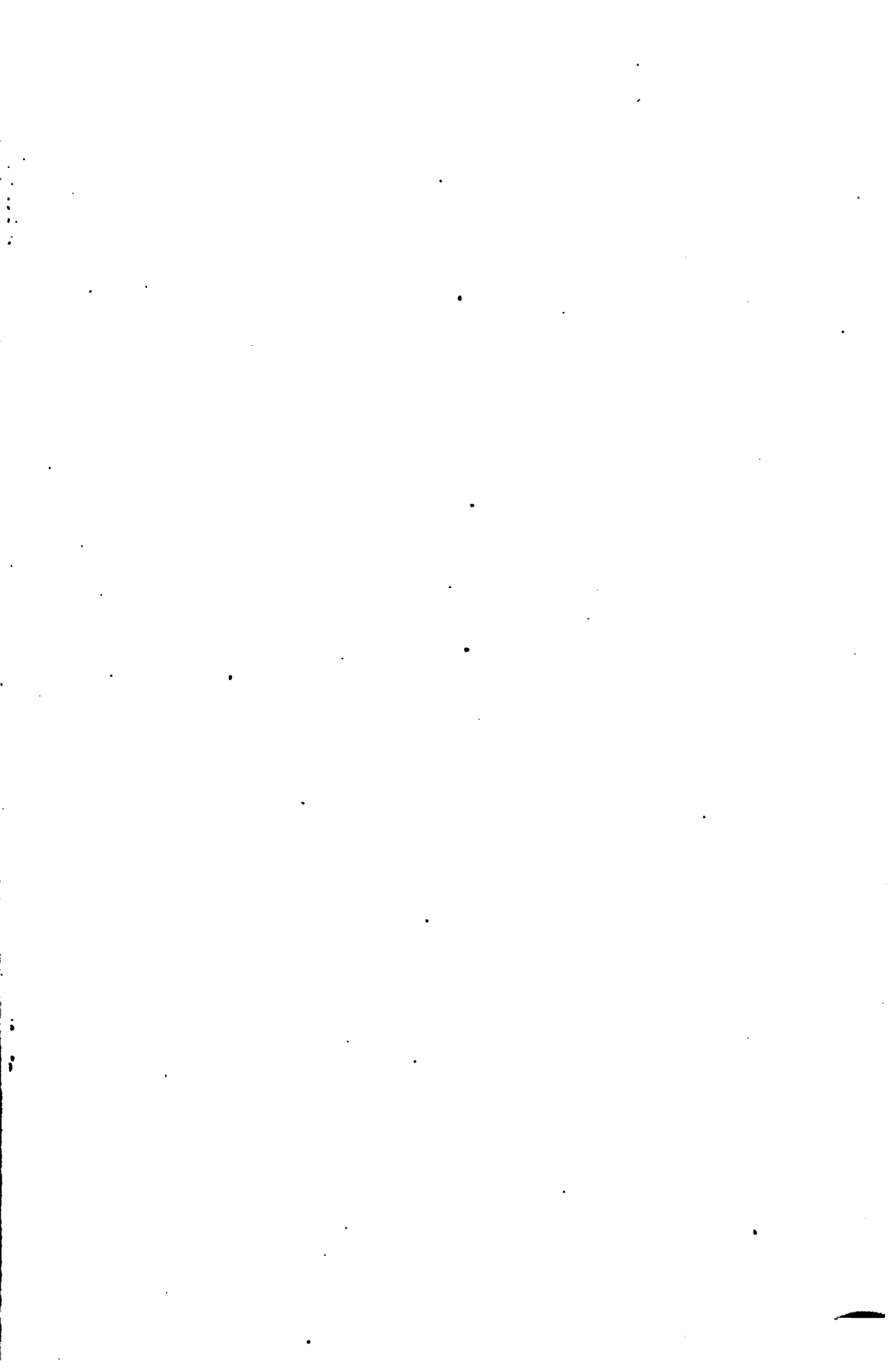
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